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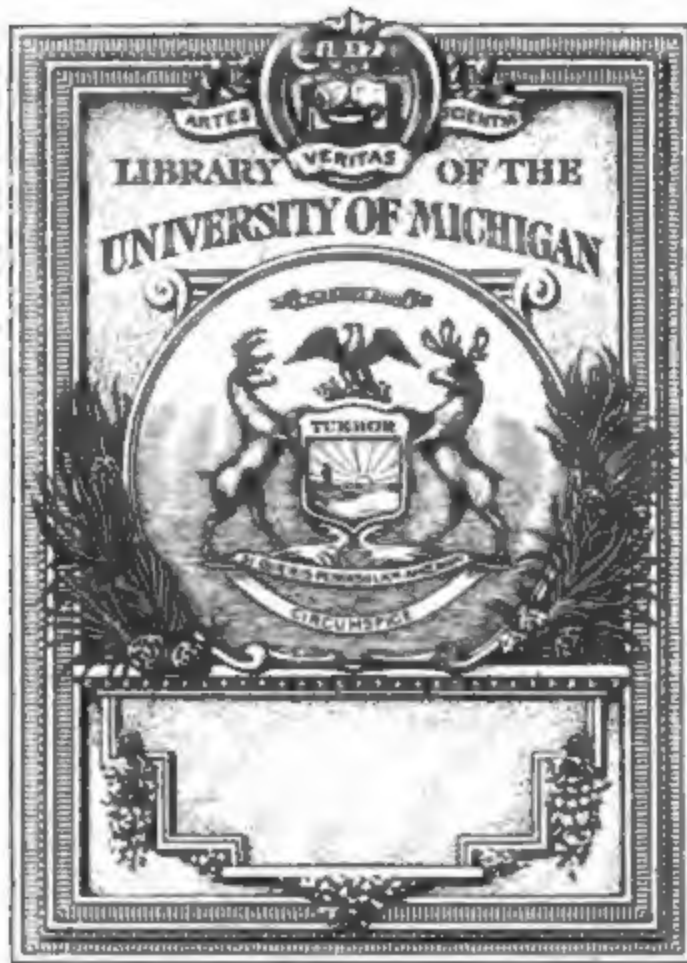
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THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXXI.

JANUARY—JUNE.

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THIRD SERIES.

VOL. V.

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Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἑσπευρίων τι καὶ Ἀριστοτιλικήν· ἀλλ' ἴσα ἵζηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἰρετικῶν τούτων καλῶς, δικαιούσης μετὰ ὑποψυχῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκειν, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ἙΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίας φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. Strom. L. 1.

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1831.

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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1831.

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**Art. I. 1. *The Truths of Religion.* By James Douglas, Esq. 8vo. pp. 362. Price 8s. Edinburgh, 1830.**

**2. *Errors regarding Religion.* By James Douglas, Esq. 8vo. pp. 332. Price 8s. Edinburgh, 1830.**

**I**F there is any one branch of knowledge which, more than every other, demands to be exhibited in a popular form, it is religious knowledge,—that knowledge of religious truths which is equally the concern of every individual, as the most needful for his guidance in the present life, as well as essential to his eternal welfare. This position may be regarded as a truism. Not so, the remark we wish to connect with it; that, of all practical sciences, Religion has suffered the most from being enveloped in the disguise of scholastic systems and a technical dialect, and stands most in need of being simplified and rendered generally intelligible. As we cannot expect this observation to pass unquestioned, and it involves considerations of the greatest moment, we must spend a few minutes in explaining and substantiating a position which may at first sight appear at variance with some obvious facts.

The press teems, it may be said, with religious publications of a popular character, designed for the people, and purchased by the people; and the constant demand, as well as the beneficial results of their circulation, may be thought to prove at once their suitableness and their efficiency. But the constant sale of these works, while it affords a pleasing and satisfactory indication of the number of religious readers, is far from being any proof that religious knowledge is becoming more generally diffused. In the first place, their sale is extensive, more frequently



in proportion to their cheapness, than to their intrinsic excellence; in the next place, their circulation is, for the most part, confined to what is called the religious world; and thirdly, as regards the general character of the religious writings of the present day, they scarcely aim higher than to insinuate into the mind of the reader, under cover of some pleasing fiction, or by means of biographical narrative, pious sentiment of an admonitory or consolatory cast. The works specifically addressed to irreligious persons, aim chiefly at rousing and alarming the conscience: those designed for the devout, generally presuppose in the reader an acquaintance with the truths and received language of theology.

Few are the works adapted to convey a competent knowledge of the truths of Religion to the mass of the people,—that is to say, to those, whether among the privileged or the working classes, who are wholly uninformed upon the subject of theology. There is no deficiency, indeed, of popular treatises upon the Evidences of Christianity. It is remarkable, however, how few of our ablest Christian apologists have shewn themselves to be sound or accomplished divines. Paley has even committed the gross blunder of leaving out theology in his exposition of ‘the science which teaches men their duty and the reasons of it.’ This delightful writer is not the first architect who has discovered more taste in raising an elevation, than knowledge of the principles of construction, or who has reared a specious edifice upon the sand. He has himself remarked on the absurdity of separating from each other natural and revealed religion; but not less perilous is the absurdity of separating theology, which is the science of religion, from moral philosophy, of which, even according to his own shewing, it must be the foundation, and of making, as he has done, not our relation to the Creator, but our ideas of the Creator, the basis of moral obligation.

The only works that at present occur to us as embracing a popular view of the Doctrines of Religion in their mutual bearing, are, Dr. Gregory’s ‘Letters,’ written with the express view to supply the deficiency to which we are adverting; Mr. Wilberforce’s ‘Practical View;’ and Mr. Gurney’s ‘Essays on Christianity.’ The present Bishop of Chester’s admirable volume on ‘the Evidence of Christianity as derived from its Nature and Reception,’ comprises also, from the line of argument adopted, a view of ‘what the religion is,’ which is there proved to be true. Of these invaluable works, no one can think more highly than ourselves; and we have pleasure in reflecting that our Journal was the first to award to them respectively the warm commendation which they have obtained from all the friends of truth. We might also refer to Dr. Dwight’s Theology, as containing, though in a somewhat voluminous and unmanageable form, a

popular exposition and defence of the Christian doctrine. No one, however, can think that these publications, excellently adapted as they are for their purpose, have adequately filled up the blank in our literature. Upon all other subjects, there has been found room, if not an absolute necessity, for multiplying compendiums, popular treatises, and elementary works. The progress of society is continually introducing modifications and improvements in the nomenclature of science, in the classification of the objects of knowledge, and in the very form of what was once deemed elementary truths. Important changes have also been silently going forward in the sphere of religious opinion. Yet, notwithstanding the vast advances that have been made in Biblical criticism, the accumulated apparatus of sacred literature, and the intellectual revolution which has changed the whole aspect of the world of thought, no attempt has been made to recast the Elements of Theology in a form that should meet the wants, and adapt itself to the intelligence of the age. The press is teeming with cabinets of science and libraries of useful knowledge; but religious knowledge is excluded from the popular cyclopedia,—as being something too sacred, or too recondite, or too undefined, to come within its range. One or two awkward attempts have, indeed, been made to conciliate religious readers,—by a History of the Jews, and a History of the Bible; but these are of a character which leave little room for regret, that the Projectors of such works have not deemed it advisable to intermeddle further with Religion.

Let us confess the fact. Theology is not at present in that state into which it is necessary that the materials of our knowledge should be brought, before they can be advantageously reduced to summaries and compendiums. The truths of religion are certain in themselves, as are all other truths; and to a considerable extent, they are ascertained or demonstrable certainties. But the existence of religious controversy proves that they have not yet passed into general knowledge. Where controversy begins, science ends. The matter in controversy may be not less demonstrable than the established and admitted principles; but its not having gained general assent, shews, that the evidence of its truth has not yet been made sufficiently palpable. Truth does not become knowledge before it has been proved to be truth: till then, it may be said to exist in the crude state of opinion. But, as knowledge advances, controversies are diminished, and the field of opinion becomes proportionably narrowed. The sphere of religious controversy has been materially contracted by the progress of philosophy, the abandonment of scholastic subtilties, the use of a sounder logic, and the increased diffusion of truth. Much has been learned, and still more has been to be learned. Whether Theology can ever be wholly extricated

from the disadvantages of controversy, deeply entrenched as religious errors are in the hostile prejudices and sensual inclinations of the human heart, may be questioned. The things of God, we are told, indeed, are cognizable only by a spiritual discernment. On the other hand, the finger of Prophecy points to an era when all shall know the Lord. Without attempting to define the expectations which this intimation might warrant, the history and present state of religious opinion sufficiently authorize us to conclude, that the unhappy diversities of opinion which cast their dark shadows over the Rule of Faith, and obscure the light of Religious Truth, will more and more fade and clear away, and that theology will seem less doubtful, in proportion as it is better understood. 'Many heresies,' as Mr. Douglas remarks, 'consist merely in the exaggeration of some 'particular truth,' and 'spring from an imperfect acquaintance 'with the truth.' As the word of God, the sun of the moral system, rises higher upon us, these differences will 'disappear as 'speedily as the morning mists.'

At present, however, it must be confessed, that the state of theological knowledge among the community at large is, as compared with other sorts of knowledge, at a very low ebb. But it may excite surprise that we should complain of any want of the means of popular information. Are there not, it may be asked, abundance of elementary works of religion—catechisms, confessions, formularies, explanations of the catechism, commentaries on the creed, stories on the catechism, as well as systems, and institutes, and the very 'marrow of Divinity'? We are not disposed to call in question the utility of such works, any more than that of Pharmacopœias, Introductions to Algebra, and *Propria quæ Maribus*, with all the notes and comments respectively attached to them in order to facilitate the toils of the youthful learner. We merely take leave to observe, that, whatever good purpose they may answer, that of rendering the truths of religion intelligible or attractive, cannot be considered as coming even within the design for which they have been compiled. Of Dr. Watts's first Catechism for children, indeed, we can speak only in terms of the most entire approbation; and against the Church Catechism, it cannot be objected, that it is too recondite: the great objection to it is, that it not only does not teach the way of salvation, but, by ascribing all the fruits of religion to the administration of an external ordinance, supersedes, as Mr. Hurn has remarked, the use of any other doctrines. When we advance beyond these, to the Formularies of the Church, or to the Confession and Catechism of the Westminster Assembly, the deeper we go in theology, the further we recede from every thing popular in phraseology or elementary in form. To understand the full import of the terms employed, as they were de-

signed to be taken, a person must have gone through a course of polemics. No one can really enter into the meaning intended to be conveyed by the phraseology of the Nicene Creed, who has not been initiated into the Homousian controversy. No one can be competent to subscribe to the Assembly's Catechism, except so far as he takes it upon trust, who is not armed at all the five points. The mistake of substituting nice distinctions for explanations, mere definitions for axioms, propositions for principles, conclusions for elementary truths, runs through the whole system of teaching to which these formularies belong. That they may have served as a fence against error, we do not deny: that they have aided the interpretation and diffusion of religious truth, we must take leave to regard as very problematical.

There is one elementary work on Christian theology,—strictly speaking, perhaps, but one,—the simplest, the most popular, and the most profound of all theological writings: we speak of the New Testament. Were the English Translation as well adapted to popular use, as the original was to the Christians of Syria, Asia Minor, and Palestine, instead of being modelled on the Vulgate, in a Latinized phraseology, full of barbarous terms and phrases that savour of travestie, more than of translation,—the Apostolic writings would be not only the highest, the only authority in religious doctrine, but the most intelligible and familiar exposition of theological truth. But the very aspect which the sacred volume presents, barbarously cut up into disjointed verses, in capricious disregard of connexion, and even of punctuation, shews that, in former days, it was regarded as a book for reference more than for perusal,—as a text for the divine or commentator, more than as a volume to be put into the hands of every peasant. We have been so long familiarized with this mode of printing the Scriptures, that its impropriety does not strike us. It deserves consideration, however, whether to this circumstance we may not attribute, at least in great measure, the prevalence of that mistaken and dangerous use of the sacred volume, referred to by Mr. Erskine, ‘which selects passages here and there out of Scripture, and accommodates them to its own pleasure, instead of submitting to be guided by the whole scope of Scripture.’ This partial induction has in all ages been a fertile source of error.

To devout readers, the authorized version, with all its defects, wears so consecrated a character, that even the most necessary emendations are regarded with distaste; and phrases that in themselves convey no distinct idea, have acquired, from association, a meaning and force which would not readily attach to a more correct and perspicuous rendering. What is familiar,

seems to be plain; and it is only by distinct attention that the reader is led to the discovery, that words which he knows almost by heart, have never conveyed to him their true and full import. And even when he has been compelled to accept of the explanation furnished by the expositor or the preacher, the obscure phraseology is fondly preferred, because the ear is tuned to its cadence, and it has a place in the memory. And persons accustomed from their youth to hear the Scriptures competently explained, insensibly learn by this means to connect with the most obscure and faulty renderings a tolerably clear and correct sense, if not always that which answers to the true import of the original. Under these circumstances, the authorized version may seem to answer every purpose. But how is it with the mass of readers? We speak of the New Testament only\*, and in reference chiefly to those portions of the Apostolic writings in which the truths of Christianity are most distinctly expounded. So far as experience has enabled us to judge, we should say, that our Version is a very inadequate interpretation of the sacred text to the common people, and that, in point of fact, the plainest of writings reads like one of the most obscure and enigmatic of compositions, owing to the false system of translation which prefers the letter above the spirit of the text. Accustomed as most readers are to carry their religious knowledge to the perusal of the Scriptures, rather than to derive their knowledge from the Scriptures, they are not sensible of the extent to which they mingle the interpreter with the learner, and attribute, rather than receive the meaning which the sacred

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\* It is a remarkable circumstance, that our venerable Translators should have succeeded best in their translation from the more difficult language. Mr. Douglas remarks, that ‘both the language and the thoughts of the time were well adapted to enter into the spirit of the Hebrew writings.’ And the Translator of Bishop Lowth’s Lectures remarks, in his preface, that ‘so happily does the simple genius of the Hebrew language accord with our own, and so completely, so minutely does our common translation represent the style and character of the Hebrew writings, that no person who is conversant with it can be at a loss in applying all the criticisms of the Author.’ The resemblance of the Hebrew language to the English must, however, be regarded as a mere learned fancy. Bishop Lowth himself insists upon their essential difference as rendering the task of translation peculiarly difficult, seven words in the Hebrew frequently requiring one and twenty in the English. The fact is, our Translators, in rendering from the Hebrew, were compelled to give a less servile, and therefore a more spirited as well as more intelligible version, than in translating from the Greek; and any one who compares the Public Version with Ainsworth’s Translation, will see how widely they have deviated from a bald and literal rendering of the Hebrew.



text suggests. To what else can be owing the discrepancies of interpretation which are the opprobrium of our Biblical commentators?

We are not so sanguine as to imagine that any translation of the New Testament could be executed, which should totally supersede the auxiliary use of note and comment. But to what end have been directed all the labours of our Biblical critics and expositors during the past two hundred years, if the verbal meaning of the inspired writers is not now more satisfactorily ascertained, than it was in the days of King James? Now the only way in which the common people can reap any benefit from the advancement of Biblical criticism, is by having the results consolidated, as it were, in a revised text and perspicuous translation, which shall reflect more clearly the scope and spirit of the inspired original. The legitimate end in which all criticism should terminate, would seem to be, the improvement, so far as regards accuracy and perspicuity, of the sacred document which, to millions, is the representative of the original text. It has been said, that every translation is a commentary; and it may be as truly said, that every commentary is only a more diffuse translation; but the less diffuse the better; and in proportion as the accurate meaning of the text is ascertained, and, being ascertained, is unequivocally fixed in the vernacular translation, the necessity for the awkward expedients of paraphrase and commentary will be lessened, and the Scripture become its own interpreter.

It is our firm belief, that the most incorrect and faulty version of the Scriptures that was ever executed, in any language, has been found an available and efficient vehicle of saving truth. We shall not therefore, we hope, be suspected of laying too much stress upon idiomatic accuracy, or the mere graces of diction in Biblical translations. But viewing the New Testament as the primary instrument of diffusing religious knowledge, we cannot but regard any obscurity or uncertainty in the public version as a serious obstruction to the spread of truth. Few persons will now, we imagine, be of the opinion of John Canne, that 'it is necessary to preserve the letter entire, how inconvenient, yea, how absurd soever and harsh it may seem to men's carnal reason, because the foolishness of God is wiser than men.' The same mode of reasoning would have served as well in favour of locking up the letter in a learned language. The proper answer would be, that the foolishness of translation is a very unbecoming mode of exhibiting inspired wisdom, and that bad English can never truly represent good Greek.

We have dwelt the longer upon this point, because from the ambiguities and technicalities of our Authorized Version has flowed, as we think, much of that logomachy which has been the

bane of theology. How much has been written to impugn or to justify particular modes of expression, in the statement of Scriptural doctrine, when, perhaps, a competent and unprejudiced reference to the inspired text would have shewn, that both parties were in the right, or both in the wrong; that they were contending for a distinction without a difference, or contending for expressions unsanctioned by the original! How much time is occupied in public discourses, and not unnecessarily, in the exposition of mere phraseology, rather than of the truth it conveys! And where this mode of exposition is neglected, what mistaken glosses are substituted for the sense of Scripture! 'Many of the terms of divinity', Mr. Douglas remarks, 'still seem associated with the gloom of the dark ages, instead of being taken, in their freshness and purity, from the Scriptures.' But the adoption of these terms of divinity by our Translators, has been one main source of the technical language of divinity, which, in the nineteenth century, is made to speak the dialect of the sixteenth. No fault\*, perhaps, is chargeable on our Translators, who well performed their task, and produced the best Version that had at that time been given to the world. We fully admit, too, with Mr. Douglas, that,

'To determine the principal points of religion, our English Bible affords every requisite aid. No translation was ever executed with more spirit than the standard version of England. It was done when the English language, as far as prose is concerned, was in the moment of projection, ready to run into any mould that should be given to it. . . . Of late, much has been done with respect to minute criticism, but the larger grasp of mind is wanting. New translations surpass the standard version in detached parts, but come widely short of it as a whole; and it is by its spirit as a whole, by the tone of its sentiments and general train of its thoughts, that the truths of the Bible are most clearly discerned and most fully proved.

'A new race of commentators is required to throw light, not on the letter, but on the spirit of works, whether sacred or profane; to search after the inward mould which gives the outward appearance its peculiar form; to seek for the hidden fire of life which, though unseen itself, is yet felt in the warmth it communicates to every part. . . . In the sacred writers, new and undiscovered treasures are yet awaiting the explorer. The dry bones, as in the Valley of Vision, will be clad with flesh, and covered with life; the genius of every sacred writer will be resuscitated; and the peculiar point of view will be gained,

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\* There is reason, however, for regret, as has been shewn by a learned Writer, that the later English Translators did not trust more to Tyndal's learning and judgement in several instances where his Translation gives the genuine meaning of the Hebrew, and that they did not evince the same anxiety to get rid of all 'juggling terms', and to leave as few words uninterpreted for the ignorant as possible.

from which objects were contemplated, and according to which they received their colouring and their shading, their prominence and their distance.' *Truths, &c.* pp. 89—92.

In Mr. Douglas's canons of Biblical criticism, we should not, perhaps, entirely coincide; although we quite agree with him in thinking, that the spirit and scope of Scripture have been too much overlooked by those commentators who have busied themselves with minute criticisms on the text. But surely, our aim in searching after the hidden spirit of Scripture, ought to be, to give the more distinctness and force to the expression of its letter, by which alone the true meaning can be conveyed. The inferiority of new translations to the standard version, in whatever way we may account for the failure, furnishes no sufficient reason that the attempt should be abandoned, which, if successful in detached parts, cannot be impracticable in all. One reason of past failures, Mr. Erskine himself adverts to. Those who have undertaken the task, have generally been men more versed in philological learning than in the philosophy of criticism, and have therefore proved themselves better scholars than interpreters. But the main reason has been, that Translators have generally aimed more at theological precision than at perspicuity, and have sought to produce a version verbally correct, rather than idiomatic and expressive. Their object has been to satisfy the critic, or to please the theologian, rather than to interpret for the vulgar reader. It is not so much for persons well instructed in religion that a more intelligible and popular version is demanded, but for the benefit of the thousands who stand in need of that elementary instruction in the truths of religion which is best obtained from the inspired document itself. How seldom has the task of translation been undertaken with a specific reference to this most important object!

Among uninspired compositions, that which contains, perhaps, the best explanation of the Christian religion, adapted to all classes of readers, and, by its admirable exposition of the Scripture doctrines, putting to the blush all theological systems, is—'the Pilgrim's Progress.' We rejoice that this work is beginning to be more generally regarded in its true light. The Quarterly Reviewers, in a recent article, have done themselves credit, by bearing their testimony to the extraordinary merit of this exquisite parable, and the genius of its gifted Author, who has been aptly styled, 'the Apostle of the people.' 'The work,' they justly remark, 'is not of a controversial character; it might be perused without offence by sober-minded Christians of all persuasions; and we all know that it is read universally, and has been translated into many languages.' Thousands read it for

entertainment, who concern themselves little about its Theology; but it is scarcely possible for the most careless reader to avoid acquiring from it, religious information of the most valuable kind, and which he would probably have imbibed in no other shape. Next to Bunyan, Defoe may, perhaps, be regarded as the most popular of our religious, or the most religious of our popular writers. Few men ever wrote so much so well; yet, had he written less, posterity would probably have gained more from his genius and knowledge. No writer of the present day has done more to render theological knowledge popularly accessible and attractive, than Mrs. More: the value of her works in this respect has not, perhaps, been adequately appreciated. Their desultory and didactic character, however, does not allow of our regarding them as adapted to convey a very distinct idea of the Christian theology.

In all sciences, a sound inductive philosophy must precede and pave the way for the familiar exposition of its principles; and the simplification of knowledge is the last result. The Christian theology was originally the most simple and popular thing in the world, within the grasp of the humblest intellect, and propounded with the utmost plainness of speech. But, implicated as it has become in doubtful disputations, corrupted by false glosses, and obscured by misconception, the doctrine of the Bible has required to be re-discovered; and it is only of late that the Christian world have been led to embrace the salutary conviction, that Christianity can be learned only from the Scriptures, and must be studied in the document which contains it. But to re-produce it in its primitive genuineness, fresh drawn from the Scriptures, is an achievement not to be accomplished at once, or by any single mind. Nor could such a Reformed Theology hope to become immediately popular, since there is not an existing symbol, confession, or formula of religious credence, that would not be swept away by its reception; not a system or body of divinity that would not become stale and unprofitable. What cannot be accomplished at once, we may hope to see gradually effected, however, by the combined and successful exertions of the pious and gifted men who are destined to be the honoured instruments of preparing the way for so auspicious a revolution. Among these, we have no hesitation in ranking high the present Writer, whose volumes we cannot but regard as better adapted to promote the advancement of sound religious knowledge, of true theological science, than any publication which has yet come before us. Although of a character more philosophical than popular, they will shew the way to other writers of less original and comprehensive views, but who may be equally useful in following out his indications.

‘The use of reason in religion and philosophy,’ remarks Mr. Douglas, ‘is the same. As, without facts, we can gain no knowledge of nature, so, without inspired truths, which are God’s statement of facts either future or invisible, we can make no discoveries in religion. The use of reason, therefore, is to enable us to become intelligent listeners to the Divine voice, and to open out to us the scope and purport of the inspired oracles. When we understand whatever has been affirmed by the prophets and the apostles, we have reached the ultimate limits of religious knowledge. This, and not the addition of our own speculations, is the end of all rational inquiry with respect to Revelation. . . . We must place ourselves in the point of view from which the Bible contemplates surrounding objects, that we may see all things in the clear light of revelation. We must feel, as well as think with the inspired writers, and, entering into their sentiments and reasonings, be carried along with the main stream of their argument, till we arrive at all their conclusions, and find their thoughts possessing our minds, and their very words rising to our lips. Thus shall we be cast into the mould of Divine Revelation, and take the stamp of its godlike and immortal image. And as, at the revival of letters, it was the ambition of the Ciceronians to write upon all occasions like Cicero, clothing whatever they had to advance with his turn of thought and mode of expression ; so, in taking the Bible to be our guide to sacred truth, we may enter with equal clearness into the Divine thoughts, and make it the standard of our judgement and feeling, even in things remotely connected with Revelation ; bearing its tone of sentiment upon our hearts, like a strain of music, which blends with the imagination long after the instrument is silent.’ . . . *Errors, &c.* pp. 176, 7.

‘Though the heart is the original cause of all departures from the faith, and the place where unbelief has its chief seat, yet, an intellectual process is also necessary, by which the peculiar doctrines of Christianity may be explained away, and by which an erroneous system of religion may be formed, more palatable to the corrupt inclinations of fallen man, than the uncompromising purity of the gospel. The intellectual process by which a false religion is shaped out, is the very same by which a false system of philosophy is formed. In both cases, our errors proceed from pre-conceived opinions or partial induction. *Genuine and inductive philosophy is the true cure of both.* Let truth be impartially and universally sought ; let all dogmas founded upon ignorance, and the presumptuous conjectures of *a priori* reasoning, be discarded ; and proportioning our belief to the degree of evidence which in every case is presented to us, false systems of divinity will disappear with vain theories in philosophy, and we shall behold, with child-like and teachable minds, the wisdom of God manifest alike in his word and in his works.’ *Ib.* pp. 196, 7.

Mr. Douglas does not mean to deny, that systematic theology has its use ; and that it requires to be reformed, rather than altogether superseded. He points out very forcibly, the opposite danger to which the religious world are at this moment particularly exposed, of imbibing the listless, superficial turn of mind too characteristic of this busy age, and of mistaking for an en-



lightened emancipation from the shackles of scholastic forms, what proceeds simply from an aversion to severe thought.

‘ The present age exults in its freedom from the trammels of ancient authority, but is more quick-sighted to discover the blemishes, than the excellencies of its predecessors. The systems of artificial theology have their uses, as well as their disadvantages. They indeed exaggerated and displaced several Scriptural truths, and gave to others a speculative air, rather than their true and practical bearing ; but they had a great superiority over the partial induction not unfrequent in our time, which selects passages here and there out of Scripture, and accommodates them to its own pleasure, instead of submitting to be guided by the whole scope of Scripture. On the contrary, the artificial systems excelled in fulness. It was not a portion, but the whole of Scripture, that they brought into their method ; and every doctrine had a place in their arrangement, though these doctrines might have been more simply and scripturally expressed, and have observed more exactly the natural order of the Bible. The only advantage of giving up these ancient bodies of divinity, is, that they should make way for the study of the Scriptures as a whole, and that we should drink the waters of life more freshly from their fountain. But they had better have been retained, if nothing was to succeed them, but the detached and scattered study of the Scriptures in detail, and the collection of a few picked and favourite texts to support some particular dogma.

‘ The great danger now is, that many truths should be omitted, and one or two topics should be insisted on in the forgetfulness of all the rest ; and that, to occupy the blank thus occasioned, these few topics should be stretched far beyond their just dimensions ; as, in the old maps of Africa, the names of a few insignificant tribes on the coast were made the denominations of mighty empires, and concealed the map-maker’s ignorance of that unknown continent, by stretching far beyond their proper bounds into the interior of the country. These, however, are the evils of a state of transition. In the great change which has taken place, the old authority is discarded, before the new authority is properly recognized. It is necessary to have some system. The law of continuity prevails everywhere ; and if, in throwing off the artificial systems of theology, we do not follow the natural system of the Scriptures, we shall unawares follow a system of our known, and that in all probability a very pitiful one.’ *Errors, &c.* pp. 281—3.

The two perfections which a system should combine, are simplicity and completeness. That which Mr. Douglas has adopted in his exposition of the *Truths of Religion*, must be allowed to have at all events the first requisite. The volume is divided into eight books or parts. The first two of these treat of the *Evidences of Religion* and the *Genius of the Scriptures*. The titles of the other six are :—*Fall of Man*. *Divinity of Christ*. *The Atonement*. *Justification*. *Sanctification*. *Heaven*. To complete the outline, the *Errors regarding Religion* are, in the second volume, classified under the following heads : I. *Polytheism and Pantheism*. II. *Early Corruptions of Christianity*.

III. Popery. IV. Mysticism. V. Heresies after the Reformation. VI. Infidelity. VII. Present state of Errors. A concluding chapter is entitled, 'Universal Christianity.'

This two-fold division of the subjects included in Theology, into Truths and Errors, is not less philosophical than practically useful. Adopting an expression of Bacon, Mr. Douglas says: 'Thus we complete the *intellectual globe*, when we add 'the darkened to the enlightened hemisphere of thought.' His secondary division is also founded upon a sound analysis. The principles of Morality and Religion, it is remarked, are few and simple. After all the systems and disputes of ethical philosophy, the Great Teacher has comprised the essence of Morality in one sentence, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." In like manner, Natural Religion is summed up in, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart." This is not the 'natural religion' of our philosophers, into which the principle of love to the Creator does not enter; but on these two commandments hang, 'not only the law and the prophets, but the 'religion, as far as reason can discover, of all intelligent natures, 'of angels as well as of men.'

It is the fundamental error of all definitions of natural theology, and of all treatises upon the subject, that the Being and Attributes of God are proposed as the topic of philosophical inquiry, which can be no part of religion, but implies a state of irreligion;—as if to find a Deity were the first of a series of moral problems! Such philosophers hardly go far enough back: they should begin with proving their own existence; and, by analysing their own consciousness, they might possibly discover a better evidence of the being of a God, than can be deduced from the most sagacious *à priori* reasonings. The existence of a creature involves of necessity his relation to his Creator; and upon this, the eternal obligations of natural religion are founded. 'God' is a word conveying the idea of relation, the idea is strictly relative, as truly as the words 'father' and 'child.' That is not religion of any kind, which consists in abstract speculation. Natural religion consists in perfect love and loyalty to the Fountain of life and happiness. This is the creed of reason. But, because this has ceased to be the actual religion of human nature, and is no longer natural to him as a fallen being, a religion fitted for man, must adapt itself to his *unnatural* relation to his Maker, and provide for his necessities as feeble, erring, and guilty. Hence, the necessity of a corresponding addition to the few and simple tenets of the creed of reason. 'A revelation adapted to man, while it includes in itself natural religion, must provide both an atonement or expiation for guilt, and also the means of changing 'and renovating our sinful nature.' The science of natural

theology (much abused phrase!) has been supposed to afford ground for concluding that such a revelation would be vouchsafed. Accordingly, learned divines have amused themselves with demonstrating, that a Divine revelation is possible, that it is expedient, that it might reasonably be expected, and so forth. In all this philosophical trifling, there is neither science nor theology. In the absence of revelation, the creed of fallen reason is, that 'the Gods are angry', and that man must do or suffer something to turn away their displeasure. Superstition, in its various modifications, and atheism, the desperate alternative, which is the suicide of man's moral nature, divided the ancient world. That a Revelation of mercy would be vouchsafed, reason did never, could never anticipate; and when it was made, it was in opposition to every previous notion and all the speculations of reason. 'The Son of Man is come 'to seek and to save that which was lost,' was to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness. To talk of Revelation in the abstract as a possibility, is to endeavour to ascertain a fact by the rules of Algebra. Had theological systems been framed with any view to the instruction of the common people, these absurdities would never have found a place in them. It would never have been deemed a philosophical mode of teaching Religion, to lay its basis in suppositions, instead of in facts, and to place the pupil in a state of imaginary uncertainty and moral destitution, artificially divested of his religious knowledge and consciousness, as a preparative for his being initiated into the mysteries of Christianity. It is in this way that theological colleges have bred sceptics, orthodoxly trained to infidelity.

We would not quarrel about terms. The phrases, natural religion and natural theology, though equivocal, and therefore adapted to mislead, are in themselves innocent, and may be used in a good sense. We find Mr. Douglas himself employing the former phrase in different acceptations, and in one place with doubtful propriety\*. 'The two points which natural religion 'establishes', he says, 'are, the existence of a Deity, and the 'existence of the soul after death.' But, by natural religion here, he means, 'the aptitude of the soul to believe in both 'these tenets', as 'evidenced by consciousness and conscience', together with the belief derived from obscure universal tradition, which may be considered as the organic remains of primeval Revelation. This faint ray of heavenly light only served, however, to shew and deepen the darkness. In what relation

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\* He elsewhere remarks (p. 234): 'What is called natural religion is found to have no place in nature, at least in the nature of this world.'

man at present stands to his Maker, and what is the *condition* of his existence after death, are inquiries to which reason and conscience could return no answer.

‘ It is only from a disclosure of the Divine mind, that we can obtain the knowledge of which we stand in need ; and it requires Revelation to lift up the veil, and present the future and the invisible to the mind. A single sentence inspired by God, is of more avail than the conjectures of the highest understandings for thousands of years ; and the pre-intimations of conscience, though vague and uncertain, as referring to an unknown Judge and Tribunal, assume shape and certainty from Revelation. Hence, no system of natural theology has ever prevailed, or ever been practised, entirely separated from Revelation either real or pretended. Men have never thought of reasoning out a religion solely by the strength of their own faculties. The theists of antiquity appealed to tradition ; and the world in general, receiving with small interest the conjectures of philosophy and the researches of reason, but listening with credulous respect to every pretender to Revelation, have always looked to some system which was supposed to be of Divine origin ; well knowing that it was from God alone that they could expect light in the midst of their palpable darkness.

‘ It was an objection frequently brought forward by infidels, that amid so many pretences to revelation, it was difficult to discover the true one. But the contrary is the fact. Christianity, without offering any one of its innumerable proofs, might be shewn to be true by the method of exhaustion. It is proved that God exists ; and that he calls upon man to be attentive to His existence ; that this call has reference not merely to the present state, but far more to the unseen world, where the soul shall live for ever in the more manifest presence of his Creator. But, though the knowledge of God and of immortality be above all others the most important and imperative, yet, it is the subject on which nature and reason furnish us with the fewest data applicable to our present condition. It might be shewn at length, that though the largest and most powerful minds of the human race have exhausted themselves on this subject, they have come to no stable conclusion, but have added the utmost perplexity to our previous uncertainty ; and that the philosophy of Greece, unable to discover a true principle, and inextricably involved in a false one, strove in vain to disentangle itself from the meshes which itself had woven, and left religion in a more deplorable state than it had found it. Again, it might be shewn, that if reason had done little for mankind, excepting Christianity, all professed revelations had done still less : that they rested upon no evidence whatever, and that, far from distracting the attention, they could not bring forward any claim to the consideration of reason. That all the ancient religions had their beginning concealed in the darkness of antiquity ; that their votaries founded their belief solely on the previous belief of others. That, far from resting on any argument, they included in themselves the history of their origin, and could be traced without difficulty to the workings of imagination, gradually shaping out a visionary world, and adding the reveries of one generation to those of another. Further, that the religions of Boudh

and of Zoroaster, though of later origin, could not designate and ascertain their founders; and that Mahomedanism, which was borrowed entirely, in its leading doctrines, from the Jews, was ignorant of the sacred books of which it professed itself to be a supplement, and that Mahomet had no other pretensions to inspiration (for arguments they cannot be called) than the beauty of his style, and the sharpness of his sword.

‘ Hence, Christianity is without a rival, and the often reiterated infidel objection from the number of conflicting religions in the world, comes to nothing. It is not here, as among the shields of Numa, where that which was said to be derived from heaven, was undistinguishable from those which were fabricated upon earth. Christianity alone is founded upon argument; it is the only rest for the mind; which alone can dispel its darkness, quiet its fears, and satisfy its longings. Nor is there any choice between it and the most absolute scepticism. All other creeds but the Koran rest merely upon their antiquity; and the Koran, upon the purity of its Arabic, and the victories of its champions.’

*Truths, &c.* pp. 27—30.

Christianity is thus shewn to be the only religion that can possibly be true. But if natural religion, as it is termed, is capable of performing any efficient service, it must be, not merely by affording a presumption in favour of the *truth* of Revelation, but by demonstrating its *necessity*, from the condition of man as “without strength,” “without excuse,” and “without hope.”\* St. Paul appeals to the proof of the invisible perfections of the Godhead furnished by the things that are made,—but for what purpose? To establish a hypothetical probability? To illustrate the nature, and attributes, and operations of the Supreme Being? No such thing, but to *convince the world of sin*. In the existence of sin originate the wants of the conscience, the blind feeling after God, the yearning of the creation. A consciousness of sin lies at the foundation of all religions, true or false,—except Deism, which is an attempt to annihilate sin, without, like atheism, denying a First Cause. If we say that we have no sin, we say in effect, “There is no God;” we at least impeach his truth (*ψευδὴν ποιοῦμεν αὐτόν*), and deny all Revelation. All systems of divinity, then, must be radically defective and fallacious, which do not commence with that which is the foundation of religion, deep-laid in the human conscience, and attested by the universal evidence of reason and fact.

Mr. Douglas does begin, where the child and the philosopher must alike begin,—although this is the repelling point of theology, the essence of all that is offensive in every true system, the great heresy in the world’s esteem,—to palliate, smooth over, and accommodate which the Arminian divinity was invented,—with the guilt of sin, and the sinfulness of all. ‘But man,’ he remarks,

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\* Rom. v. 6. Rom. i. 20. Eph. ii. 12.

'is not only guilty: he derives his guilt and his errors from those from whom he derives his life.' A second stumbling-block. Yet, it is simply, like the former, a fact; and true philosophy has to do with facts only, not with the unknown reasons of them. Theology is staked upon the certainty of these facts, and cannot proceed another step till they are admitted. What then is the real state of the case?

'The vices and the ignorance of mankind are hereditary and national, as well as personal; and the characters of men depend in no small degree upon their parents and their country. No individual stands separate: his character is moulded by that of the generation in which he lives. That generation derives its colour from the preceding ones, till we arrive at the fountain of all these moral impressions and changes, by ascending to the protoplasts and heads of the human race. This second anomaly in the human condition demands a second provision, in a revelation which provides for human nature such as it actually exists, and leads us to a new head of the renovated portion of our race,—the Messiah, the Father of the everlasting age, and the Founder of a new moral world.

'Hence, religion consists, first, in the belief of our fall in Adam; secondly, of our new dependence on a Divine head, that we may cease from the creature, and trust to the Creator; thirdly, of a Divine expiation of our guilt; fourthly, of the method by which our guilt is removed; fifthly, of the process by which our will and our nature are changed into a similitude to the Divine; and sixthly, of the way in which this Divinely renovated nature is elevated to the society of all God-like beings, and brought into the immediate presence and communion of the Father of spirits. In this brief enumeration are included all the leading truths of Religion.'—*Truths, &c.* pp. 4, 5.

This is our Author's system. His six points may be thus stated:—I believe in the corruption of human nature and the guilt of sin,—in opposition to the ancient atheists and modern infidels. I believe in the divinity of Christ, the Image of the Invisible God,—in opposition to the *soi-disant* Unitarian. I believe in the atonement, in the propitiatory efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ, by which the Divine Justice is reconciled to man,—in opposition to all other schemes of piacular satisfaction, pagan or papal, and the no-scheme of the Socinian. I believe in the free forgiveness of sins, on believing in Christ and embracing His atonement by repentance,—in opposition to all schemes of self-justification. I believe in the regenerating and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, by which we are made partakers of the Divine nature derived from Christ. I believe in the world to come, and the life everlasting.

No Christian can say that one of these points is non-essential, or that any additional one is necessary to salvation. Yet, compare this Scriptural creed with our received symbols,—with what is improperly called the Apostles' Creed, itself,—and their defi-



ciency will be glaringly apparent. ‘On the two fundamental ‘doctrines of Revelation,’ remarks Mr. Riland\*, ‘original sin ‘and the atonement, that indefinite and ill-assorted compend of ‘the Gospel maintains a deep and dead silence.’ So far is either this creed or the Nicene from distinctly connecting the Atonement with the death of Christ, that ‘the forgiveness of sins ‘is mentioned in absolute disjunction from his death,’ and is, in the latter creed, vaguely imputed to the initiatory ordinance of his Church. The Athanasian Creed contains absolutely nothing upon these fundamental articles, but is justly characterized by Mr. Riland, as ‘a dry, abstract, unapplied series of positions ‘about the Trinity.’ Hence, he adds, ‘we have Athanasians ‘who write in defence of their creed, yet jealous of the scheme ‘of justification by faith in Christ, and opposing the doctrine of ‘the influences of the Spirit.’ The objections against these creeds, having generally been urged by dissidents from the Established Church, or by disbelievers in the doctrines which they were doubtless intended to uphold, have never been suffered to have their due weight. But we are not casting stones against the Church. We merely wish to point out the errors into which all churches and schools of theology have more or less fallen, as regards the proper mode of exhibiting the scriptural doctrines. It is not by such creeds that Christianity can be either taught to the common people, or forced upon the inquiring. By what they omit, they misrepresent the Christian Faith far more than they explain it; and, in the eyes of the people, seem to countenance the rejection of doctrines not included in the summaries expressly enjoined on their belief.

Having brought the reader to the threshold of Mr. Douglas’s system of Religious Truth, we have fulfilled our office, and have only to entreat him to enter and explore for himself its architecture and proportions. We have said enough to shew how highly we estimate the service which the Author has, in these volumes, rendered to the cause of Scriptural Truth; and he is too well known and too justly appreciated, to stand in need of any critical testimonial from us. We consider his writings as a most salutary antidote to the crude and shallow theology, the confused views, and the floating fanaticism of the present day. The second volume, on the Errors regarding Religion, comprises a masterly philosophical analysis of heresy in its various forms, and might be styled the Natural History of Religious Error. Our limits restrain us from adverting more particularly to its contents, but we cannot refrain from transcribing a paragraph from the chapter on the present state of Errors, in which the Writer ad-

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\* Riland “on Church Reform,” pp. 159—166.

verts to the aberrations of Mr. Erskine and his friends, in a spirit of wisdom and kindness which is worthy of him.

‘As a vague representation of the Divine character and the Divine law, gives rise to Antinomianism, so, a confused view of the gospel gives rise to many unscriptural errors respecting the entrance of the way of life. The gospel, as it comes pure from the mouth of God, is most remarkable for its divine simplicity. Its whole tenor consists in the command, “Believe and live.” And if it be asked, what is it that we must believe? the answer is short and plain. Believe that “God so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.” This, however, is too simple a salvation for the taste of men; they are always tempted either to add to it, or to refine upon it. The gospel is infinitely free. But it is not free enough in the opinion of some, and it is too free in the opinion of others. The last seek to guard and fence the divine declarations, lest they should mislead the unwary, and, instead of the simple trust and belief in the gospel, give us subtile distinctions and varieties of faith, that savour more of the ingenuity of casuistry, than of the truth of Scripture. The first, who refine upon the simplicity of the gospel, inform us, that it is a mistake to think that we can be saved by believing the gospel. No, we can only be saved by the gospel believed. Such are the follies into which men run, who proclaim themselves the only true disciples of the Saviour, who think they are the people, and that wisdom shall die with them, and who yet look with more abhorrence on a blood pudding than on the Sabellian heresy, and consider the desecration of the Lord’s day a noble confession of Christian faith and freedom, and a testimony to the truth worthy of the primitive martyrs. Others maintain that we are all pardoned; but that, if we do not believe in this universal pardon, for which there is no other evidence than two or three mis-translations of Scripture, we shall be eternally punished, as well as everlastingly pardoned. The individuals who hold these and other pernicious doctrines, were more likely, a few years ago, to be extensively useful than almost any other individuals. “Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall;” and let all who have the interests of religion and humanity at heart, be earnest in their prayers, that all Christians, and that young converts especially, may be preserved from the many errors which so easily beset them, and that the Divine Spirit may bring back again into the truth, the individuals above alluded to, that they may be delivered from the snare into which they have fallen; and then few will be better able to refute, and none will be more eager to deplore their own hurtful heresies, than themselves.’—*Errors, &c.* pp. 287—9.

Some admirable remarks upon Faith, occur in the chapter on Justification, in the first volume. We shall cite them as a characteristic specimen of the felicitous clearness of ideas and condensed force of expression, which give to Mr. Douglas’s pages their peculiar charm.

‘The only real difficulty respecting faith, is a moral difficulty. *The mind of man is never truly of any opinion which contradicts the bias of*



*his will.* Hence the necessity of the influence of the Holy Spirit to work in us "to will" as well as "to do." On subjects which are indifferent, belief necessarily flows from truth; but the mind easily withdraws its attention from the truths which are disagreeable to it; and we are not surprised at any one for entertaining an opinion contrary to the plainest and most forcible arguments, when we know that his inclination and his interest draw him in an opposite direction.

' If it were not for this, it would be needless to insist upon faith at all; conviction would be inevitable as soon as "the truth as it is in Jesus" was placed before the mind. But when we believe in Christ, we believe against the stream and tendency of our fallen nature. This is the reason why not only the truth is placed before us, but we are commanded and exhorted by the strongest motive to believe it, and why the penalty of unbelief is so distinctly presented before our view. . . .

' The gospel scheme bears that eminently divine stamp of simplicity and apparent weakness in the means, and multiplicity and unmeasurable grandeur in the results. Belief, an act upon which, from its frequency, we scarcely reflect, so rapidly does it pass across our consciousness, but by successive repetitions of which we arrive at all truth—becomes the humble and in itself the inadequate, but, by the power of the Divine Spirit, the mighty instrument of a change, the magnitude of which eternity alone can discover. He who believes, believes to the end; and the acts of faith, though minute, are yet many. *He who believes must be for ever choosing between the visible and the invisible,*—preferring the future to the present, and postponing that world which is visibly spread around him to that larger sphere of existence which the Scriptures hold out to him, but which lies dim and shadowy, unpeopled by present interests, and unshaped by our earthly imaginations. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." By the faith of Jesus "we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal;" and thus, to us faith becomes the "substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."—*Truths, &c.* pp. 264—268.

These volumes are not designed for cursory and unreflecting perusal: they are fitted for the library and the closet, and deserve to be studied by every Christian who wishes to understand his religion. We are almost afraid that the singular limpidness of the style will deceive the superficial reader as to the depth of the current; and that he will miss the thoughts which lie concealed under a transparent diction. There was this advantage attaching to the laboured and rugged periods of older writers, that you had some trouble in construing their meaning, but you could not go away without it. Mr. Douglas must submit to be read, and loudly or languidly commended, by a multitude of well-meaning persons who will not give themselves the trouble to fix their attention upon his thoughts long enough to understand them. His volumes will be pronounced 'highly interesting' and 'talented;' and the topics he has treated, will be

admitted to be 'very important:' such is the criticism of the day. We cannot, however, but cherish the hope, that there are minds which will respond to the notes which he has struck. Among the most auspicious omens of the times, we must regard the appearance of such truly philosophical theologians as the present Writer, and one with whom, if he is not to be identified, he is worthy of being associated, the Author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm; and we may add, such writers as the learned Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, notwithstanding that his theological opinions upon some points are far less entirely accordant with our own. Dr. Whately's "Essays" point out the true way in which the Scriptures must be studied, in order to lead us back to the simplicity of the Christian doctrine.

These are not times in which it will do for ministers and teachers of religion to jog on in the sheep-track of academic orthodoxy. 'An inevitable change is coming over the world. New powers are brought into existence. Whatever is old and established, is of itself already worn out, and will have little strength to contend with the recent and hostile energies which it must speedily encounter.' Such is the note, not of alarm, but of *reveillée* which the present Writer has sounded. Religion has nothing to fear but from her ministers and guardians.

'All things,' he adds, 'are favourable for the spread of infidelity, and if so, for Christianity also; for infidelity has no substance or vitality in itself, and Christianity is the only system which can be established on its ruins. Thus, whatever is gained for knowledge, is gained for Christianity.' *Errors*, p. 275.

There is nothing to alarm us in the spread of infidelity: it ought to be looked for. It is the unavoidable effect of that spread of knowledge which dispels the darkness of superstition, lays open to the day the refuges of lies, and, by destroying false religions, leaves no alternative but either to embrace the Truth as it is in Christ, or openly to reject Christianity. Infidelity is now 'swallowing up other errors:' its office is that of the ichneumon, the vulture, and the crane. It has ever been a pioneer to true religion. But, although alarm is needless and unwarrantable, there is much in the signs of the times to enforce the duty of union, simple-mindedness, and activity on the part of the Christian Church. Theology must lay aside her gown and slippers, and come forth from her schools, and speak the language of the people. Biblical criticism has rendered the most invaluable service to the cause of Scriptural knowledge; but its strength and weakness have both been displayed, and its utmost results are, probably, nearly ascertained; and though true scholarship was never more demanded, all philological trifling, all neological reveries must be swept away. 'Great,'

remarks Mr. Douglas, 'is the power of the Christian ministry, 'if rightly used;'—but, to what causes soever it be attributable, 'at few times has the transforming efficacy of the Spirit less attended the proclaiming of the Gospel, in proportion to the distinguished talents and piety of several who preach it, than at present.' Unquestionably, the neglect of a sound religious education on the part of the people, is one cause of that want of success, and of the decay of the spirit of piety.

With regard, however, to that large mass of the population who, by their own indifference to religion and the licensed desecration of the Sabbath, are placed almost out of the reach of the Christian ministry, the press, that mighty engine for good or evil, affords the only instrumentality by which to bring the truths of religion to bear upon them. Tract-societies and Bible-societies have effected more good than can ever be brought under calculation; but their efficiency, together with that of the immense apparatus of instruction now in operation, is not inherent, not *ex opere operato*, as we are in danger of imagining; and there is reason to fear that it has been of late on the decline. In the mean time, intelligent infidelity, Popery, and the mass of unreached ignorance have been making head, and religious knowledge has been decidedly losing ground among us. Looking at the general character of our popular literature, of the most influential literary journals, and of the daily press,—looking, again, at the proportion of intellect exerted, and of knowledge displayed, on the one side and the other,—we must come, we fear, to the conclusion, that the Press is at this moment more against us than for us,—that the preponderating influence is not on the side of Christianity. We have a Society for the promotion of Christian Knowledge disseminating heresy, a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge excluding Christianity, a London University professing an irreligious neutrality and countenancing neologism; and what have we to oppose an adequate counteractive force? Never did the religious world stand more in need of leaders endued with the spirit of wisdom and foresight, to discern the signs of the times, and to direct the moral energies and resources of the Church. For want of these, we are in danger of being ourselves thrown into disorder by the rashness and immeasurable conceit of a few wrong-headed, sectarian fanatics. It is all very well to go on reprinting Owen, and Baxter, and Doddridge, although to the reproach of the feebleness and poverty of modern theological literature; but what we now more especially stand in need of, is, that the Author of all wisdom would be pleased to raise up some master minds, gifted with the heavenly knowledge, who should be able to create a new literature adapted to the times and impressed with the characters of sanctity,—to introduce

also a reform in our schools of religious knowledge, and re-infuse the vigour of genius into Christian theology. Above all this, and in order to all, we need the cordial combination of the good, in heart and in enterprise; and for this, we need the Spirit of life and love to be poured out abundantly upon us. This is what we must not only desire, but unceasingly invoke; and, to adopt the beautiful language with which, in a recent tract \*, the present Writer closes his exhortation to this duty,—  
 ‘ In pouring forth our supplications before God for our religion and our country, we join the last aspirations that were  
 ‘ breathed from the death-bed of former saints, and from the  
 ‘ fires of the early martyrs, till the whole united cry for deliver-  
 ‘ ance come into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth.’

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Art. II. *Calmuc Tartary*; or a Journey from Sarepta to several Calmuc Hordes of the Astracan Government: from May 26 to Aug. 21, 1823. Undertaken on the behalf of the Russian Bible Society, by Henry Augustus Zwick and John Golfried Schill, and described by the Former. 12mo. pp. 262. Price 7s. London, Holdsworth and Ball, 1831.

**A**MONG the semi-barbarous hordes whom Russia discharged upon the French empire in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, were many bands of the nation improperly called Calmuc Tatars, but who are, in fact, the western branch of that once powerful race who have repeatedly changed the face of Europe, and given sovereigns to Persia, India, and China. The Tatars are properly Toorks or Turks, who are supposed to be the true Scythians of the ancients; a bearded race with curled hair and the European physiognomy. The Calmucs are Mongols, or Moguls, who occupy all the central *plateau* or elevated table land of Central Asia, between the 40th and 50th parallels, and between the Russian and Chinese dominions. The Siolki mountains separate them, on the N.E., from the Mantchoos of the great race of Tongooses. The Thibetans appear to form a fourth distinct race, possibly of mixed origin. They have been conquered by the Calmucs, to whom they appear to have imparted the imperfect civilization and rude superstition originally derived from Hindostan.

Of all these nations, the Calmucs approach the nearest to Europe; and some of their tribes have long ranged over the steppes of Astracan, on both sides of the Volga. At the confluence of the Sarpa (or Sarna) with this river, in about lat. 48°

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\* “Thoughts on Prayer at the present Time.” 8vo. pp. 32. 1830.

30', a small German establishment was founded in the year 1764, by the United Brethren, at the invitation of the Empress Catharine II., which received from the pious settlers, in token of their dependence upon the Divine Providence, the name of Sarepta. The situation seems to have been well chosen, on the great commercial road from Moscow to Astracan, almost on the boundary line between Asia and Europe. The settlement was, however, much exposed to disturbance from the marauding tribes who generally infest a border territory, and some of these wild neighbours repeatedly plundered the establishment. Its misfortunes were completed by a disastrous fire which, in August 1823, destroyed two thirds of the dwellings. But what led to its final abandonment as a missionary station, was the jealousy of the Russian ecclesiastical authorities. In the Annual Circular of the Brethren's Mission Committee for 1823, these circumstances are thus referred to. 'After having, for these two years past, entertained the most pleasing hopes, that the wishes, prayers, and exertions of the congregation at Sarepta in Russian Asia, would at length be crowned with success for the salvation of the Calmuc Tribes, and produce fruit that should remain, circumstances over which we had no control, but which are connected with the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the country, forbid any further progress; and the journey of the Brethren Schill and Zwick among five hordes of Calmucs, to distribute parts of the Holy Scriptures printed in Mongolian, proved the conclusion of their Missionary labours.' \*

It appears that the established Church claimed, in a spirit of despotism answering to the political government, the exclusive prerogative of converting the heathens within the empire, and would not allow of their being received into any other communion than 'the orthodox Greek Church,' where they might be duly taught to worship the sacred pictures, and to adore the Virgin and the Saints. Happily, however, the distribution of the Scriptures with the co-operation of the Russian Bible Society, was not a prohibited labour; and permission was granted to the Brethren, to diffuse among these tribes such portions of the Scriptures as had been translated into the Calmuc language, but on the express condition, that the Missionaries employed should confine themselves to their distribution, and 'refrain from all comment.' The Journey undertaken with this view by Brothers Zwick and Schill, forms the subject of the present interesting narrative.

Fallen and degraded as these nomadic tribes are now, an in-

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\* Miss. Reg. 1825. p. 144. Brother Schill was removed, in 1825, to Antigua, where he died in Nov. 1828.

terest attaches to them as being, according to Pallas and other travellers, the only nations that have retained the ancient language of those Moguls who, in the thirteenth century, subdued the finest districts of Asia. They are believed also to have preserved, in great measure, the manners, dress, and religion of their ancestors. They have, it seems, a traditional literature. Like the Bheels of India, they have their bards, their nobles, and their feudal institutions; and they appear to agree with them in their regard for the horse. Their *gellongs* or priests are, probably, of Thibetan derivation, and correspond to the *rahaans* of Birmah, the monks of the Buddhic polity. The Russian Calmucs, according to our present authority, are divided into five *orda* or hordes\*, each under its own khan and chief: the Derbodian and Torgudan usually reside on the left bank of the Don, extending themselves eastward to the Sarpa; the Erkedian and the Baganzokhan between the Sarpa and the Volga, and the Coschudan on the Aktubak, to the east of the Volga. In the winter, they drive their herds from the steppes, and withdraw, the Derbodians to the Kuma, the Erkedians to the well-wooded shores of the Caspian above Kislär, and one portion of the Torgudans to the same vicinity, while the other division remain in the Sarpa marshes. To the camps of the last mentioned horde, our Travellers first directed their course after entering the steppes. Of these vast pastoral deserts, Mr. Zwick gives the following description.

‘ The steppes in the Government of Astracan, extending northward from the Caspian Sea, on both sides of the Volga, over which the Calmucs and Tartars wander for pasture, are among the most desert parts of the Russian empire. The soil consists almost entirely of yellow clay without stones, and abundantly impregnated with various salts. This fact, as well as the pits and salt-lakes, and the great quantity of unfossilized shells still to be found on the surface of the earth, confirms the opinion of some of the learned, that these steppes were formerly the bottom of a sea, which, in some convulsion of nature, has made its way into the Mediterranean by the straits of Marmora. Supposing this to have been the case, the Caspian, the Sea of Asof, the Black Sea, and all the other seas in the neighbourhood, as being the deepest

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\* According to Malte Brun, the Calmucs call themselves the *Derben-Oeræt* (Four Brothers), and consist of four nations; the *Choshotes* or *Sifans*, occupying the neighbourhood of lake Hoho-nor; the *Songares*, who give name to the country between Ulu-Tagh and the Alak chain; the *Torgotes* of Astracan; and the *Derbetes*, who are now intermixed with the last two nations. The five *orda* mentioned by Mr. Zwick, whom we have called Russian Calmucs, would seem to be all of the Torgote and Derbetian nations, these being the same words, probably, as Torgudan and Derbodian.



parts of that primitive ocean, remained when the waters had elsewhere run off. Except Mount Bogdo\*, which is noble, there are no mountains among these steppes; they seldom, however, present a complete plain, but are more or less hilly, alternately rising gently, and again falling in valleys, so that the prospect is always confined, and seldom allows of a view many miles in extent. Vegetation is exceedingly scanty, consisting chiefly of low-growing wormwood, interspersed with tufts of grass, which never fully cover the ground, or form a uniform turf; these two principal productions of the steppes growing in solitary bunches, between which the yellow ground is seen on all sides. In the valleys, there are here and there places more fertile, but they are commonly covered with salt herbs, fit only for camels. Many parts of the steppes are adorned in spring with the brilliant flowers of the iris, the tulip, and other bulbous-rooted plants, till the raging heat of the sun, which is intercepted by no hill or tree, together with the scarcity of rain during this scorching heat, kills them all. In the southerly steppes, the thermometer often remains for weeks together at 30° of Reaumur, and not a single refreshing cloud appears in the heavens. Overpowering as the heat is in summer, it is not worse than the petrifying cold in winter, when the thermometer is as many degrees below the freezing point; and this is felt the more, because no mountains intervene to keep off the cold air from the east, which comes from the lofty, ice-covered Mongolia in an irresistible stream.

‘One of the marvels of nature, belonging to these steppes, is the looming which takes place here in hot weather. The rays of the sun, reflected from the heated surface of the steppes, and refracted by the slight dew which is drawn from the earth, occasion an optical deception, by which objects not in sight are pictured in the air, at the edge of the mist, as if reared on a stream of water. The images sink by degrees lower and lower, as the spectator approaches, till at last the stream vanishes, and the real landscape is seen at a greater distance, and smaller than it appeared on the mist. If the weary traveller have hoped shortly to reach the desired resting-place, he sees it retreating the faster, the more eagerly he stretches towards it.’ pp. 34—37.

This is the true *mirage*, called by the inhabitants of the Arabian and Persian deserts, *sehráb*, the water of the desert, and by the natives of Rajpootana, *chittrám*, the picture. To this optical illusion, the prophet Isaiah evidently alludes in a passage, the beauty of which has been generally overlooked. Isa. xxxv. 7. “And the *sehráb* shall become a pool, and the thirsty soil springs of water.” Our Translators, not aware that this phenomenon was so called, appear to have read *sehra* (desert), instead of *sehráb*, and have rendered it parched ground. Lowth translates it more expressively, ‘glowing sand;’ and, in his note, he gives the true meaning, although he was not aware

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\* Part of the Altaic range, separating the Songarian deserts from Mongolia or the desert of Cobi. *Bogdo* signifies high priest.

of the etymology of the word. Col. Tod, in giving an account of the *chittrám*, as seen in the deserts of India, and of the still more singular phenomenon of the *see-kote* or castles in the air, states, that he had long imagined that the nature of the soil has some effect in producing this illusory appearance; 'especially as the *chittrám* of the desert is seen chiefly on those extensive plains productive of the *saji*, or alkaline plant, whence, by incineration, the natives produce soda, and whose base is now known to be metallic. But I have since,' he adds, 'observed it on every kind of soil.' He concludes, however, that lands covered with saline incrustations tend to increase the effect of the illusion; and this is strikingly the case with the steppes of the Volga.

The animals inhabiting these deserts, Mr. Zwick says, are wild horses, antelopes (*antelopa sagax*) in great numbers, foxes, wolves, the *dipus jerboa*, and the *mus jaculans*. Serpents and lizards are very common. Scorpions are confined, it is believed, to Mount Bogdo; but millepedes, six or eight inches long, tarantulas, and the still more poisonous scorpion-spider (*phalangium araneoides*) called by the Calmucs *belbussun chàrra*, the black widow, are every where to be met with, and are much dreaded. The praying mantis, called by the Turks the *imaum*, and the *cicada plebeia*, another very curious insect, may be found in great abundance. Swarms of locusts also have their birth here, and often darken the air with their rustling legions, laying waste wherever they settle. Our Travellers had repeated opportunities of witnessing the flight of these winged armies. On one occasion, about sunset,

'They broke in from the south in a terrific swarm, scarcely more than two yards from the ground. They moved towards the north, in a column more than a verst (three quarters of a mile) in width, and which was an hour or more in passing. As this remarkable phenomenon took place not far from our coach, I got into the midst of them, to observe them more closely, and they formed a kind of impenetrable arch just over my head. The noise which they made in flying, resembled that of a loud waterfall at a distance, and was accompanied by a slight rattling.' p. 165.

On their journey, they had previously passed a swarm several versts in width. The whole ground looked as if it had been sprinkled with pea-shells.

'It was curious to observe that their heads were all turned to the west, and that in this direction they were devouring every blade of grass with frightful assiduity. In the sun-shine, their wings appeared like silver or glass, and reflected a tremulous light. Where we passed through their ranks, they rose in thick clouds, with a loud rattling, caused by the flapping of their wings against one another, and con-



tinued whizzing in irregular groupes through the space around us, like snow when it falls in large flakes. The path which they left for us, was about twenty paces wider than our line of march ; and it was immediately filled up at the same distance behind us, as if by falling clouds. They were so nimble, that we found it difficult to catch any of them, particularly as our journey took place in the heat of the day, and in the sunshine, when they are always most active. The dogs were highly delighted with chasing these swarms, and snapping as many as they could out of the air, which they accomplished with more facility in the cool of the evening. Many of these locusts were in their first state, when they are of a dark orange colour ; others had nearly reached their full growth. After a few days, they had almost all completed their change, and they were able to rise like their comrades into the air, to seek out new districts.

‘ Once, when I went in search of insects at this place, (which I always did secretly, that I might give no offence to the Calmucs, who consider it a great sin to kill any creature, and more particularly an insect,) I was observed by some Calmucs, whose curiosity was excited by my stooping so often. They came slowly up to me, to see what I was looking for. I commonly satisfied all inquiries, with the pretext that I was looking for medicinal herbs, which they thought the more probable, as they had a high opinion of our science in the art of healing. On this occasion, I took advantage of the transformation of the locusts, as they happened to be in sight. This spectacle they had never before remarked, and it occasioned the greatest astonishment. Such locusts as were ready for their transformation, were to be seen in numbers, climbing up the stalk of a plant, and then holding themselves in an inverted position with their long legs. After a little while, the creature begins to rock itself backwards and forwards, resting at intervals, as if almost exhausted ; then shaking itself again with increasing violence, until the breast and head break through, the old covering by continued effort is thrown off, and the insect appears in its perfect state. The wings now grow to their full size, and appear to strengthen before the eyes of the observer, and acquire, by exposure to the air, their natural colour and splendour. While the boys were busied in seeking more blades of grass with locusts upon them, the spectators unceasingly repeated their exclamations of *Dalai Lama ! Dalai Lama ! Chair Khan ! Chair Khan !* or *Kuhrku ! Kuhrku !* at the sight of a process of nature, which had been unknown to them, though it had passed under their eyes.’ pp. 147—149.

This species of locust (*gryllus migratorius*) is from three to four inches in length. The head and breast are of a dingy green ; the throat, dark brown ; the eyes, large and black ; the exterior case of the wing is of a dirty, yellowish green with many dark spots, shewing the black wings at a little distance ; the body and the legs are pale yellow, with black marks on the inside of the legs. The wings, which at first do not cover the whole body, when full-grown, reach far beyond it. When they settle, they devour not only every thing green, but the

stems of the shrubs, the weeds of the sea, and the very felt on the tents, if suffered to descend unmolested. When compelled to migrate in search of food, they usually move off about dusk. This species, as well as the *gryllus cristatus*, which was the food of John the Baptist, and is still eaten in Arabia, is prepared in different ways by the Oriental nations. The Calmucs are restrained from eating them by their Buddhist scruples; but the Missionaries were told, that wolves, dogs, antelopes, sheep, and other animals that have fattened upon them, are much sought after.

‘ The wolves seldom or never attack the flocks of the Calmucs when the locusts are at hand, because they can satisfy themselves with these insects. A circumstance which happened some years ago at Sarepta, is sufficient to prove that locusts are excellent food. The hogs in that neighbourhood became unusually fat, by having been fed for some time entirely upon dead locusts which had been drowned in the Volga, and thrown in heaps on the shore.’ p. 146.

Among the birds which haunt these steppes are, the crane, the swallow, the red duck (*anas cæsarea*), the *falco bucocephalus*, and other species of eagle. Falconry is in high estimation among the Calmucs; and there are persons whose whole occupation it is to rear and train falcons for their chief. The lakes are also frequented by various tribes of water-fowl.

Upon the whole, Mr. Zwick remarks, these steppes are rich in objects interesting to the naturalist; ‘ but, on account of their difficulty of access, which even Asiatic hospitality cannot remedy, they are seldom visited by Europeans, except by the few whose office and duty compel them.

‘ In a desert where, for a day’s journey together, you find neither the habitation of man nor a pool of water, where the pastoral tribes continually change their position, the traveller is in danger of perishing in the wilderness, if he be not provided with an experienced guide. The Russian cattle-dealers and pedlars, who are induced by the love of gain to overlook danger, and toil, and wants of various kinds, are the only people who are occasionally tempted to enter these deserts. The native inhabitants are Moguls, Tartars, Kirguses, and pastoral Cossacks.’ p. 38.

The difficulties and perils to be encountered by the intruder into these deserts, do not arise merely from the nature of the country. The different clans are often at war with each other. Hereditary feuds give rise to continual skirmishing; and the wells, as in patriarchal days, are a never-failing occasion of strife in these parched wastes. The valleys and other places are almost exclusively named from these wells. Thus we have, ‘ the Valley of Worms’, so named because the water of a well which it contains is full of worms; the *Uluhan Chuduk*, or Red

**Wells**, in a large sand-hill; the *Chargaihn Chuduk*, or Pine Wells, so called, not because any species of pine is to be found on the steppes, but because the wells have been, in former times, boarded at the sides with pine-wood. Many of these wells are bitter, and often undrinkable. During one of their halts, owing to the endless discussions with the Russians and Calmucs about the use of a well, the Tatars attendant upon our Missionaries, dug a new one.

‘ They found, at the depth of about 18 feet, three springs of sweet water, which soon filled the well five or six feet deep. Their joy was the greater, as the water in the old well had become bitter. Every body came to our well, and tried to make friends of our people, that they might have some of the water. Unluckily, our triumph was soon over, for, in a few days, the water of the new well was the bitterer of the two, owing to a vein of blue marl over which it flowed. Both these wells were called by the Calmucs, *Nemeseh Chuduk* (German Wells), in honour of us ; and the name will probably be retained for generations, as a memorial of our visit.’ pp. 86, 7.

‘ Our father Jacob gave us this well ’, said the Samaritan woman to our Lord, more than seventeen hundred years after the transaction referred to. “ But the water that I have to give ”, was the reply she received, “ shall be a well of water within him who drinketh, springing up to life eternal.” When we read of these disputes about wells, and the jealousy of the proprietors respecting them, how strikingly beautiful does the metaphor seem, by which the free and universal offers of Divine mercy are expressed in the sacred writings! “ If any man thirst, let him come unto me (q. d. my well) and drink.” “ Ho, every one that thirsteth, come to the waters.”

At the time of the journey undertaken by these pious Missionaries, the Derbodian and some of the Torgudan hordes were at variance, in consequence of an unextinguished feud between their chieftains. The contest would have been very unequal, as the division of Torgudans numbered only four hundred tents, and the Derbodians were reckoned at from ten to twelve thousand ; but other divisions of Torgudans took part with those of their own nation who had originated the quarrel, and they made up for inferior numbers by their superior activity and vigour. The Torgudans are a hardier race than the Derbodians, and inured to greater privations from ranging over barren, waterless steppes ; and as they subsist, in summer, chiefly by the chase of the antelope, they are almost universally provided with guns, which is not the case with the more numerous nation. Their horses are also decidedly superior, both in swiftness and in the capability of sustaining fatigue. Those of the Derbodians, though accustomed to richer pasture, and apparently in better condition, are not so strong. These feuds

had now lasted and gained strength during three years. Two only of all the hordes, the Erkedes on the western bank of the Volga, and the Coschudans on the eastern shore, remained neutral; each estimated at 1000 tents; so that, of 20,000 tents of Calmucs within the territory of Astracan, there were, at this time, only 2000 at peace, and 3000 were in arms against about 15,000.

It was on the 30th of May, 1823, that Mr. Zwick, his brother Missionary, and their attendants, left the last Russian village, called Tschornoiia, and fairly plunged into the steppes. Their course lay in a westerly direction to the Torgudan encampment beyond the banks of the Sarpa. On the 2d of June, they reached the camp of Prince Erdeni, consisting of about 100 tents.

‘ It stood in an inconsiderable valley, in the midst of which were a few wells. To the north of these were the royal tents, viz. that of Erdeni himself, the hall of justice, and the tent of Princess Mingmer (the Prince’s daughter): to the south, the *Churulls* (temples), and the huts of the High Priest or Lama. Round these, in a wide semicircle, were the tents of the inferior priests or *gellongs*; and these again were inclosed by the ministers and servants of the Prince. The doors of all the tents were directed towards the principal temple and the interior of the semicircle.’ p. 57.

The Calmuc tents, called in their own language *gerr*, and in Russian, *kibitka*, are composed of a circular frame-work of willow laths, carved and painted in red stripes, and fastened with leathern thongs, with a funnel-shaped roof, ending in a blunt point. The lattice-work which forms the wall, is not quite the height of a man. The whole is covered with coarse, porous, unfilled felts, secured with woollen girths and bands. The tents of the Princes and the Lama, and those which are used as temples, are distinguished by their size, the whiteness of their covering, and their peculiar position. The residence of the Prince is also marked by a long spear projecting on the left of the door-way, from the upper end of which hang two bunches of black horse-hair, which seem to resemble the banners of the Tatars and Turks. A smaller banner is placed in the same manner over the hall of justice.

Erdeni was found seated in the Asiatic fashion, on a cushion in the interior of his tent, his wife on his right hand, and their little son with his nurse on his left hand. The Prince was dressed in a short Calmuc coat of blue cloth, a mottled silk waistcoat, white trowsers, and a thick velvet cap trimmed with sable, and ornamented with a red tassel and gold loop. He was playing on the *domber*, or Calmuc guitar. The Princess wore a blue and white dress over a red silk petticoat, ornamented with gold flowers: she had on her head a high, square

Calmuc cap of Persian gold muslin, trimmed, like her husband's, with sable and a large silk tassel. The tent was about ten yards in height, and as many in diameter, furnished all round with carpets. Opposite to the door was the Prince's throne, or *musnud*, as the Persians would call it; a cushion covered with green cotton, beneath a canopy of the same material. On each side was suspended an image; the left represented the dreadful idol *Bansaraksa*; the right consisted of a collection of astrological circles and many figures of different colours. Both were designed to guard the young Prince against evil. To the left of the throne was the altar, on which were silver vessels, containing rice and other offerings: a bench was in front of it, and behind it a number of chests, piled one upon another, and covered with a Persian cloth. Above was a wooden shrine, with a well-formed gilt image of Shag Shamony, the founder of their religion. On the right of the Prince, there was another heap of chests, covered with Persian cloth, on which stood a few trinket-boxes belonging to the Princess. In the middle of the tent was a hearth, with a cresset and a common tea-kettle; and on the left of the door stood a few pails and cans containing *tchigan*, or sour mare's milk, the chief subsistence of the wealthier Torgudans in the summer season. The poorer sort are compelled to content themselves with cow's milk.

The Missionaries were furnished with sealed letters of protection and recommendation to the heads of the different hordes, from Count Nesselrode, the Minister of Asiatic and Foreign Affairs. Erdeni read the letter presented to him twice through with great attention, and then inquired their names, and the immediate object of their journey. He next inquired in a friendly manner after his old acquaintances, Brothers Schmidt of Petersburg, and Loos of Sarepta. After Calmuc tea and *tchigan* had been served, the Missionaries took their leave. In the evening, and repeatedly afterwards, they were entertained till night by the loud music of the *gellongs*, performing their Thibetan litany. The predominant instruments were, a kind of oboe, horns, and the drum. The same music was heard also from the *churull* of the neighbouring camp of another Torgudan chief.

At a second visit, the Missionaries laid before his Highness the presents they had brought, consisting of Sarepta cloth, tobacco, and gingerbread, with which he was much pleased. Erdeni and his wife each smoked immediately a pipe of tobacco; half of the gingerbread was sent to the Lama, and a share was hospitably allotted to all present. With regard to the object of their mission, however, the Prince was politely evasive;—spoke of the necessity of consulting the Lama,—and con-

trived to keep them in attendance for almost a month without obtaining a definitive answer. At length, Erdeni gave them a letter, authorizing such of his subjects as chose, to receive books from the strangers, from whom he had himself condescended to receive two copies. Not one of his encampment, however, could be induced to follow his equivocal example, owing, as it would seem, to the influence of the *gellongs*. The common remarks which were made on all sides, by both priests and people, were to this effect.

‘ “ We have *nomm* (religious instruction) enough of our own, such as our fathers had before us, and want no new teaching. Our own *nomm* is good, for it was taught and given by the Gods themselves, and therefore we must not forsake it. The new *nomm* comes from Russia, and the Germans are the ministers of it. If we attend to this new *nomm*, our fine old *nomm* and all the splendid religious ceremonies which belong to it, will fall to the ground ; our priesthood, our support with the Gods, will come to an end ; and we shall lose our freedom and independence. If we receive these books, they will send us popes from Russia, to teach us more, and to try to lead us from our old faith. They will not let us be herdsmen any longer ; we shall be forced to drive the plough, like the Russians ; then we shall be made to pay taxes, and be enrolled for soldiers, like the Cossacks ; in a word, we shall be ruined, if we suffer ourselves to be taken in by the seemingly innocent proposition of the Germans.” ’ pp. 117, 18.

These alarms were no doubt artfully instilled by the *gellongs* into the minds of the people, who would not have been likely to see so very far into the possible consequences of accepting a few copies of the Scriptures, or to regard with distrust the worthy Germans—‘ *Danaos dona ferentes*.’ Here, as among the other hordes whom they subsequently visited, the most absurd reports were propagated ; for instance, that every one who received a book, was also to receive a sum of money, by which he would bind himself to become a Russian, that is, a Christian. No wonder that, prepossessed with this idea of Christianity, they should cling to their old *nomm* and independence.

Of the nature of this *nomm* \*, so very interesting and attractive, two circumstances will convey a sufficient idea. The learning of the priests is confined to reading prayers and holy writings in the Thibetan language, which few of them understand ; and the liturgy is chiefly performed, not by steam indeed, but by machinery. Our readers must have heard of the prayer-mills of the poor, misguided votaries of Lama-ism. The following description is given of them.

‘ The *kurdu*, or prayer machine, consists of hollow wooden cylinders

\* Probably from the Sanscrit, *namasia*, prayer.



of different sizes, filled with Tangud writings. The cylinders are painted with red stripes, and adorned with handsome gilt letters in the Sanscrit character, commonly containing the formula, *Om-ma-ni-bad-mel-chum*. Each of these is fixed upon an iron axis, which goes through a square frame: this frame is capable of being shut up flat, and is formed upon a small scale, much like a weaver's sheering machine. Where the lower parts of the frame cross, there is a hole, in which the axis of the cylinder turns; by means of a string, which is attached to a crank in the spindle, the machine can be kept in motion, so that the cylinder turns in the frame like a grind-stone (only upright) upon its axis. Before the fire at Sarepta, we had two large *kurdus* of this kind, with Tangud writings of all sorts, rolled one upon another round the spindle, in the inside of the cylinder, to the length altogether of some hundred feet. These prayer-mills perform a much more important office than a rosary, which only serves to assist the person who prays. The Moguls believe that it is meritorious respectfully to set in motion (whether by the wind or otherwise) such writings as contain prayers and other religious documents, that the noise of these scraps of theology may reach to the Gods, and bring down their blessing. As these prayer-machines usually contain the Tangud formula, which is serviceable to all living creatures, (repeated, it may be, ten thousand times, so that there is a multiplication of power, like that in the English machines, equivalent to the labour of so many individuals,)—as prayer can, in this manner, be carried on like a wholesale manufactory, it is not very surprising that prayer-mills are so commonly to be found in the houses of the Moguls: an ingenious contrivance this, for storming Heaven with the least possible trouble! pp. 119, 20.

The religion of the Calmucs, and of the other Mogul nations of Central Asia, is substantially the same that has diffused itself over Thibet, the Birman Empire, Siam, Ceylon, Japan, and China. Their *Schagdschamuni*, as Mr. Zwick writes the word, is no other than the *Sakya Moonee*, or Divine Philosopher of the Cingalese, the *Shoomoono-Kodam* of Siam, the *Shakhu Moonee* of Bengal, and the *Maha Moonee* of Bootan and Tibet. His *alias* is Gaudama Boodha; and there is little reason to doubt that the personage in question, the founder, or perhaps the reformer of the Boodhic faith, was the son of a sovereign of Magadha in Bahar, who is supposed to have flourished in the sixth century before the Christian era. According to the Calmuc tradition, as reported by the present Writer, this 'Buddh Shagdschamuni'

'sent the Divine Chomshin Bodhissadoa into the snowy Tangut (Thibet), to whom he imparted his instructions, and particularly the formula *Om-ma-ni-pad-mel-chum*, the meaning of which nobody has ever revealed: it is, however, the root of all knowledge, the path of salvation for all creatures; and the mere repetition of it, though it be but once, is an infinite merit in the estimation of the Buddh Shankiamuni.

**Chomshin** is the most revered of all the Buddhs in Thibet, except **Shagdshamuni** himself, since it was he who undertook the conversion of the nation, and introduced the form of prayer which is for ever on the lips of all the Buddhists. He is at all times incarnate in the person of the Dalai Lama, who lives, as Chomshin once did in his own person, in a temple on the Thibetian Mount Putala, where he receives divine honours.' p. 76.

From other authorities we learn, what sufficiently agrees with this, that the last Buddhist patriarch who reigned in Hindostan, was **Bodhi-dharma**, who, in consequence, probably, of the persecution raised by the Brahmins, sailed from Bengal to China, and took up his residence near the celebrated mountain of **Soung**, in the vicinity of **Ho-nan**, where he died, A.D. 495. He bequeathed his office and the secret doctrine to a Chinese disciple, who assumed the name of *Tsoui-Kho*, with the title of **Moonee** (philosopher)\*. **Boddi-dharma** is, probably, the same personage as **Bodhissadoa**, (which is evidently the same word as the Cashmerian *Bodhisatwa*,) and his alias of **Chomshin** is, no doubt, an honorific title. Mr. Zwick assigns 400 years B. C. as the date of the establishment of this religion in Thibet; whence, he says, 'it made its way, in 1250, to the Moguls, and 'soon became the sole and universal religion among them.' No document or authority is cited in support of this statement, which, on the very face of it, involves some strange blunder, as it is wholly incredible that more than 1600 years should have elapsed before the Buddhist superstition spread from Thibet to Mongolia. That it established itself in the former country before it was disseminated over China, is, indeed, highly probable. It is the general belief in Thibet, that their religion, sciences, and arts had alike their origin in the holy city of **Benares**; and Mr. Zwick says, that the **Tangud** or **Thibetan** character is derived from the **Sanscrit**, being, like that, written from left to right, although, on a superficial survey, it has much resemblance to the **Chaldee** or **Hebrew**. Most of the writings which remain among the **Mogul** tribes, are, he says, in the **Tangud** language and character; and every young ecclesiastic is bound to learn enough of this language, to be able to join in the chorus of the **Tangud** litany; but it is rare to find among the **Calmucs** one who knows any thing of the language. On the other hand, the greater part of the **gellongs** are ignorant of the **Mogul** or **Calmuc** character, affecting to understand only the sacred language, which it is unlawful to use on common occasions. By this means, they conceal their ignorance of both. A learned **gellong** informed Mr. Zwick, that their **Lama** had

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\* Mod. Trav. Vol. XI. p. 106.



some old Burat-Mogul writings, which nobody in the horde could read. The Burat or Bourout Moguls inhabit the mountains of Alatag or Aktag, between Anzijan and Kashgar, near the northern frontiers of Little Bucharía, or what has been called Chinese Toorkestan. They are the same people as the *Kara-Kirghiz* (Black Kirghiz or Kirguses), who were once a powerful nation, and are quite a different race from the nomade tribes improperly called, by the Russians, Kirghiz-Kaissaks, with whom they have been confounded.

With regard to the mysterious formula above mentioned, (which is differently printed in the volume,) it is doubtless of Indian origin; and the first syllable gives us the mystic monosyllable with which a Brahmin begins and ends a lecture of the Veda, the recital of any sacred legend, or the performance of a religious rite. The Brahmins, who make it a word of three letters, A. U. M., pretend that it is composed of the initials of their three principal deities. Other explanations, however, are given, which shew that its original import is unknown to the learned Hindoos themselves. Col. Wilford finds in this word and two other Sanscrit terms, the origin of the *Korymbos* of the Eleusinian mysteries. We cannot help suspecting that the word is an ancient form of the participle of the substantive verb *Εἰμί*, and that it may be expressive of self-existence. But etymology is dangerous ground, and we forbear. In their funeral customs, these Calmucs resemble the ancient Medes and the modern Parsees. Their common dead, instead of being interred, are exposed as food for the vultures and the dogs. The practice is different, however, in respect to the princes and lamas, whose corpses are burned, as amongst the Birmans, with great solemnity; but what is peculiar, we apprehend, to these Mongols, the ashes, mixed with mortar, are employed in building a chapel or a tomb on the site of the funeral pile. One of these mausoleums is thus described.

‘ This chapel was erected to the memory of the late Tongud Prince Sandshi Ubashi, father of the Prince Zerren Ubashi; and his ashes, as the Calmucs informed me, are mixed with the mortar which cements and whitens the building. The foundation of this edifice is of stone, upon which is erected a wooden chapel, with steps up to it. It was about four paces long, and the same in breadth, with a flat roof, and upon it a kind of tower. A small window on the south side was the sole aperture in the building. In the inside was a shelf with cups and other offerings, an altar, an old wooden writing-table, bunches of horse-hair, a few copper coins, and a number of small cones, (called *zaza*,) which are prepared by the priests as offerings. On the walls were frightful images of the four Macharanza Khans, (or kings of a particular class of spirits, called Macharanza,) who are supposed to inhabit Mount Sommer. The image on the south wall, (in which the

opening was made,) was blue; that on the wall to the right of it, white; to the left, yellow; opposite to the opening, red. All four had huge round eyes, and hair standing straight on end. In their hands, they had weapons or musical instruments. The object of these chapels seems to be principally to honour the memory of the Princes or Lamas; but they serve, at the same time, as shrines or temples.'

pp. 137, 8.

The *tumuli* which are found throughout the steppes, and which our Travellers met with 'most plentifully on the willowy shores of the Volga, the Sarpa, the Manitsh, the Kuma, and 'the Aktubah', probably belong to different ages and different races; but the majority of them, Mr. Zwick thinks, are undoubtedly to be ascribed to the Tatars of the ancient Kamshatkan empire which was founded there.

'I saw', he adds, 'a great number of these hillocks near the ruins of their principal cities, Serag and Tchigis. Others are probably of older date. Those on which there are stone pillars in the Mogul style, appear to be of great antiquity, as they were in existence long before the time of Ruisbroek, in the year 1260, and were then regarded as the graves of a nation which had passed away and been forgotten. From the antiquity of these graves, and the Mogul style of the pillars, they may not improbably have belonged to that tribe of Moguls who were inhabitants of this neighbourhood, in the fifth century, under the formidable name of Huns. Two of these hillocks exhibited the remains of a square building of brick, which resembled the foundation of a Tatar monument.' pp. 53, 4.

Upon the whole, this volume gives a much more favourable picture of the Calmucs, than we had been led to expect from the imperfect notices furnished by Dr. Clarke, Mr. Bell, and Professor Pallas. That they are by no means unsusceptible of civilization, has been amply evinced by those of their nation who have entered the Russian service. Prince Sered Dscheh, colonel in the Russian army, and knight of several orders, is honourably distinguished, by his information and manners, from the other Calmuc princes, and has already done much for the civilization of his subjects, 'who fear him more than they love him, because they regard all his attempts at melioration as so many pernicious innovations.' He resides on the left bank of the Volga, in a large wooden castle, which he fortified with Russian outworks, when he returned from the French war. The interior is well fitted up with mahogany furniture, lustres, mirrors, clocks, a billiard-table, and a pianoforte; and at his table, Greek and French wines, including champagne, are served, while, during and after dinner, a band of Calmucs, headed by a Russian, perform with expertness German marches and symphonies. Mr. Zwick had the honour of dining with

this intelligent nobleman, and represents the conversation at table as easy and unconstrained: it was carried on generally in Russian, occasionally in Calmuc or Tatar, and sometimes in German.

After a journey over the steppes of nearly 900 miles, the Missionaries reached Sarepta only to find the Establishment laid in ruins by the recent conflagration! We know not to whom the public are indebted for the translation of this highly interesting narrative, but he has rendered a most acceptable service.

**Art. III.** *The Great Mystery of Godliness incontrovertible; or, Sir Isaac Newton and the Socinians foiled in the attempt to prove a corruption in the text 1 Tim. iii. 16.* By E. Henderson, Professor of Divinity and the Oriental Languages at Highbury College. 8vo. pp. 96. Holdsworth and Ball. 1830.

**P**REVIOUSLY to the close of the year 1690, Sir Isaac Newton had employed himself in the examination of the question relating to the genuineness of two passages of Scripture comprised in the common editions of the New Testament,—1 John v. 7, and 1 Tim. iii. 16; and at that time, he had drawn up an account of the results of his investigation of these texts, which he proposed to publish. Whatever might be his inducement to an anonymous publication of his remarks, he resolved to send them forth without his name; and in furtherance of his design, he availed himself of his friendship with Locke, to whom he addressed his request, that he would procure a translation of his papers into the French language, and publish the work abroad; reserving to himself the option of ‘putting it forth,’ at a subsequent period, ‘into English.’ His illustrious Correspondent was at the time meditating a voyage to Holland, and undertook the commission; but, not proceeding thither, he transmitted the papers to Le Clerc, with instructions to have them published. Sir Isaac, not apprised of this circumstance, and knowing that Locke had not quitted England, concluded that the papers were still in his possession. On learning that he had parted with them, he expressed his regret to Locke, in a letter dated Feb. 16th 1694, in which he intreats, that the translating and printing of his manuscripts might not be proceeded with, it being his ‘design to suppress them;’ and in a subsequent letter, he informs his correspondent, that he ‘was glad the edition was stopped.’ The papers appear to have remained in the hands of Le Clerc, by whom, probably, they were deposited in the Library of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam. Neither Locke nor Le Clerc appears to have in any

manner betrayed the confidence reposed in them. The latter seems to refer to Newton's tract, in his epistle to Optimianus, published in Kuster's edition of Mill's New Testament, 1709; where he speaks of a dissertation on the text 1 Tim. iii. 16, by an anonymous writer, worthy of being published. Newton's manuscript was printed, it appears, in 1734; and in 1754, there appeared, by an anonymous editor, not acquainted with the history of the papers, "Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Mr. Le Clerc." In this edition, the remarks of Newton were very imperfectly printed, and the title is quite conjectural. They were afterwards published by Horsley, in his edition of Newton's works, from a complete copy in the Author's own hand-writing, with the title, "An Historical Account of two Notable Corruptions of Scripture, in a Letter to a Friend."

This "Historical Account" has been recently reprinted, and duly announced by advertisement, as "Sir Isaac Newton on Trinitarian Corruptions of Scripture." The simple republication of the tract, we should have felt no inclination to blame, as any person so disposed, must be allowed the full liberty of giving to the world the productions of Sir Isaac Newton, or of any other distinguished individual, whose labours he may deem adapted to expose error and elicit truth. But we do not like to see illiberal and unjust imputations put forth in connection with illustrious names, and cannot but regard the artifice employed to force the tract into circulation, as a most disingenuous proceeding. 'Trinitarian Corruptions of Scripture,' is a designation which must be understood as importing wilful alterations of the sacred text by the adherents to Trinitarian doctrines; and less than this could scarcely be intended in the insinuation of the parties from whom it emanated. Suppose we should describe the reading which Sir Isaac Newton has endeavoured to establish, as a Unitarian Corruption of Scripture, would these same parties be slow to impugn our justice or our candour? That reading (*ô, which*) is a various lection, and nothing more; and its claim to a place in the genuine text of the New Testament, must be tried by an examination of the authorities which can be adduced in its behalf. That many of those authorities support Trinitarian doctrines, is not to be denied. The Vulgate exhibits it; and the authors of that Version, and the copyists who enlarged its circulation and its influence, were Trinitarians. Why did not they substitute the reading *Deus* in the place of *quod*? 'Trinitarian Corruption' would not have been attributed to such a change; and Unitarian corruption could not wilfully be intruded into the text by Trinitarians. If the Scriptures have at any time been wilfully corrupted, were there no other persons than such as professed Trinitarian tenets, who had the opportunity and the inclination

to interpolate, or mutilate them, and to change their terms in passages which they disliked, for others which would serve their purpose? If there has been dishonesty in the transcribers or owners of manuscripts of the New Testament, would any knowledge of human nature which we possess, require us to put to the account of only one party, the disposition to act fraudulently, and to accomplish their designs by the practice of falsehood? It is easy to make charges, and to attribute to parties dishonest conduct; and in theological controversies, it has not been an unusual proceeding for disputants to allege against their opponents the wilful perversion of the sacred record to which their common appeal must be made. But, in the present state of our critical information, we should certainly not be prepared to form a favourable judgement of any scholar who should think that his cause could be supported by insinuations such as we find in the announcement of "SIR ISAAC NEWTON on Trinitarian Corruptions of Scripture."

If there be, in any passage of the New Testament, a corrupt reading, let it be fairly exposed. But if, of several readings which the collation of manuscripts, Versions, and other appropriate authorities, places before us for our decision and approval, one is preferred, as appearing to be better sustained by evidence than its competitors,—the advocates of other readings, unless they be wanting in the liberal and upright feeling which true learning loves to associate with itself, will not be found exciting and directing prejudice against the parties from whom they differ.

But the modern editors of Sir Isaac Newton's tract, are as deficient in generosity or justice towards the illustrious philosopher, as they are to others; for, if the reading which he affirms to be the true one, is not the reading adopted by the parties who reject 'Trinitarian Corruptions of Scripture',—if another reading is exhibited by them as the original one,—it would seem to be no improper conclusion, that Newtonian 'Corruptions of Scripture' would have been as correct a designation of the tract which they have republished. <sup>OC</sup> *εφανερωθη*, 'He who was manifested', is a very different reading from <sup>O</sup> *εφανερωθη*, which (i. e. the mystery) was manifested: the former is the reading of the Improved Version; the latter is the reading maintained by Newton in his tract. To sustain this allegation, it is only necessary to remark, that the designation, 'On 'Trinitarian Corruptions of Scripture', is intended not merely to convey the imputation that Trinitarians have tampered with the manuscripts of the New Testament, and falsified its readings, but that they are still intentionally engaged in maintaining them. On the use of the above offensive terms, Dr. Henderson very properly remarks;

First, they are intended to imbue the public mind with the belief, that Trinitarians, in order to support their system, scruple not to falsify the records of Divine truth ; and, that this falsification is not confined to a few solitary instances, but has been practised to some considerable extent. Had there been no such design, why not candidly state the whole head and front of their offending, as alleged in Sir Isaac's impeachment ? Why, instead of announcing "two corruptions", or, if deemed preferable, "two *notable* corruptions of Scripture", is it given indefinitely, as if scores, or even hundreds of passages had suffered from the fraudulent hand of Trinitarian corruption. Secondly, the celebrated name of Sir Isaac Newton is put forth to support with its high sanction the cause of Antitrinitarianism ; and superficial thinkers, or such as may not possess the means of determining what were the real sentiments of "the first of philosophers", will naturally suppose that he espoused that cause, and that a system of opinions which commanded the approval of so mighty a mind, cannot but be true.' p. 3.

Names, however great, afford no security for the truth of opinions. In religious questions, they are of no avail ; nor is a question of criticism to be determined by the celebrity of the writers who may give it their support. The sagacity and the talents of Newton, exerted in the investigation of the phenomena of the universe, will for ever command the admiration of mankind ; but his eminence in mathematical science has not been conceded without the most convincing proofs being obtained of the correctness of his principles, and the exactness with which he directed the application of them, in the results of his patient labours. In like manner, whatever reputation he may claim as a theological writer, must depend upon the merits of the works which he has left us ; and these afford in no instance occasion for the development of his religious sentiments. In examining his "Observations upon the Prophecies of Holy Writ", or his "Historical Account", the creed which he professed, can form no part of our proper business\*. The only question which concerns us in the present investigation, is that which relates to the correctness of Newton's statements and the truth of his conclusions ; in respect to which, the assertors of Newton's superi-

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\* It deserves remark, however, that the letter itself exhibits no proof that the writer was a Socinian ; nor is it possible to believe Sir Isaac Newton to have been a Unitarian, without impeaching his integrity. He was by profession and worship a Trinitarian ; and the unsupported assertion of Hopton Haynes would affect not merely his orthodoxy, but his honesty. We regret that Dr. Henderson should have linked the name of the great philosopher with the Socinians in his title-page. Upon this point, we have pleasure in referring our readers to a paper, entitled, 'Was Sir Isaac Newton a Unitarian?' inserted in the Spirit of the Pilgrims, June 1830, and reprinted in the Congregational Magazine for December last.



ority as a Biblical critic, will find themselves but very incompetently supported by the evidence to which their appeal is made. The authenticity of the text in 1 Tim. iii. 16, is a subject which, we trust, we can examine dispassionately; and our readers will find, before they conclude the present article, that we are not less vigilant to guard the application of the established laws of criticism against the inaccuracies and misconceptions of an advocate of what we believe to be the true and authentic meaning, than to expose the faults and unfair proceedings of its opponents.

In an early volume of our former series\*, we entered somewhat copiously into the consideration of the evidence relating to the text 1 Tim. iii. 16, principally for the purpose of estimating the value of Griesbach's doctrine of an Alexandrine recension applied to the criticism of doubtful passages in the New Testament. With Griesbach's mode of settling that important text, we professed ourselves to be dissatisfied; and after a very patient investigation of the evidence adduced by that distinguished critic, we found ourselves conducted to the conclusion, that the common reading, *θεος, God*, is sustained by the preponderating weight of the external authorities. We are not prepared to abandon that opinion. We do not, however, hold it so tenaciously as we do some other readings which have been disputed, but for which very satisfactory proofs of genuineness have been obtained. In the determination of the text of the New Testament, the Greek manuscripts are of primary importance, and are the first class of vouchers to be examined; and these cannot be fairly and fully examined in the instance under notice, without, as it appears to us, leading to the conclusion, that their support is very powerfully given to the common reading. We should not, however, describe the *whole* evidence available for the discovery of the true reading, as being so easily or so confidently to be disposed of as some critics have seemed to represent it. Much of the evidence is of an extremely perplexed description; and if the preponderance is, as we think, in favour of one reading out of three, yet, will so much weight be found in the opposite scale as to diminish its force, and to deprive us of some portion of the confidence which is produced by proof that is unambiguous and complete. Our assent, we repeat, is yielded to the claims of the common reading. But we do not agree with Dr. Henderson, that the whole evidence is such as to 'demand an *unhesitating* reception' of it as the true one. That his examination of the evidence is not on all points satisfactory, will appear in the sequel.

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\* E. R. N. S. Vol. IV. pp. 178-187, Art. Laurence's Remarks on Griesbach's Classification.

Dr. Henderson has very fairly disposed of the argument (as Berriman had done before him) urged by Sir Isaac Newton and some others, from the relation given by Liberatus of Carthage, in the sixth century, that Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, was banished by the Emperor Anastasius, for corrupting the Greek copies of the Scriptures by the insertion of the word *θεός*, *God*, in the place of *ὁ*, *which*, in the passage 1 Tim iii. 16. We profess ourselves to be very incredulous respecting accounts of this nature. Violent alterations in the text of the New Testament have been of much less frequent occurrence than it has been agreeable to the views and inclinations of some writers to represent; and particular instances of depravation have been too rashly magnified into general violations of its integrity. The whole of the Greek copies were not within the reach of Macedonius, or of any other individual, to use them at their pleasure. If we are to take as evidence the mere assertion of a writer, we shall find it necessary to admit the report of Liberatus as amounting to nothing more than the restoration of the text by Macedonius to its primitive state, since it has been attributed to Eusebius in the fourth century, that he expunged the word *θεός*, and supplied its place by another term. The very circumstance, however, that the copies of the Greek New Testament were not in the custody of Bishops, but dispersed abroad, in the possession of persons widely remote from each other,—is of itself a more powerful argument against sweeping allegations of their wilful depravation, than any such vague accusation as is reported in the Breviary of Liberatus. On Sir Isaac Newton's treatment of the Greek manuscripts, Dr. Henderson's strictures (p. 21.) are altogether just.

The manuscript authorities cited by Griesbach in his note on the passage, are distributed as follows:—‘*CODICES A C F G Gr. 17. 73. legunt ὁς, D\* habet ὁ, cæteri, quos novimus, omnes exhibent θεός.*’ Few as are the manuscripts produced in support of the first two of these readings, there is some difficulty in knowing how to deal with them as witnesses; the admissibility of the testimony of A C F and D\* being disputed, on account of the state in which they now appear, and the conflicting opinions of the critics who have examined them. If the exclusion of all doubt in reference to them be a condition of their being heard, A, the Alexandrine MS., C, the Codex Ephrem, and F, the Codex Augiensis, will be excluded from the first set; and the manuscript authority will then be G, the Codex Boernerianus, 17. 73, on the side of *ὁς*, and *ὁ* will be destitute of all support from the existing Greek MSS. This condition, Dr. Henderson requires; and accordingly he states, that *ὁ* is absolutely ‘without one positive and indisputable testimony, and that *ὁς*, adopted by Griesbach, is clearly supported by the suffrage



' of only *three* manuscripts '. (p. 70.) Griesbach himself makes concessions in respect to the two most important of the Greek manuscripts, A and C, as if he were willing to regard them as neutrals. For *θεος*, we have no fewer than 170 Greek MSS., some of which are of considerable antiquity; and as the goodness of many of them is scarcely to be doubted, we should probably find but little difficulty in accepting their reading as the true one, apart from other evidence.

The Versions, however, are far from giving such support to the reading of the great majority of manuscripts, as would warrant a perfectly confidential dependence upon their testimony. A variation on the part of some one or two versions, might not be of moment in a case like the present; but the disagreement of so many of the most valuable of them as are found deviating from the common reading in the passage before us, must demand consideration. We find it no small perplexity to contend with the difficulties arising from this source of evidence, and are altogether unable to dispose of them with the facility which the present Author discovers in his treatment of them. The testimonies of the ancient writers, too, are somewhat embarrassing to a critic who would wish for a just decision on the respective claims asserted for the several readings. We must object to the language which Dr. Henderson has employed in his summing up, p. 70, where the lection *θεός* is said to be sustained by ' all the Greek Fathers '. To many of them, no appeal can be made, as they do not cite the verse; and how some others read, is not easily or satisfactorily to be made out. In accompanying the learned Author in his survey of the testimonies derived from the Versions and the Fathers, we shall subject these witnesses to the process of a critical cross examination, which will, we believe, be the means of shewing, in some important instances, the untenable nature of his positions.

The Latin Version reads neither *θεός* nor *ὁς*, but decidedly *ὁ*. In both the *Old Italic* and the *Vulgate*, the passage is rendered: '*Et manifestè magnum est pietatis sacramentum, QUOD manifestatum est in carne, justificatum,*' &c. It is possible, that a genuine reading may be preserved in a particular version, which varies from all other authorities; but, with Porson, we should think it a hazardous step to prefer any single version to the unanimous consent of all the Greek MSS. now known to exist. In the present case, however, we are not discussing the relative value of a single voucher of an inferior order, set against the deposition of numerous and agreeing witnesses of unimpeachable character. If the Latin Version alone preserved the neuter relative, *quod*, it would not have much weight in the balances of criticism; but the coincidence of its readings with other testimony gives it importance, and we see nothing in Dr.

Henderson's remarks, in his discussion of its merits, to impair its consequence. He thinks, that the Latin reading, *quod*, might have found its way into the Itala or Vulgate by a mistaken construction of the Syriac. His supposition, that the Latin Translator had the use of the Syriac when executing his version, is most improbable; it is altogether a gratuitous assumption. That there is a relationship between the two Versions, is admitted; and the reason of it is to be found in their very great antiquity; but neither argument nor presumption to sustain the hypothesis that a Syriac Version was used by the translator of the ancient Vulgate, arises from their resemblance. Whatever may have been the extent of Jerome's revision of the Latin Version, whether it was confined to the Gospels, or included also the Epistles, Dr. Henderson's remarks in the following paragraph, cannot be admitted as a satisfactory explanation of the Vulgate reading.

'Till it can be satisfactorily proved that 1 Tim. iii. 16, was included in his revision, it would be unfair to conclude that the Greek MSS. which he used, read  $\delta$  and not  $\delta\varsigma$  or  $\theta\iota\delta\varsigma$ . And even supposing it to be a fact, that the passage was subject to his revision, is there not reason to believe, that though he found  $\delta\varsigma$  or  $\theta\iota\delta\varsigma$  in his Greek MSS., yet, he did not venture to change the Latin reading, it being one of the principles on which he proceeded, not to adopt what was too much at variance with the Latin text?' p. 29.

Such remarks as these might be easily met by contrary suppositions. It might be alleged, that the reading  $\theta\iota\delta\varsigma$  was not known to Jerome, and that the principles on which he conducted the revision of the Vulgate, were not, in this instance, in opposition to his substituting the reading which his Greek MSS. exhibited. But, in truth, all such observations, to which side soever of the suppositions they may incline, are nugatory and useless. We find the unvarying testimony of the Vulgate in favour of *quod*, and such must be taken to be the reading of the Latin Version.

The old or Peshito Syriac reads  $\text{ܠܗܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܗܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܗܝܠܝܢ}$   $\text{ܕܝܗܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܗܝܠܝܢ ܕܝܗܝܠܝܢ}$  to which the Ethiopic exactly corresponds. The readings of these versions, Dr. Henderson remarks, 'are susceptible of two different interpretations, in consequence of the prefixes  $\text{ܕܝܠܬܗ}$ , and  $\text{ܠܝܒܪܝܬܗ}$ , being used in these languages both for the relative pronoun and as a conjunction. The Syriac may accordingly be rendered, "That he was manifested in the flesh." We do not concur with the Author in his opinion, that such a rendering is the proper and obvious translation of the expressions; nor can we think, with him, that 'the circumstance that the Syriac Translator should take the liberty of substituting the conjunctive  $\text{ܕܝܠܬܗ}$  for



Observation, we must remark, that it is utterly improbable that the Syriac Translator should have taken any such liberty as he supposes. Nothing can be more evident, than that θεός, in 1 Tim. iii. 16, admitting it to be the original reading, and before the Translator of the Peshito, in the Greek MS. which he used, is an emphatic word. Dr. Henderson ascribes to the Translator, a deliberate purpose, 'the liberty of substituting.' Now, as the putting of the conjunctive in the place of the substantive would necessarily create an ambiguity in the passage, it is impossible, we think, that the Translator should have committed himself so grossly as to deliberately suppress the most emphatic expression in the text which he was rendering, and to involve the whole passage in obscurity. The Peshito Syriac, we conclude, does *not* favour the reading θεός.

The next Versions in Dr. Henderson's list are, the *Coptic* and the *Sahidic*. These, he remarks, 'are equivocal' in their testimony. 'They certainly employ the relative; but though it is of the same gender with the word by which μυστήριον is rendered, yet, that word being masculine, the relative may be referred to θεός in the preceding context, as well as to it.' (p. 33.) According, then, to this representation, the antecedent to the masculine relative, is not the word by which μυστήριον is rendered, but θεου ζωντος, in the verse preceding. But against this construction, we need only cite from Dr. Henderson's tract the following passage, accompanying it with the observation, that a construction inadmissible in the original, is equally inadmissible in a version.

'It has been suggested, that, if ὅς be at all admissible, it can have no other antecedent than θεοῦ ζωντος at the end of the fifteenth verse. Placing the intermediate words within a parenthesis, the passage would then read thus: Ἐκκλησια θεοῦ ζωντος (στύλος καὶ ἰδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἵστί τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον) ὃς ἐφανερώθη, κ.τ.λ. "The church of the *living God*, (the pillar and basis of the truth, and incontrovertibly great is the mystery of godliness,) *who* was manifested," &c. This construction of the passage, however, which was proposed by Berriman, and has since been adopted by Cramer and others, though strictly grammatical, is, as Berriman himself acknowledges, harsh and strained, and not at all in the usual parenthetical style with which the writings of Paul are so highly charged.' p. 77.

If, then, the masculine relative is in these versions referred to a masculine antecedent, and cannot be connected with θεου ζωντος, there is no other alternative, than to refer it to the word expressive of mystery, which is masculine; and thus, in addition to the Peshito Syriac, we have two more most important Versions pointing to a reading different from that of the received text.

‘The *Armenian* Version may express  $\delta$ , but it equally expresses  $\delta\varsigma$ : the relative being used in the language for all the three genders.’ (p. 33.) If, then, we take the reading  $\delta$ , this Version coincides with the Vulgate; and if we read  $\delta\varsigma$ , the preceding remarks are equally to be applied to this version as to the reading of the Coptic and Sahidic. We are surprised to find the Author stating in the very next sentence, that ‘Dr. Laurence maintains, that this version reads neither  $\delta\varsigma$  nor  $\delta$ , but  $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ ; and refers for proof to the *Editio Princeps* of Usan, printed at Amsterdam in 1666, and a duodecimo edition, printed at the same place in 1698.’ Dr. Laurence, assuredly, *does not* maintain that  $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  is the reading of the Armenian Version: he merely states, that it may be deemed perhaps as dubious. The only passage in his ‘Remarks,’ relating to this Version, is the following paragraph. ‘But I may be reminded, that I have forgotten the Armenian Version. I have not forgotten, but purposely omitted to mention it, because its reading may be thought doubtful. The Armenian language is but little understood; and books in it are very scarce. It bears no resemblance to what are usually termed the Oriental languages; nor do we possess in it any comprehensive Lexicon. I have nevertheless been able to consult the edition of the whole Bible published by Usan at Amsterdam in 1666, the only one extant, and that of the New Testament in duodecimo by another editor at the same place in 1698; all, except the octavo edition of the New Testament in 1668, (merely a republication by Usan,) with which we are acquainted. In both of these, the following is the literal rendering of the passage in question: “*Great is the deep counsel of the adoration of God, who or which, &c.*” Now, if we connect the relative with the antecedent, *God*, the reading will of course be equivalent to the common one,  $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ . But as there are no genders in the language, it may be connected with any antecedent indifferently. And it should be added, that the phrase, *adoration of God*, may be nothing more than a mere compound expression, similar (would our own language admit the combination) to that of God-worship, and may thus simply correspond with  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ .’ pp. 80, 81.

This latter opinion is, we think, to be received as the true one; and a similar judgement must be made of the Philoxenian Syriac, which exhibits a similar combination.

The *Arabic* of Erpenius was, according to the judgement of its Editor, taken immediately from the Syriac; and though Dr. Henderson pronounces its reading to be certainly in favour of  $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ , we rather agree with those critics who judge it to be in conformity with the Syriac version. The *Arabic* of the Polyglott leaves us in no doubt of the reading which the Translator

had before him; and if the Erpenian text had followed a MS. which read *θεος*, we should not find it with its present rendering.

The Versions in favour of *θεος* are, according to the Author, the *Philoxenian Syriac*, the *Arabic* of the Polyglot, the *Slavonic*, and the *Georgian* Versions.

In respect to the first of these, the *Philoxenian Syriac*, Dr. Henderson states, that, 'beyond all doubt,' in the MSS. from which the Version was made, *θεος* existed; and that 'the certainty of conviction' in regard to this point, is strengthened by the evidence obtained from a comparison of the readings of this Version in some other passages. We see, we must confess, sufficient reason for hesitation at such a statement as this, and are somewhat surprised at the confidence of the expressions in which it is conveyed. If the author of the *Philoxenian Syriac* had before him Greek MSS. containing the reading *το της ευσεβειας μυστήριον θεος εφανερωθη εν σαρκι*, he would have written in conformity with it,—*ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܪܝܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܦܐܢܪܘܬܐ ܥܢ ܫܐܪܟܝ*, he would have written in conformity with it,—*ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܪܝܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܦܐܢܪܘܬܐ ܥܢ ܫܐܪܟܝ* making *ܐܠܗܐ* the nominative to *ܥܦܐܢܪܘܬܐ*, and inserting the noun *ܐܠܗܐ* in the emphatic state, and not in the construct, as we now find it. The *Philoxenian* Translator has however rendered, *ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܪܝܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܦܐܢܪܘܬܐ ܥܢ ܫܐܪܟܝ*; The Latin translation of this passage, given by Dr. White, who edited the version, is calculated, Dr. Henderson says, 'to lead the reader to suppose that the Syriac favours the lection: *ὁ εφανερωθη*, which it by no means does. He gives it, "*mysterium pietatis: quod*," &c., whereas it should have been, *mysterium timoris Dei, qui*.' Here, however, Dr. Henderson begs the question; and the translation which he himself gives of the passage, is liable to the imputation of misleading the reader into the reception of *θεος* as the genuine lection, 'And confessedly great is the mystery of the good fear of God, who was manifested in the flesh,' &c. But if the expression: *ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܪܝܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܦܐܢܪܘܬܐ ܥܢ ܫܐܪܟܝ* be a combination of terms used as the equivalent of *ευσεβειας*, and denoting piety, the translation of Dr. White will be justified. In this manner he understood the terms; and the grammatical usage shews that this is the correct mode of disposing of them. In chap. ii. 10, the same three words are employed to signify *piety*, as a translation of the original *θεοσεβεια*: *ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܪܝܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܦܐܢܪܘܬܐ ܥܢ ܫܐܪܟܝ*, *Aloho*, in both passages belongs, as a governed word, to the preceding one, which is in the *status constructus*, and is not the nominative to a following verb. The obvious reading of the *Philoxenian Syriac*, to an unbiassed reader, would seem to be, to refer the relative pronoun *ܐܠܗܐ* prefixed to the verb, to the antecedent *ܡܝܫܬܪܝܘܢ*, and to tran-



with Dr. White, *mysterium pietatis quod*. Dr. Henderson (p. 55) observes, that, in the Philoxenian Version, in the phrase, 1 Tim. iii. 16, the *ܐ*, *dolath*, is omitted before *Aloho*, and the words are given precisely as the *Peshito Syriac* translates *φóβος θεοῦ*. This is altogether incorrect. The phrase *φóβος θεοῦ*, occurs only in two instances in the New Testament, Rom. iii. 18., and 2 Cor. vii. 1; and in these the *dolath* is not omitted, but is prefixed to the word in combination. The correction of this erroneous statement is scarcely of any other moment, than as it shews the incautious manner in which our respected Author has conducted this part of the inquiry.

The *Arabic* of the Polyglott has the reading *θεος*, which is also exhibited by the *Slavonic* Version, and is the lection of the *Georgian*. These are all the Versions which directly support the common reading, and they are all three of inferior authority compared with the other Versions. On the other hand, the Versions which do not read *θεος*, but point to some other reading, are of the first authority, and of the earliest date, with the exception of the *Arabic* of Erpenius, which is probably modern. The *Arabic* of the Polyglott was formed between the seventh and the eleventh centuries; the *Slavonic* is of the ninth century, and the *Georgian*, of the seventh. The Versions which appear to coincide with the Latin, using a relative which they refer to an antecedent expressive of the word mystery, are, the *Syriac Peshito*, of the second or third century; the *Sahidic*, of the same age; the *Coptic*, of, probably, the same antiquity; the *Ethiopic* version, made in the fourth century; the *Armenian*, in the fifth; and the *Philoxenian* Syriac, finished in the year 508, and revised in 616. The Latin is one of the earliest translations of the New Testament; and in both the *Itala* and the *Vulgate*, we have the neuter relative.

The ancient Versions are represented by Dr. Henderson as equivocal in their testimony; but that testimony is not in favour of *θεος*; and the coincidence of such witnesses is certainly of very considerable moment in the calm and impartial appreciation of the whole evidence.

We have not been able to accredit to the full extent to which we would willingly have awarded our approval, either the representations or the arguments of the tract before us; and we have still other objections which the inviolable claims of an intelligent and unprejudiced criticism will not permit us to suppress. We now refer to Dr. Henderson's citations from the Greek Fathers, and his references to them in support of the common reading, which are less cautiously adduced than the circumstances in which the evidence derived from their testimony is placed, will authorize. 'Though', he remarks (p. 58), 'we meet with no formal quotations of the passage before the



‘middle of the third century, yet, in one or two places of the ‘earliest of the Fathers, certain modes of expression occur, ‘which seem to presuppose, and to have been produced by the ‘common reading.’ And at p. 70, he represents ‘all the Greek ‘Fathers’ as consenting in the reading, *θεός*. Berriman acknowledges, that he was unable to produce any examples of clear, indisputable testimony to this reading within the first three centuries. We concur in this account of the matter, and proceed to notice the statements of the Author relative to the testimonies of the Greek Fathers.

In respect to the examples quoted from Ignatius and Hippolytus, as they are not presented as formal citations or direct proofs, it may be sufficient to remark, that, if the passage 1 Tim. iii. 16. had been no part of the New Testament, such expressions as, *Εἰς ἰατρός ἐστὶν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γεγόμενος θεός.—Θεοῦ ἀνδρωπίνως φανερομένου.—Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον θεὸς ἐν σωματι ἐφανερώθη.*—might have been introduced by the earliest Christian writers as modes of exhibiting the doctrine which they found in the Apostolic writings. The earliest example of explicit and direct testimony to which Dr. Henderson refers, is *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, A.D. 260, who is said to be ‘the first who expressly cites the words’ in his Epistle against Paul of Samosata. This, however, is not by any means an unexceptionable testimony. The genuineness of this Epistle, it is well known, is disputed, and its date is assigned to a later period. We refer to Mill, Cave, Du Pin, Valerius, &c. ‘For my own part,’ says Lardner, ‘I acquiesce in ‘the reasons of the learned men before mentioned, so far as to ‘think it highly probable that the piece in question is not the ‘work of Dionysius, or any of his contemporaries, but of a much ‘later date.’\* As this is the only instance of formal quotation produced by the Author to sustain his position, that the common reading is exhibited by writers of the first three centuries, it will be immediately perceived how insufficient it is for such a purpose. Nor is the Author much less unfortunate in the next example on his list—*Athanasius*, A.D. 326. ‘In his fourth ‘Epistle to Serapion, we are’, he says, ‘furnished with a quotation of the passage, introduced in such a manner as clearly ‘to shew that *θεός*, and neither *ὁς* nor *ὁ*, was the reading of the ‘text.’ The passage is explicit enough, but the Benedictine Editors have included it in a parenthesis, as of doubtful authority, it being found only as a marginal reading of a single manuscript.

We must be allowed to remark, that a critic who appeals to

\* Works, Vol. III. p. 98. Ed. 1788.

the evidence of the Greek Fathers, is bound to produce it in an unexceptionable manner, and to furnish his readers with the objections which have honestly been offered to invalidate the testimony for which these witnesses are cited. The first three centuries afford no clear, definite evidence in favour of the reading  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ; and as the first indisputable evidence which we find in Dr. H.'s list, is towards the conclusion of the *fourth* century, we may repeat Griesbach's account of this branch of the evidence:—

*'Nec in ullo antiquitatis monumento, seculo quarto exeunte anteriore, reperiri potuit.'* When Dr. H. asks, 'Are there not testimonies of higher antiquity in favour of  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , than any that can be produced against it?' we do not precisely understand to what species of evidence he refers, but we suppose that he does not mean the quotations to be found in the Greek Fathers. The most ancient testimonies are, perhaps, *not* in favour of  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ .

In his Vth chapter, Dr. Henderson has entered largely into the consideration of the internal evidence, and ably contends for  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  as the true reading. We entirely agree with him in rejecting  $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , which is void of all grammatical propriety in the sense of '*He who.*' Till the consistency of such a construction with the principles of the Greek language can be established, it must be reckoned inadmissible; nor will Griesbach's canon, '*Difficilior et obscurior lectio anteponenda est*', avail for its introduction into the text. We concur, too, with the learned Author, in rejecting the reading which would connect  $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  with  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \zeta\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , including the intervening words in a parenthesis. If  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  should be taken as the original and true reading, on the ground of sufficient external proof, there can be no hesitation in preferring it on the propriety of its adaptation to the place which it occupies.

Our object has not been to determine, on a full critical examination of the evidence, the weight of the various readings, and to discriminate the genuine lection, but simply to shew the difficulties which perplex a critic in respect to this passage, and to notice the unsatisfactory manner in which some parts of the evidence are discussed in the tract before us. More, we apprehend, must yet be done, to render justice to the whole subject. We wish to see the question investigated as one of criticism; and should render our thanks to any competent scholar who would patiently proceed through the whole of Griesbach's Note on the passage, and estimate the value of the several testimonies which he has collected, and which may be obtained from other sources. While we must regard the preponderating evidence as supporting the common reading, we cannot conceal or dissemble the want of entire confidence in this conclusion which we feel, when we seriously and temperately look to the authorities that withhold their sanction from the text in its present form.

To the learning and ability which Dr. Henderson has displayed in this Tract, it cannot be necessary for us to bear our willing testimony. We have not many Oriental scholars among us, so well qualified to prosecute Biblical investigations of this nature; and the animadversions which we have felt it to be our duty to make, involve no impeachment of his erudition. It would have been much more gratifying to our feelings, to bestow unqualified commendation on his present elaborate attempt to uphold the cause of Scriptural truth.

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**Art. IV.—*Military Reminiscences*, extracted from a Journal of nearly Forty Years' active Service in the East Indies. By Colonel James Welsh. Two Volumes, 8vo., pp. 723. London, 1830.**

**F**EW remote countries have been more extensively or more adequately described than India. Yet, independently of regions respecting which our information is imperfect, we are continually discovering that there is much to be learned concerning those very districts, and those special passages of history, with which we had supposed ourselves most familiarly acquainted. It is in this point of view that the details of personal adventure become peculiarly interesting: the narrator, while busying himself only with what may concern his own movements and feelings, touches on a number of minute but valuable particulars, which, had he been writing set and formal history, he would have passed over as trivial and extraneous. To instance the *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Monro*. The papers of that accomplished soldier and administrator are necessarily, as official reports, and incidentally, as confidential communications, full of circumstances and comments which no regular historian would dream of introducing into his narrative: the results, indeed, he might carefully insert, but without affording to the reader a fair opportunity of verifying the accuracy of his induction, the sound judgement of his analysis, or the discriminative tact of his selection. Picturesque arrangement goes further than most people may be inclined to admit; and, not merely for descriptive purposes, but in its application to character, circumstance, and result, is indispensable to just exhibition. In original documents, facts almost always find their right place, and, in one way or other, invariably give the right clew to action and character: in other words, they make out the picture, indicating at the same time, by their choice, as well as by the manner in which they are put forward, the feelings and prejudices which influence the colour and effect. Thus, the papers of the great man to whom we have just referred, will be found, both by their distinct and business-like statement, and by their just and explanatory application, to

set out the points of history and their circumstantial elucidations, with a clearness and force which no other kind of representation can possibly give. As another illustration of the value of original and documentary materials, we shall for a moment refer to an instance not quite so obviously in point. The Code Napoleon is unquestionably a noble production, though full of anomalies and defects, some of which it is exceedingly difficult to account for on any common principles of reasoning or legislation. Happily, the *procès verbal* of the conferences and discussions held at the various sittings in which the provisions of the Code were determined, has been committed to the press; and such light does it throw on many peculiarities of the system, that, as a matter of codification, it can hardly be deemed intelligible without the comment. Of such importance is it to ascertain, in all cases, the motives and interests, however minute, which have been implicated in transactions of moment, that we would infinitely rather, waiving the circumstance of mere mental gratification, consult the driest shred of a primary document, than the most brilliant combinations of political wisdom and eloquent composition in what is called classical history.

The contents of Colonel Welsh's volumes have but little in common with the political sagacity which distinguishes the papers of Sir Thomas Monro, and still less with legislative and codificatory processes. They are, however, of considerable value, and, as the results of actual service and inspection, communicated by an able and high-minded officer, have a *prima facie* claim on our favourable attention. This, however, is not all. The Colonel has not, in these 'Reminiscences,' conducted us over a beaten track, casually and imperfectly relieving the weariness of our progress by slight and unimpressive novelty; but he has led us into new and pleasant paths of observation, giving fresh illustrations of previous knowledge, completing unfinished trains of history, and furnishing information of a very interesting kind, concerning points previously obscure. We cannot, indeed, take upon us to affirm that all this is done in the best possible way: but little revision seems to have been bestowed on the original manuscript, and the Author apologizes for defects on the score of an unfinished education and imperfect opportunities. These apologies, however, are not to be admitted. The Colonel is, clearly, a man of ability; his style is essentially good; and it is a matter of regret that somewhat more of editorship has not been employed in giving increased attraction to a meritorious work.

It was at the age of fifteen, in 1790, that the Author was 'launched into the world without a pilot.' His destination was for India, where a commission in the Madras army awaited him, and where a long and honourable service has well entitled him to his present repose.

The surprise and gratification, not forgetting the miseries,—heat and musquitoes—of the newly imported European, the *Griffin* \*, as he is technically termed, are slightly, but sufficiently described. The recently arrived Cadet was not long left to enjoy the felicities of eastern indolence, for he was soon engaged in the full activities and hazards of his profession, with a command in a native corps employed, under Lord Cornwallis, in the campaign against Tippoo Sultaun. His next service was in 1793, against Pondichery; and, three years after, he was with the army which took Ceylon from the Dutch. But the most interesting scenes of his early campaigning, occurred in the Tinnevely territory. The larger portion, if not the whole of this district, had become, by the casualties of time and war, the property of independent Poligars; a title common to every native chief throughout the South of India, and probably much the same, in its origin, with the Zemindar (landholder) of the Northern Circars, and the Thakoor (lord) of Rajpootana. Like the European Barons of the feudal times, these Poligars lived each in his strong-hold, ever prompt to pick quarrels with his neighbour, and yielding a reluctant obedience to the dominant power of the East India Company. In 1799, the war with Tippoo offered an opportunity of insurrection to these brave and high-spirited men, which they unhesitatingly embraced, and a formidable combination took place among the chiefs of the southern Pollams (villages). This was, however, quelled; and advantage was taken of the occasion, to disarm the Poligars, to dismantle their fortresses, and to extend over them the direct power and control of the Company. This brief explanation we have supplied, since Colonel Welsh is rather too apt to neglect those little explanatory details which, though unnecessary to the previously instructed, are indispensable to the general reader. His statement of immediate circumstances, we give in his own expressive language, admirable for the high and honourable feeling which it breathes, and not less so for the sound and liberal policy which, by implication, it recommends.

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\* On the subject of nicknames in our Indo-European possessions, the following extract may give useful information to some of our readers. 'The Bombay army are generally designated "Ducks," perhaps from their presidency being situated on a small island. The Bengalees are denominated "*Qui hies*," from a habit of exclaiming "*Koey hye?*" "Who is there?" to their domestics, when requiring their attendance; and the Madrasees are designated by the appellation of "*Mulls*," from the circumstance of always using a kind of hot soup, ycleped Mulligatawny, literally pepper water, at their meals, particularly supper.'

‘ The southern Poligars, a race of rude warriors, habituated to arms and independence, had been but lately subdued ; and those of Punjalumcoorchy were the hardiest and bravest of the whole. Their chief, called Catabomia Naig, having successfully defended the fort against a force under Colonel Bannerman two years before, had at length been taken prisoner, with the rest of his family, and kept in close confinement. It is not for me to decide upon the justice or policy of such a measure, but I should have thought, liberality and kindness would have been the way to secure their allegiance. While their chiefs were condemned to a perpetual and ignominious imprisonment, the fort of Punjalumcoorchy was ordered to be razed to the ground, with some others of less note. Such treatment to a high-spirited people was not much calculated to win their affections ; and the indignities to which individuals were subjected by the native servants of the Collector, adding fuel to the fire, the whole burst out at once, and for a season bore down all before them.’

Early in 1801, our Author was stationed in the Tinnevelly district. On the 3d of February, while he was, with a large party, dining at the garden house of Major Macaulay, near Palamcottah, a number of Poligar chiefs who were confined in the fort, aided by their partizans from without, overpowered the guard, and effected their escape. Troops, without loss of time, collected from every quarter, and advanced upon the fastnesses of the insurgents. The gallant Poligars were not wanting to their cause. The invading division was attacked upon its road ; and it appears to us, that considerable military tact was displayed by the Poligar leaders, though the absence of regular discipline and the want of effective armature among their troops caused their combinations to fail. At length, the invaders came in sight of Punjalumcoorchy, the capital of the petty state on which they were now inflicting the ravages of war. The town, as our readers are aware, had been taken during the previous revolt, and its walls were levelled with the ground ; but, to the astonishment of our troops, the fortifications had been completely rebuilt, and a resolute garrison manned the ramparts. The assailing force was entirely native and without artillery of siege ; consequently, it was impossible to batter in breach, and, as it would seem, equally impossible to hazard the *coup de collier*, in the absence of Europeans to head the columns of assault. In these difficult circumstances, it was resolved to try the success of a *camisade*. Long, however, before the approach of darkness, it was ascertained, that the enemy had formed a similar design, and that five thousand determined Poligars were awaiting night-fall, with the purpose of breaking in on the encampment. It would have been madness to await the event of such an attack ; and it would have been equally ill-judged to persevere in plans of offensive operation in the face of overwhelming numbers supported by a strong fortified post. At



two in the afternoon, therefore, the troops were drawn up as if for the assault; but, when every arrangement had been completed, they moved off from the rear, and after a smart affair with the enemy, reached Palamcottah, at the termination of a severe night march. While the corps were waiting for reinforcements, the Poligars were not inactive: they were successful in various conflicts, and their chief distinguished himself by his forbearance in victory. 'This,' emphatically exclaims Colonel Welsh, 'was the infamous Catabomia Naig, who had lately been confined in irons, and treated with every indignity; upon whose head a price was set, and who was, on no condition, to receive any quarter, if found in arms!' The Colonel, highly to his honour, has, evidently, a strong feeling in connection with this miserable business; and his expressions, though moderated by professional and gentlemanly habits of self-control, betray his indignation at the whole conduct of this disgraceful struggle. A studious concealment seems to have been practised concerning the details of the affair: officers who fell bravely in the field, were gazetted as dead in the common course of nature, and no account of the campaign has, until now, been submitted to the public eye.

In the meantime, reinforcements came rapidly in; and before the end of March, a body of three thousand troops was in motion under the orders of Major Colin Macauley, one of the best and bravest officers of the old Indian army. After a smart affair between the insurgents and our cavalry, the brigade came in sight of Punjalumcoorchy; the fortress presenting to a closer inspection, an aspect so unmilitary as to provoke a comparison with a 'kail-yard, with a dike about it.' The wall did not exceed twelve feet in height, with short curtains and small square bastions, on which were mounted a few old guns. There was no ditch, but a thick hedge of 'cockspur thorns' surrounded the place. Preparations were immediately made for laying open the defences, though with very imperfect means; and, at length, a breach being effected, a party was ordered to storm.

'They advanced with alacrity, under the heaviest fire imaginable, from the curtains and five or six of the bastions, the defences of which we had not been able to demolish. Our men fell rapidly, but nothing impeded their approach; even the hedge was speedily passed, and repeated attempts were made to surmount the breach, but all in vain. Every man who succeeded in reaching the summit was instantly thrown back, pierced with wounds, from both pikes and musquetry, and no footing could be gained. At length, a retreat was ordered, and a truly dismal scene of horror succeeded; all our killed and many of the wounded being left at the foot of the breach, over which the enemy immediately sprung, and pursued the rear, while others pierced the bodies both of the dying and the dead.'



Three hundred and twenty men were killed and wounded in this disastrous assault, independently of a 'considerable loss' sustained by a body of Poligars in alliance with the English, who made an attempt on the opposite face of the fort. The intrepidity of one of their chiefs is recorded by Colonel Welsh in strong terms of high admiration. He was of the Eteapoor tribe, the 'hereditary enemies' of the Poligars of Punjalum-coorchy, and when mortally wounded, requested that he might be carried to the spot where Major Macauley stood, surrounded by his officers. 'The old man, who was placed upright in a chair, then said, with a firm voice, "I have come to shew the English how a Poligar can die." He twisted his whiskers with both his hands as he spoke, and in that attitude expired.' An application subsequently made to the insurgents for permission to carry off the dead from the foot of the breach, for interment, was 'kindly and unconditionally accorded;' and for some days afterward, whenever any of the besiegers approached the walls, the Poligars called to them, desiring peace and amnesty, on conditions of obedience to the English Government and regular payment of tribute, stipulating only for the personal freedom of their chieftains. The answer given was, that there could be no negotiation with rebels in arms; that their submission must be unconditional and accompanied by the surrender of their chiefs.

The siege was now changed into an imperfect blockade; but the Poligars were not idle. They made fierce attacks by night upon the British outposts, and contrived to bring a nine-pounder to bear on the camp, keeping our men very disagreeably on the alert. On the 21st of May, strong reinforcements, with an effective battering-train, arrived in camp, under Lieut. Colonel Agnew, who assumed the command, evidently under an impression, very sufficiently removed by subsequent circumstances, that the former failure was in some degree attributable to want of energy on the part of the assailants. A different point of attack was now chosen, and the powerful means employed, speedily demolished the faces of another bastion, while the side defences were equally rendered useless. Undismayed by these terrible manifestations of increased power, the gallant garrison stood their ground against the strong body which moved upon the point of assault.

'Notwithstanding this formidable array, with the whole force ready to back them, the defenders shrunk not from their duty, but received our brave fellows with renewed vigour; and the breach was so stoutly defended, that although the hedge was passed in a few minutes, it was nearly half an hour before a man of ours could stand upon the summit: while bodies of the enemy, not only fired on our storming party from the broken bastions on both flanks, but others sallied round and

attacked them in the space within the hedge. At length, after a struggle of fifteen minutes in this position, the whole of the enemy in the breach being killed by hand-grenades and heavy shot thrown over among them, our grenadiers succeeded in mounting the breach, and the resistance afterwards was of no avail; although one body of pikemen charged our grenadiers in the body of the place, and killed three of them.

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‘ A general panic now seized the enemy, and they fled from their assailants as fast as possible; but no sooner had they got clear of the fort, than they formed into two solid columns, and thus retreated; beset, but not dismayed, by our cavalry, who attacked them in flank and rear, and succeeded in cutting off six hundred. The remainder, however, made good their retreat, and a column of about two thousand ultimately escaped.

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‘ To us, who had suffered so severely in our unsuccessful assault, a sight of the interior of this abominable dog-kennel was most acceptable: the more so, as this was the first time it had ever been taken by storm, though frequently attempted. Nothing could equal the surprise and disgust which filled our minds at beholding the wretched holes underground, in which a body of three thousand men, and for some time their families also, had long contrived to exist. No language can paint the horrors of the picture. To shelter themselves from shot and shells, they had dug these holes in every part of the fort; and though some might occasionally be out to the eastward, yet, the place must always have been excessively crowded.’

The subsequent details of the Poligar war, are of inferior interest. The followers of the *Cat*, as our soldiers were wont to call Catabomia Naig, maintained their character; but the resistance from the inhabitants of the Murdoo country, was of a feebler kind. The chief difficulty lay in cutting through a thick and extensive jungle; an operation which does not appear to have been expedient, and ultimately proved unavailing. At last, however, the country was subjugated, and the gallant chiefs who had so nobly defended their independence, were—we are ashamed to say it, and Colonel Welsh evidently reprobates the deed—*hanged*. The Murdoo chieftain and his intrepid brother had been remarkable for their kindness and hospitality towards Europeans visiting their country. The chief himself seems to have been a most amiable man and sovereign.

‘ Though of a dark complexion, he was a portly, handsome, and affable man, of the kindest manners and most easy access; and though ruling over a people to whom his every nod was a law, he lived in an open palace, without a single guard: indeed, when I visited him in February 1795, every man who chose to come in, had free ingress and egress, while every voice called down the blessing of the Almighty on the father of his people. From a merely casual visit, when passing through his country, he became my friend, and during my continuance

at Madura, never failed to send me presents of fine rice and fruit, particularly a large rough-skinned orange, remarkably sweet, which I have never met with in such perfection in any other part of India. It was he also, who first taught me to throw the spear, and hurl the cottery stick, a weapon scarcely known elsewhere, but, in a skilful hand, capable of being thrown to a certainty to any distance within one hundred yards. Yet, this very man I was afterwards destined, by the fortune of war, to chase like a wild beast; to see badly wounded, and captured by common Peons; then lingering with a fractured thigh in prison; and, lastly, to behold him, with his gallant brother, and no less gallant sons, surrounded by their principal adherents, hanging in chains upon a common gibbet.'

Yet, concerning either this man or his not less hospitable brother, can even Colonel Welsh express his regret, that, by failing personally to be present at the capture, he had 'the bad luck' 'to miss a share in a large reward,' the price of their blood. The most singular agent in this series of transactions, was a youth nearly related to the 'Cat,' deaf and dumb, yet, of acute intellect and energetic character. This tall, slender, sickly-looking 'lad' was, says the Colonel, 'one of the most extraordinary mortals I ever knew.' His constitutional defects combined with his daring and decided spirit, made him the champion of his tribe, investing their personal attachment with somewhat of a superstitious reverence. A glance, a sign, from the Ood (Dumby) was instantaneously obeyed. Were the English attacked, he collected a few straws, placed them on his forehead, palm, and, sweeping them off with the other hand, gave the signal for action by a 'whizzing sound from his mouth.' Though always in the van of fight, he escaped as if by miracle, and, even when severely wounded, and closely followed up by the native irregulars in the British service, he was saved by the ingenuity of a poor female. At last, however, he was taken, 'doomed to grace a gallows in reward for the most disinterested and purest patriotism.' It is well, perhaps, that the history of our Indian achievements has not always been preserved; but it is not amiss that we should now and then look into some of its details. The Poligar tragedy is out of date, and its authors have gone to their account; but the more recent business of Talneir, though disapproved of by every writer (so far as we have observed) who has mentioned it, has not, we believe, been made the subject of inquiry.

The son of the Murdoo chief, a youth of fifteen, was spared but sentenced to perpetual banishment. He was consigned to the vigilance of Colonel Welsh, who did his utmost to relieve the poor Dora Swamy's wretchedness; but this was beyond his power, though he was able to alleviate his personal privations and had the satisfaction of committing him to the charge of intelligent and considerate men when departing for the place of his exile.

'I still seem to see the combination of affection and despair which marked the fine countenance of my young friend Dora Swamy, as I handed him to the boat; and the manly and silent misery which his companions in affliction displayed, on quitting their dear native land for ever. Here, to all appearance, our acquaintance was to end; but fortune had still another pang in store for me; for, being forced to sea for my health, in the year 1818, and landing at Penang, I received a sudden visit from a miserable-looking decrepit old man; who, when, without the most distant recollection of his person or countenance, I demanded his name and business, looked for some time in my face, the tears ran down his furrowed cheek, and at length he uttered the word "Dora Swamy!" It came like a dagger to my heart; the conviction was instantaneous. My poor young prisoner stood before me; changed, dreadfully changed in outward appearance, but still with the same mind, and cherishing the remembrance of former days and former friendships. The casual hearing of my name had revived his affection, and, I much fear, the mistaken hope, that an advancement in rank might afford me the means of lessening his misery. He even entreated me to be the bearer of letters to his surviving family, but this, I understood, was contrary to the existing orders.'

Colonel Welsh expresses a hope that his narrative may fall into the hands of some 'kind-hearted Director,' and induce an improvement of Dora Swamy's situation. It is probably too late. If that innocent sufferer was in a state of decrepitude in 1818, at the early age of thirty-two, he is, in all probability, now beyond the reach of a justice so tardy and reluctant.

Colonel Welsh's next service was in the Mahratta war, under the command of General Wellesley. He was with the storming party at Ahmednuggur, but, much to his regret, missed the opportunity of sharing in the dangers and honours of the field of Assaye. The battle of Argaum indemnified him; and he is copious in details, valuable as the result of personal observation. We must, however, pass over much highly interesting, though exceedingly desultory matter, including the Colonel's visit to his native land in 1807 and 1808, and come at once to his brilliant service in the storm of Arambooly lines, on the frontiers of Travancore. These strongly fortified intrenchments presented such a formidable front, that Colonel St. Leger consented with extreme reluctance to our Author's proposal to carry them by a *coup de main*. It was committed to his conduct, and proved completely, and almost bloodlessly, successful; and it is quite clear from the report of the commander of the division, that the enterprise was ably and gallantly led. In 1810, Colonel Welsh was stationed at Bangalore, and thus became acquainted with two individuals who afterwards highly distinguished themselves, and ultimately fell in the field. Colonel (afterwards General) Gibbs is described as an admirable officer, kind and considerate to his men, and a perfect master of his profession.

Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie was remarkable for his daring and decisive character: our readers will recollect the details of that magnificent exploit which dethroned the chief of Palembang, and exhibited one of the most striking illustrations on record of intrepidity and self-possession in the midst of danger and dreadful circumstance. He was, however, a reckless and violent man, of kind feelings and good intentions, but unrestrained by those higher sentiments of Christian morality which alone can make men trustworthy members of society. The Colonel was a great tiger-hunter; and the following description of that hazardous diversion is worth extracting.

‘Discoursing one morning at Colonel Gillespie’s house, about the hunting of tigers, he proposed we should get one from Mr. Cole, at Mysore, and hunt him on horseback with spears; a few of us agreed to the trial, and a cage was accordingly received from Closepett, with a fine large and active tiger: the party consisting of five or six horsemen, assembled immediately, and I ordered a Naigue and six Sepoys out with the cart to the race-course, on which it was determined to have the hunt. In order to make me more *au fait* at this new sport, the Colonel made me a present of one of his own spears, made on purpose for him in Calcutta; and the guard was ordered to draw up, unloaded, between the cart and the cantonment, to prevent the tiger going in that direction. The door was turned towards the country, and opened, when out crept the animal, and looking round, ran immediately upon the guard, the nearest man of whom presented his bayonet, which, entering his side, threw him over. Recovering in an instant, he twisted the hilt of the bayonet off the end of the musket, and knocked down the Sepoys, one after the other, like a set of nine-pins. The scene was so novel, and the result so unlooked for, that we were all paralysed; the animal actually put his paws on one man’s shoulders in spite of musket and bayonet, and bit three or four teeth out of his head. And of four sufferers, for whom a handsome present was raised by subscription, this poor fellow was most dangerously wounded. At length, having prostrated all his nearest opponents, the beast crouched down, when the Colonel rode at him full tilt, and delivered his spear; but I saw, in following him, that it stuck in the ground, close to his neck, but had not entered. He afterwards chased the Colonel, and the Aumildar, or rather Foujdar, the head native in the Pettah on the part of the Mysore Government, and then crouched a second time. It is only at those times of inaction that they can be approached with any safety. About twenty peons, belonging to the Foujdar, now advanced, and one from their number ran up behind the crouching monster, and with a long straight sword cut him across the tail. The animal then rose, and turning round, received a stab in his mouth; when rushing on, the man retreated still cutting at him, till he drew him into the midst of his comrades, who instantly despatched him with some hundred wounds. These men were all armed alike, with a long sword and shield, and their dexterity was equally admirable with that of the cool conduct of the individual who first attacked him.’

Colonel Welsh's official residence in the Mysore country, gave him opportunities, in 1811 and the following year, of becoming acquainted with one of the most extraordinary countries in India, and governed by a man not less remarkable. Colonel Wilks, in his valuable work on Southern India, gives an interesting description of the person and manners of the Coorg Rajah; and we have often felt considerable curiosity concerning the subsequent history of that gallant chief. The Coorg country lies to the westward of Mysore, and occupies a space of about fifty miles in length, by thirty-five in extreme breadth. It is surrounded with mountains, generally inaccessible; and its interior consists of a succession of hilly tracts and cultivated valleys; the whole, with the exception of the latter, so wild and rugged, so intricate and impassable with its deep jungle, and extensive forests of teak, jack, and mango trees, that its natural defences alone would make it a difficult conquest. But, in addition to these advantages, a singular but very effective system of fortification has been devised and carried extensively into execution. Nearly the whole surface has been divided into square sections, usually of about a mile in diameter, trenched deeply and embanked, forming an indefinite series of fortified camps, and presenting incessant obstacles to an invading enemy. The jungle is suffered to remain, so that the means are afforded of maintaining a system of bush-fighting and sharp-shooting, even when the intrenchments are in possession of the enemy. The region does not seem to be populous, since Colonel Welsh, who traversed nearly the whole, did not observe more than six or eight villages; and, in truth, the absence of a dense population is sufficiently inferrible from the circumstances we have just described. Where so much extent of surface can, without inconvenience, be sacrificed to forest and thicket, it is clear enough that the human occupants cannot be very densely planted. On the other hand, it is a first-rate sporting country,—elephants, tigers, bears, bisons, buffaloes, hyenas, with an endless catalogue of other animals both timid and ferocious. Our Colonel is a keen sportsman, and the reputation of this unrivalled game district attracted him: he procured letters of introduction and visited the Rajah, the younger brother and immediate successor of the chief whom we just now mentioned.

Verajunder, the Coorg Rajah of Colonel Wilks, bravely opposed the overwhelming power of the famous Hyder Ali, but was defeated in battle and made prisoner. Favourably treated by that politic chief, he took an oath of fidelity, and was suffered to depart. He broke his faith thus pledged, and was accustomed to boast of this violation as an admirable stroke of policy. He fortified his country, armed his people, and bade defiance to the sovereign of Mysore. In the wars of the English with



Tippoo Sultaun, the Coorg chieftain was our devoted ally. After that monarch's death, he was seized with a paroxysm of madness, and murdered, in one day, twelve hundred individuals either personally related to him or of high rank. That this was the act of insanity, not a *coup d'état*, the following circumstance will prove.

‘ There was an old woman who had confidently attended him for years, cooked his victuals, and frequented the interior of his palace, and a child only a few years old, who was born there, a relation of this woman. After completing the work of destruction, in which he had played a conspicuous part, assisted by several elephants and soldiers in the court-yard, he retired into his study ; the old woman came in, to offer her services, followed by the child, when he immediately stabbed the woman, and, seizing the child, laid it upon the table, and deliberately dissected it with a penknife.’

Shortly afterwards, Verajunder died, probably by one of those casualties which so often befall tyrants who become the terror of those around their person. He was succeeded by the only one of his relations whom he had spared, and who was still reigning at the time of Colonel Welsh's visit. Nothing could exceed the courtesy, the hospitality, the kindness with which the visiter was treated. The *Maha Swamee*, (literally, the great deity or idol,) Lingrajunder Wadeer, met them first in the uniform of an English Major-general, which did not become his person so well as the native dress which he afterwards wore. He was a handsome, well-made man of about thirty, active and uncommonly dexterous in the use both of fire-arms and the native weapons ; his horsemanship was perfect. His collection of rifles and fowling-pieces, was from the hands of the first English makers, and his own gun-smith was a master of his business. The lodgings assigned for the Colonel's accommodation, were handsomely fitted up and furnished in the English style : the breakfast service was of Queen's ware, the liquors were European, and the principal attendant was recognized as having been the butler of an old friend at Vellore. The sport was excellent, and the Rajah himself accompanied his guests to the field. Liberal presents were made at departure, and all pecuniary remuneration to the servants were forbidden.

In the following year, a second visit changed the colours of this interesting picture. Suspicions had been awakened in the Rajah's mind ; and though every thing was, externally, friendly as before, our countrymen perceived that they were watched. ‘ Four fat Bengalees,’ servants to the court, had been appointed, during the first visit, to wait personally on the English officers, and their indefatigable assiduities had been not a little amusing : now they were absent, and the ‘ butler,’ when questioned concerning them, ‘ turned pale and trembled.’ This poor man



afterwards effected a secret interview with the Colonel, and from his statements, confirmed by circumstances, it appeared that the courteous and hospitable Maha Swamee was a jealous and sanguinary tyrant.

‘The four Bengalees, whom I had left fat and happy, had become dissatisfied with promises, and wages protracted and never paid; they had demanded their dismissal, and had, in consequence, been inhumanly murdered. He himself had applied for leave, and was immediately mulcted of all he had, and his thumbs squeezed in screws made on purpose, and used in native courts, his body flagellated, and a threat held out, that the next offence would be punished with death. That the Rajah being acknowledged as the God of the country, exercised the supposed right without remorse and without control. That for instance, if a poor fellow, standing in his presence, with both hands joined in adoration as of the Supreme, incessantly calling out Maha Swamee, or Great God! should be suddenly hit by a musquito, and loosen his hands to scratch, a sign, too well known, would be instantly made by this *soi-disant* Deity, and the poor wretch would be a head shorter in a twinkling. This, he told me, had been the fate of the fine looking Parsee interpreter, whom I had seen at my last visit, who having built a house, and amassed some wealth, was beheaded, and his property seized for the state; and this, he also assured me, was the fate of every man who entered the country, if ever he attempted to quit it again; and the Rajah, admitting his troops to a share of the plunder, bound them to his interests by chains of adamant.’

We are happy to say, that a well-managed device, suggested and supported by Colonel Welsh, was successful in subsequently effecting the release of this poor man, though with the loss of all that he possessed. And it is still more pleasant to be able to state, that Lingrajunder died in 1820, and that his son, the reigning prince, is represented as ‘a mild, inoffensive, young man.’

Colonel Welsh's second volume will detain us but a short time in comparison with the first. Not that it is by any means destitute of interesting matter, but it is more desultory, and connected with objects of less permanent importance. In 1812, the Colonel was engaged in a light infantry campaign among the Wynaad mountains; and towards the close of the year, after the successful termination of his military labours, he met with an awkward adventure on the borders of the Coorg region. With one of his officers, and the usual complement of attendants, he set out on a sporting exploration of a most promising but hazardous-looking jungle, evidently full of game, but as obviously tenanted by animals of fierce nature and formidable strength. The party divided, Lieutenant Fyfe leading one set round a lake surrounded with jungle, while Colonel Welsh skirted it on the other side. Following a tempting opening,

the Colonel plunged into an elephant-trap twelve feet deep. He was thrown forward with great violence and head foremost, but, providentially, without serious hurt, while two of his followers, in an incautious endeavour to procure the means of rescuing him, fell into another pit-fall, and sustained such severe injuries as ultimately to lose their lives. So heavy had been the Colonel's fall, that the stock of his double-barrelled gun was broken, and he probably owed his escape from a broken neck or a fractured skull, to the depth of mud at the bottom of the cavity. He tried to scale the sides of the pit, but the damp clay resisted all his efforts to secure a footing. He called for help, but found himself deserted by all but the miserable wretches who lay in the neighbouring trap with dislocated limb and broken back; the remainder of his party had wisely drawn back when he first entered the jungle. His hopes now rested on Lieutenant Fyfe, and by firing off in succession, the two barrels of his gun, as well as by shouting at intervals, he attracted the attention of his comrade, and was released. His language on this occasion is so just and appropriate, that we shall insert the expression of his thankfulness and self-reproof.

‘ After the detail of so very signal an escape, I need not crave the reader's indulgence for the utterance of that humble and lively gratitude to the Almighty, which such an occasion undoubtedly demanded. The folly and exposure to unnecessary danger were all my own; the mercy and the safety were from the Lord; and His holy name be praised !’

In March 1813, at Bangalore, the Colonel witnessed the singular Hindoo ceremony of passing through the fire. Over a fiercely ignited surface of eighteen feet by twelve, a number of individuals either walked or danced in succession, one of them bearing on his shoulder an infant, ‘ which did not even cry.’ Such was the intensity of the body of red-hot coal, that the margin of the fire-pit was unapproachable, and the English officers sat on horseback at a few yards distance. The devotees were, however, ‘ besmeared all over with some yellow stuff,’ and it may be desirable to know the qualities of so effectual a preservative. Colonel Welsh could never ‘ get any native to explain’ the mystery, but it is deserving of more direct and authoritative investigation. Many, we may say most, of the specific remedies have been discovered by accident, or adopted from ignorant or empirical usage; and if this ‘ yellow stuff’ have really those prophylactic virtues, it may also have powerful remedial qualities.

Some rather interesting details occur concerning a sect of Mussulmans known by the name of Moplah. Their precise tenets do not appear, but their practice seems to unite, in a very striking degree, superstitious character with an utter absence of all high religious principle. They are all selfish money-hoarders,

yet waste large sums on building mosques quite uncalled for either by necessity or expediency. Their habits of life are 'filthy and disgusting;' their unsocial disposition will not allow them to assemble together even for public worship; and their want of charitable feeling is proverbial. They are, in a word, a 'cowardly, sulky, and jealous race.'

We shall not undertake to reduce the remaining portion of these desultory and exceedingly miscellaneous 'Reminiscences' to systematic order; nor should we find it convenient to extend the present article by multiplying extracts. We have, as already intimated, given the substance of the more important information; and we shall conclude our comment on the contents of these volumes, by recommending their perusal as filling up not a few chasms in the minor departments of Indian history, and communicating much interesting and instructive detail connected with the state of society, morals, manners, and government in the peninsula of India.

We are rather at a loss how to deal with the graphic illustrations; some are very good, others exceedingly bad: the good, however, predominate, and, on the whole, they form an interesting series. The view of the Pagoda of Papanassum is a clever drawing of a lovely scene; and the bird's eye view of part of the Hill-fort of Punalla, gives a good popular exhibition of the interior of such muniments. A number of military plans elucidate the narrative. Altogether, we have been much gratified by the book.

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Art. V. 1. *A Series of Maps, Modern and Ancient*, under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Nos. I. to VIII. Price 1s. each. London. 1830.

2. *A Comparative Atlas of Ancient and Modern Geography*, from original Authorities, and upon a new Plan, for the Use of Eton School, by A. Arrowsmith. Fifty-two Plates. Imperial 4to. Full coloured and half-bound, 2l. 15s. London. 1828.

3. *Skeleton Outlines to the Eton Comparative Atlas*. Imperial 4to. Price 5s.

4. *Index to the Eton Comparative Atlas of Ancient and Modern Geography*. By A. Arrowsmith. Royal 8vo. Price 7s. London. 1828.

**I**T cannot be too strongly urged on the attention of all who may be concerned in the instruction of youth, that there can be no sound historical *grounding*, nor, indeed, can there be a fair foundation for useful general reading, without an habitual manipulation of geographical maps and chronological tables. A prompt and ready reference to these indispensable companions,

or rather their deep impression upon what we may be permitted to call the *eye-memory*, is the only thing that can keep the continually intersecting lines of history clear and distinct; enabling us always to collateralize the great streams of events, and to solve the various and important questions arising out of their relative or contrasted synchronisms.

Although Chronology is not specifically connected with the subject before us, it is so inseparably interlinked with it, that we shall take this occasion to say a few words in enforcement of it as a necessary element, a *sine qua non*, of all legitimate instruction. Nor is it sufficient to make use of those convenient manuals which are commonly used in schools. All of these publications that we remember to have seen, were nothing better than chronological abridgements of general history, mere series of events, dry and sterile; and of such compendiums, we are much inclined to question the efficiency in educational training. We are urging the principle of *collaterality*; and we regret that there is not, so far as we are aware, in existence, such a cheap and manageable system of Tables as may be fairly exposed to the wear and tear of a school-room. Dr. Playfair's collection is exceedingly valuable. The Introduction gives a full and clear account of the mechanism of Chronology, and an explanation of the various epochs and eras which have prevailed at different times and among different nations. Then follows an historical section, containing succinct annals of the great kingdoms both of ancient and modern times, with special reference to the dates of leading events. The calculation of eclipses is frequently available in the examination of doubtful points; and Dr. Playfair has, accordingly, given a list of all recorded or ascertained eclipses antecedent to the Christian era: while those of modern times are carried forward to the year 1900. Next comes the 'Chronology of Councils,' with a specification of the purposes for which each council was convened. This is succeeded by an extensive 'Chronology of remarkable Events and Occurrences,' in ancient and modern history; and to this is appended a most valuable collection of 'Tables,' twenty-seven in number, on matters illustrative of the great series. The Chronicle of Paros, the Chronology of the Olympiads, and the Hejira, with other important details, find a place in these tables. A copious 'Biographical Index,' extending through nearly a hundred folio pages, stands next; and the work is closed by seven engraved 'Chronological Charts,' combining the advantages of Blair and Priestley. Such is the volume which we are anxious to recommend to such of our readers as may be desirous of possessing, within reasonable limits, a comprehensive work on this most important subject. After all, Blair's will remain the more popular book, though incomparably inferior in scientific character.

and real usefulness, simply because it is more convenient, and, with all its defects, quite sufficient for general use. Exhibiting on the same surface, somewhat of historical detail, with the names of eminent individuals, it will always command the preference with persons who may be indisposed to the greater attention and effort which Playfair requires. Still, to recur to our previous intimation,—these valuable works are too cumbrous and too expensive for general, and especially for juvenile use; and it would not be difficult, though it might be laborious, to compile a set of collateral tables, that should embody quite enough of information in a form that should place it within reach of all classes. Lesage's Atlas, and Major Bell's translation of Bredow, are valuable in their way; and in our last Number, we noticed an ingenious publication designed to illustrate the political geography of the world at different epochs. But these by no means supersede such a work as we have just described; clear, simple, and divested of all extraneous matter whatsoever. We now turn to our proper subject.

The world is content to take a great deal for granted, in most branches of knowledge; and in nothing more than in maps, has this acquiescent and *pocourante* temper been manifested, though in nothing could it be more thoroughly out of place. We cannot help smiling at the recollection of the paltry performances which we were called upon, some forty or fifty years ago, to admire and implicitly to trust to. 'George Kitchen, 'Geographer', was the Arrowsmith of his day, the d'Anville of schoolboys, the Rennel of upper and lower forms. Great progress has certainly been made since then in the art of map-drawing; and in this country, the late Mr. Arrowsmith may, we suppose, be fairly considered as the individual who has most contributed to make its improvements popular. We no longer see chains of mountains, like a succession of stunted sugar-loaves in military array. Satisfactory attempts are made to represent the great features of nature in a form as picturesque, and as nearly resembling reality, as may comport with circumstances. In some maps, protracted on a large scale, the approach to correctness is nearly complete; and the various stages of ascent, with the different *plateaux*, are laid down with an accuracy which approaches to perfection. Still, much remains to be done in atlases for common use, where reduction and selection must be the guiding principles. In too many instances, the constructor of maps has thought his task sufficiently well discharged, if he has worked up the engraving neatly, indicated with due regard to general effect the great natural features, and given such a selection of names and titles as he may have found in accredited charts, aided, perhaps, by an occasional reference to the gazetteer. This process is altogether insuffi-

cient to give value and trustworthiness even to the manual of a schoolboy. Every map should be at once, a delineation of surface, a travelling guide, and an historical record. It is not enough that mountains and rivers are laid down; their relative proportions should be marked,—as, in the *astrarium*, the different magnitudes of the stars have their appropriate signs. That this suggestion is not fastidious, and that its realization would occasion no great difficulty, may be shewn by a cursory example. With sufficient accuracy for our present purpose, we may take the surface of France as consisting of three gradations: 1. The mountainous tracts of Auvergne and the *Vivrais*. 2. The elevated platform, or rather inclined plane, of which those lofty regions form the highest point, bounded, to the north, by an irregular line passing from Besançon to Poitiers, and on the south, by a similar line running from Niort to Carcassone. 3. The low levels ranging to the north and south, respectively, of these lines. Now there would be no difficulty whatever in expressing this general aspect of the country, and in preserving, at the same time, the subordinate features. Yet, in none of the maps which are, at the present moment, within our reach, is there any reference to these peculiarities, but, on the contrary, they are charged with particulars absolutely at variance with them. In the system we are recommending, there is nothing but what may be easily effected in the smallest maps; but it demands two qualities of which the evidences are not always apparent in such publications; knowledge, and careful application of scientific principle.

In addition to a correct and expressive exhibition of surface, it is indispensable that a map should furnish a clear and comprehensive guide to the explorer of the country; not merely aiming at popularity, by bestowing exclusive pains on the greatest thoroughfares, with their post-towns and halting-places for ease or curiosity, but supplying all the information that names and routes can give concerning regions and localities in any way remarkable or attractive. In this particular, nearly all maps that we have seen, excepting local draughts or authentic surveys on a large scale, are miserably defective, and betray the utter ignorance and carelessness which have directed their reduction and the selection of their materials. It is, however, of still greater importance, that the principle of historical reference should, in the construction of all maps for general or juvenile use, be invariably kept in view; and yet, of all the purposes which they are intended to serve, this is the most neglected. Times without number, have we been annoyed by this remissness, in our attempts to trace out for the benefit of an attentive youth, the great lines of military movement, the advances of civilization, the changes of frontier, or the modifica-



tion of possessions and dependencies: in short, we have, in nine cases out of ten, when extensive or important territorial alterations were in question, been obliged to take our pencils, and insert the information that we wished to convey. It was but the other day that, having to point out the place where Gustavus Adolphus fell in the arms of victory, we looked in vain for Lutzen, both in the maps to Pinkerton's Geography, first edition, and in Arrowsmith's 'Outlines of the World', 1825. In both maps, there is ample room for the insertion; and in both, even were the space filled up, a large vacancy might be secured by the erasure of a whole host of unimportant names. Just in the same way, being called on to shew the geographical position of Aczakow, we searched for it in the latter atlas without success.

We come, at length, to the works which have served us as a text for this desultory, but, we hope, neither unprofitable nor inexpedient criticism. The Maps published by the Useful Knowledge Society, are by far the best publication that they have sent forth, and promise to supply a want which has been long inconveniently felt. Although they do not justify the intrepid puffing of the Edinburgh Review, nor merit the unqualified compliment of 'perfect execution', they are, so far as we have examined them, evidently under very effective superintendence; and we feel assured, from testimony both internal and external, that some of them have had the advantage of an immediate collation with original draughts. By the illustrations of ancient geography, the work has all the accommodation of a comparative atlas; and we hope that this convenience will be still further extended, by the insertion of two or three maps adapted to intermediate history. The political geography of the middle ages, is sometimes very puzzling to general readers. Since writing the heading of this article, we have seen the 9th Number, containing neat plans of ancient and modern Rome; and a kind of supernumerary *livraison*, containing six very interesting and well engraved charts of the starry heavens. The cheapness of these publications is without a parallel; but we really think that a little more pains with the coloured copies, might be afforded: the harshness of the tint obliterates the outline which it is meant to define; yet, an extra sixpence, fifty per cent. on the original price, is charged for this coarse workmanship.

Mr. Arrowsmith's Eton Comparative Atlas is not, in point of graphic execution, equal to the same Publisher's 'Outlines of the World', but it is a valuable work;—just one of those substantial aids to education, of which it is our vexation to remember that they were not attainable in the time of our own pupil-



age. It has every mark of careful editing, and the name of the Rev. Mr. Hawtrey is given as a security for learned direction and revision. The ancient and modern maps of the respective countries, are presented on opposite pages, and consequently in the most convenient juxtaposition.

The 'Index' will be found an exceedingly useful companion to the Atlas. It contains a catalogue of 30,000 names, with references both to the numbers of the maps and to the latitude and longitude. A second Index refers to the map of England during the Anglo-Saxon period; and, in both indices, translation, where practicable or necessary, is carefully inserted. The 'Skeleton outlines' are excellent: enough is marked to save irksome trouble, and enough left out to task the memory and attention fairly. We recommend them as supplying, in conjunction with the Atlas and the Index, the best and easiest means of obtaining a sound general knowledge of ancient geography.

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**Art. VI.** *The Holy Bible, according to the established Version: with the exception of the Substitution of the original Hebrew Names, in place of the English Words, LORD and GOD: and of a few Corrections thereby rendered necessary. With Notes. 8vo. Parts I. and II. London, 1830.*

**W**HATEVER may be the import of the Hebrew names which, in the Old Testament, are applied to the Supreme Being, the practice which has hitherto prevailed among translators of the Scriptures, is, in addition to all other reasons that may be adduced in its defence, justified by the manner in which the writers of the New Testament have introduced the terms they employ to denote the true God. Whatever of piety, therefore, there may seem to be in the language of such writers as the Editor of the work before us, there is but little of true wisdom in their proceedings, in revising and publishing the Bible with such a text as is here exhibited; nor can any thing be more void of propriety, or savour more of unintelligible, superstitious usage, than many of the verbal comments which accompany it. Largely to criticise a work of this description, could not commend us to the favour of our readers; and we have no inclination to charge ourselves with so irksome and unprofitable a task. It may, however, be of some use to them, if we bestow a little of our labour upon the very singular production in our hands. The Editor, we cannot doubt, is much too learned and much too strongly attached to his system, to be benefitted by any remarks from a Reviewer; but we may other-

wise be serviceable, by furnishing some proofs of the strange conceits and errors which he has adduced as very serious verities. Let us look into his 'Preface'.

'In the 4th chapter of Daniel, and the 8th, 9th, and 17th verses, the HOLY ONES are expressly called the HOLY ALEHIM: now HOLY or HOLINESS, in Scripture language, is, properly speaking, only applicable to JEHOVEH.'

The expression, 'the holy Gods', occurs in the first two of the above cited texts, but not in the last of them; and it is used, not by Daniel, or any true worshipper of Israel's God, but by the idolatrous monarch of Babylon, plainly in reference to his country's Gods, as the Chaldeans speak of the 'Gods,' Chap. ii. 11. Bishop Horsley, who was but little guided in his criticisms by sobriety of judgement, and who delighted in the semblance of bold originality and paradox, has furnished the Editor with a precedent for considering the language in these examples as indicating the doctrine of the Trinity. But 'the holy Gods', in the dialect and theology of Chaldea, had, we are persuaded, no such meaning; and it is language which, in no one instance throughout the Bible, is used in reference to Jehovah. Are we to believe that, to the true worshippers of Him who made the heavens and the earth, such a form of speech was utterly unknown, and that idolaters alone were familiar with the terms which correctly designated the Divine nature? Again, says the Editor, in this Preface:

'*Ish* denotes a man in authority, and is generally applied to men who have been circumcised: it probably distinguishes a regenerated or circumcised man, from an uncircumcised or natural man.'

A writer who can indulge his fancy in this absurd manner, is very ill qualified to comment on so important a book as the sacred volume. *Ish*, *יש*, is used throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, to denote man, simply as a human being: it has no reference to circumcision, or uncircumcision, to the regenerate, or unregenerate. Would the Editor read Exodus xxi. 12., 'He that smiteth a *regenerate man*, so that he die, shall surely be put to death'? Or Psalm cxlvii. 10., 'He taketh no pleasure in the legs of a *circumcised man*'? *Ish* is applied to Cain, the first born of the human race; it is used of a criminal doomed to die for flagrant transgression, Deut. xxii. 25.; it is the expression in Psalm v. 6., 'the bloody and deceitful man'. In the plural, we find it used of 'the men who work iniquity.' Ps. cxli. 4.; and in Ezekiel xxiii. 44., it occurs in the feminine, 'the lewd women.' The Editor, however, it appears, from his 'Scriptural Defence of the Holy Bible' affixed to Part II., is determined that, whatever application *Ish* may have, the notion

of circumcision shall be inseparable from it. 'The Schechemites after they were circumcised, and the men of Jabesh-Gilead in covenant with Ishral, are called *Ish*;'—and 'was not', he asks, 'Mannaseh king of Isral circumcised?' Was, then, the *Cananite* whom the spies saw coming out of Luz, Judges i. 24., a circumcised man?—And what would the Editor say to the use of the word in 1 Sam. xvii. 4. 24., where it is applied to Goliath of Gath, an '*uncircumcised Philistine*'? So much for the Hebrew word *Ish*, and the erudite philology of the Editor.

In the preceding quotation from the 'Defence', our readers will have noticed the Editor's orthography, *Ishral*. In his Preface, he assigns reasons for printing the name in this form, and for deserting the usual manner of writing it. '*Ishral* means an *Ish* in AL, or, in the New Testament language, a man in Christ. 3 Cor. xii. 2.' But *Ish* and AL, do not make up the name *Ishral*, taking it according to this new mode of printing it. The meaning of the name *Israel*, we learn from the history of the patriarch to whom it was given, Gen. xxxii. 28.; and satisfying ourselves with this account, we must be excused from troubling ourselves with the caballistic extravagances of the Writer before us.

To examine the use which the Editor has made of the original text, in those instances in which he undertakes the new modelling of its terms, would be a very tedious labour. He does not hesitate to state, that, ALEH the FATHER, AL the SON, and RUACH the HOLY GHOST, are, in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, distinct names, which define what we call the PERSONS in the Godhead; and proceeding upon this assumption, he has ventured to give utterance to some strange notions, of which we shall furnish a specimen. 'The relative name *Father* is never joined with any of the sacred names but ALEH.' Let us look into the lxviiiith Psalm, v. 6., "A *Father* of the fatherless is GOD (אלהים) in his holy habitation."—Or into Psalm lxxxix. 27., "He shall cry unto me, Thou art my *Father*, my GOD (אבי אתה אלי), and the rock of my salvation."

But our readers will better perceive the mode of proceeding by which the Editor extracts from the Bible whatever dogmas he would have us receive on his authority as an expositor of its language, if we quote a passage from these luminous pages. In the Common Version, Gen. xlv. 2. is very intelligible, and is, we believe, a very correct representation of the sense of the Hebrew text. "And God spake unto *Israel* in the visions of the night, and said, Jacob, Jacob. And he said, Here *am* I. And he said, I *am* God, the God of thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt." Till the year 1830, the passage, we believe, (for we have not examined every Bible in existence,) was

thus read in every copy of the Scriptures, Jewish and Christian, manuscript and printed. But the true sense, it seems, has been veiled from the eyes of all preceding translators, and the proper reading is, by the happy discernment of the present Editor, at last discovered and published for the instruction of the world.

‘ And ALEHIM spake unto Ishral in the visions of the night, and said Jacob, Jacob. And he said, I *am* the AL, my ALEH is thy father : fear not to go down into Egypt.’

We cannot be surprised, after such a specimen as this, to find the Editor seriously remarking, that the passage Gen. iii. 8. would be better understood, if rendered literally, ‘ And afterwards they heard the VOICE, JEHOVEH ALEHIM communing in ‘ the garden to RUACH that day.’

From the Preface, we pass on to the Notes, and find in the very first page the following one, which, for the proof that it supplies of the accomplished learning of its Author in Hebrew philology, is, we believe, as choice a specimen as could be desired ; but so ample are the testimonies of this kind which we find in these pages, that we can assure the reader, the motto, *ex uno disce omnes*, never had a more pertinent application.

‘ *Our after likeness.* These words are expressed by one in the original text. The pronoun *our* is affixed, and should not have divided *after* from *likeness*: moreover Adam was created in the figure of him that was to come. Rom. v. 14.’

This is, indeed, a most extraordinary method of employing Hebrew particles and pronominal affixes. Are we, then, to read, in 1 Sam. xiii. 14., ‘ Jehovah hath sought him a man (כלביו) *his after heart*,’ instead of ‘ after (according to) his own heart ’?—or, in Prov. xxiv. 12., ‘ render to every man (כמעלו) *his after work*,’ instead of, ‘ according to his work ’? We have, however, very sufficiently, both for our readers and ourselves, noticed the extravagances of this very extraordinary work. After all, this reformed Bible but very imperfectly answers the avowed design of the Editor, that of preserving untranslated the Hebrew names which are applied to the Divine Being, on account of their very great importance, and the transcendental theology which such an adept in Hebrew learning can extract from them. Why has he not enabled us to read in Gen. xv. 1., DEVAR JEHOVEH, since he affirms, that ‘ the word coming in a vision ’ to Abram, ‘ evidently means that ‘ WORD who is JEHOVEH ’?

- Art. VII. 1. *Observations on the State of the Country, and on the proper Policy of Administration.* 8vo. pp. 32. Longman, 1830.
2. *Alarming State of the Nation considered; the Evil traced to its source, and Remedies pointed out.* By a Country Gentleman. 8vo. pp. 99. Ridgway, 1830.
3. *The Results of Machinery, namely, Cheap Production and increased Employment, exhibited: being an Address to the Working-men of the United Kingdom.* 18mo. Price 1s. Knight, 1831.
4. *Thoughts submitted to the Employers of Labour in the County of Norfolk, with a few Words to the Employed.* By John Weyland, Esq. M.P. F.R.S. One of the Chairmen of the Quarter Sessions for the County. 8vo. pp. 14. Price 3d. Norwich, 1830.
5. *Remarks on the present Distresses of the Poor.* By G. H. Law, D.D. F.R.S., &c., Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. 8vo. pp. 26. Wells, 1830.

**P**AMPHLETS from all quarters are pouring in upon us, having for their common subject, the critical and alarming state of the Country. We should be inexcusable if we suffered our present Number to leave the press, without adverting to this all-absorbing topic, although we feel that it is one which demands a much more profound and comprehensive discussion than either ephemeral pamphlets or periodical journals can bestow upon it.

We are not alarmed; we see no rational cause for alarm, but abundant reason for the most serious consideration of the signs of the times, and the most watchful attention to those public duties which, at such a crisis more especially, devolve upon every member of the community, from the peer to the peasant. The feeling of alarm is a cowardly, selfish, and short-sighted feeling, and generally prompts to the adoption of rash or temporizing expedients. The state of the country requires to be viewed in another temper,—with that moral courage which reduces danger to a simple contest with difficulties, and that cheerful confidence in Divine Providence which the Christian is called upon to exemplify. “He shall not be afraid of evil tidings: his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord”.

It is of the highest importance, however, that we should not under-rate the evils and difficulties with which we have to contend. Never, since Chatham was called by a reluctant monarch to the helm of the sinking state, has an Administration acceded to power under circumstances so critical. We put not our trust in men, and would not too sanguinely calculate upon the happy results of the change which has placed at the head of affairs those whom the almost unanimous voice of the country recommended to the royal appointment as not merely the fittest, but

the only competent persons to cope with the exigencies of public affairs. Yet, when we look at the untainted public character of Earl Grey and his colleagues, and consider not simply the pledges they have tendered to Parliament, but those which are supplied by their conduct in the memorable struggle for the abolition of slavery, and by their uniform advocacy of a pacific foreign policy, we cannot help indulging the hope, that the lines of Cowper, referring to Chatham, may prove not inapplicable to them.

‘ Such men are raised to station and command,  
When Providence means mercy to a land.  
He speaks, and they appear ; to him they owe  
Skill to direct, and strength to strike the blow.  
To manage with address, to seize with power  
The crisis of a dark, decisive hour.  
So Gideon earned a victory not his own.’

The late change is not a mere change of ministers, but, as remarked by the intelligent Author of the “*Observations*,” &c. ‘ a change of the principles on which the Government of the country has been conducted ’ ;—and, we may add, a change of the relations in which this country will stand to other countries. Notwithstanding the prompt recognition of the new French monarch, the pacific professions of the Premier, and the system of non-interference which has ostensibly been adhered to, the late Administration were, at least in the eyes of Europe, the secret allies or well-wishers to Despotism all over the world. The concessions they made to the spirit of the age, were believed to be reluctant and at variance with their principles. It could not be forgotten, that the partition of Europe by the Congress of Vienna, and the policy of the Holy Alliance, of which the present disorders on the Continent are the natural result, had, in the late Premier, an approver and abettor. The friend of Metternich and of Polignac, and the diplomatic agent of Lord Castlereagh, must have been regarded by foreign despots as no enemy to their arbitrary measures ; and the very neutrality of Great Britain, with such a Cabinet, was a tacit encouragement to their most nefarious schemes for extinguishing popular liberty. That they might be under no mistake on this head, the foreign affairs were, moreover, committed to a nobleman of the Austrian school, whom no one could suspect of any sympathy with the spirit of the age or the interests of the people. And if any doubt could exist as to the bias and predilections of the ministerial party who have been displaced by the recent changes, the frank declarations of their semi-official organ, the *Quarterly Review*, would make known to all Europe, how completely their real



sentiments were opposed to the language of their recent public measures. It may be worth while to bring under the notice of our readers a few sentences from an article inserted in the No. published in *last October*.

' We certainly wished,' say the Reviewers, ' that in the struggle which we had long foreseen, the immediate result might be, *the re-establishment of something like despotic power in the throne of France*; and we did so, because we considered a despotism in the present condition of the world, as likely to turn out a lesser evil in that mighty country, than the other alternative. The past had satisfied us, that if Charles X. desired the influence of a dictator, he was incapable of using that influence for any unpatriotic purpose; that no fretfulness of idle vanity, no fervour of selfish ambition, had tormented his "chair-days";—and that whatever extraordinary power he might obtain, would be held conscientiously as his only for an extraordinary and temporary purpose—that of endeavouring to lay the foundation of a national aristocracy. As to the other great absent element of national strength and security,—*a church establishment*, we must confess we never indulged in the anticipation of witnessing any thing worthy of such a name in France. Charles X., unlike Louis XVIII., was a *sincere Catholic*; but the popish system had obviously ceased to have any substantial hold on the nation, and his *very virtues* forbade any expectation of his taking a part in re-placing it with a better! . . . . Charles X., *having been wholly in the right*, managed so as to put himself in the wrong: he saw his danger, but miscalculated his strength; and struck, instead of waiting for the blow. It is the part of Europe, and above all, of England, honouring his intentions, and pitying his fate, to avoid his tactics,—to keep undeniably, as well as virtually in the right. The elements of disorder are rife in many quarters; but the great Powers of the Continent know their strength better than they did on a former occasion; and England, as respects the condition of her armies, was never so well prepared as now.\*

We deem it quite superfluous to offer any comment upon this romantic misrepresentation. The character of that pious, patriotic, right-minded, and sagacious monarch, Charles X., is by this time pretty well understood; and the Reviewer might just as well have employed his pen in extolling the virtues of his worthy peer, Don Miguel. We have cited this manifesto of *ultraism*, simply to illustrate the relation in which the Wellington Cabinet stood to the Polignac Administration. Supposing (and it is no

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\* Quart. Rev. No. lxxxvi. pp. 595, 6.



violent supposition) the article in the Quarterly Review to be in harmony with the sentiments of the late British ambassador at the court of Paris, it is easily explained, how the French people should have been led to imagine that Charles X. and his ministers had their friends and well-wishers on this side of the water. In the same way, the Emperors of Austria and Russia would securely calculate upon the friendly permission and acquiescence of England in their plans of aggression. But the accession of Earl Grey will have undeceived them; and the change in the British councils which it announces, will, it may be hoped, secure the peace of Europe, which seemed upon the point of being again deluged with a Slavonic irruption. It is not less the interest than it is the duty of England, to separate herself in feeling and in fact, ostensibly and actually, from those decrepid and barbarous despotisms upon which, most assuredly, sentence is passed, and the hour of whose overthrow cannot be far distant. Our escaping, as a nation, the participation of their plagues, will depend, under Divine Providence, upon our standing clear of all alliance with the Powers that are hostile to the interests of freedom, truth, and genuine Christianity.

‘The present condition of society in Europe,’ it is justly remarked, ‘and particularly in England, has no parallel in the history of the world.’

‘It is pregnant with problems, in the resolution of which little aid, unfortunately, can be derived from experience. We are, in fact, entering, as it were, upon a new and untrodden path. In antiquity, a class of free labourers could not be said to exist. All menial, and most mechanical employments were then carried on by slaves, who, of course had no voice in, nor influence over the public councils. During the middle ages, and down almost to our own times, the labouring class was but nominally emancipated. Owing to the peculiar state of things that grew out of the feudal system, it was every where held in a state of substantial and confined dependence upon the owners and occupiers of land. But, since commerce and manufactures began to be prosecuted upon a large scale, (which, in England is confined to a period of little more than *fifty* years,) a new and powerful order has arisen in the state, that of a vast body of manufacturing labourers, depending only on the demand for their services, and liable to be thrown out of their employment, and deprived of the means of supporting themselves, by every change of foreign or domestic policy or fashions. And besides this new and most formidable power, the agricultural labourers have been in a great measure thrown loose upon society, or, which is the same thing, they have been emancipated from their former dependence upon their masters. They no longer live in the houses of their employers, nor form, as of old, a part of the farmer’s family. The latter have been elevated in the scale of society: their advance has not however, as is falsely stated, been the occasion of a degradation in the condition of the labourers. With the exception of

some districts in the south, the latter are in a better condition at this moment, than they have ever previously been. But that sympathy and affection which formerly subsisted between farmers and their servants, has for ever disappeared. A broad and distinct line of demarcation has been drawn between them. A modern farm is merely a species of manufactory for the production of corn. In many parts, a great deal of farm-labour is performed by what is called piece-work; so that the workmen are not even bound to the farmer by the tie, slight as it is, of hired service for a definite period.

*' So peculiar a state of things does not exist any where else. In France and other continental states, the manufacturing system has made comparatively little progress; agriculture is not carried on in the mode in which it is carried on here; and above all, the bulk of the labourers have a direct interest in the soil, holding a portion of it either as owners (which is most frequently the case) or as lessees, or in return for services performed on the grounds of others; so that, though seldom able to advance themselves to a higher station, they do not run the risk of falling into a state of absolute destitution. In this country, on the contrary, the situation of the labourer is most precarious. We declaim loudly, and with justice, against the existence of slavery. But the fact is not to be disguised, that, in respect to severity, the labourers of England may envy the slaves of Jamaica. No workman engaged in agriculture or manufactures, can predict with any thing like certainty, what will be his situation, though in perfect health, a twelvemonth hence. He may be thrown out of employment; and if so, he has only the workhouse to fall back upon. Were the poor laws abolished, what would remain to form a link between the labourers and the other classes?'*

*' We hear every day of aristocrats, middle classes, labourers, and so forth. In reality, however, there are in this country two, and only two classes,—those who have something and those who have nothing. The former class may be subdivided into various subordinate classes; but they are knit together by a powerful bond of union,—the desire to protect the property they are possessed of. We agree, substantially at least, in a remark we have sometimes heard made, that every man who has 500*l.*, is, at bottom, an aristocrat. To declaim against the aristocracy is, in effect, to declaim against all people of property, and, by consequence, to represent the poor as the only deserving part of the community.'* *Observations, &c.* pp. 7—11.

It might, however, be shewn, that the class composed of 'those who have nothing', has its subdivisions also, and that these are of some importance. It comprises those who once had something, those who may reasonably expect to have something, and those who never had and never expect to have any thing. The first and third of these sub-classes have, it is to be feared, been frightfully increased, while the second has undergone diminution. That the depressed condition of our agricultural population is not exaggerated in these paragraphs, may be shewn by citing the testimony of that same in-

**fluent** Journal to which we have already referred for a different purpose. In an article upon the Banking System, after remarking that, in Scotland, ‘the industrious and able-bodied population, however poor, *are not placed beyond the influence of hope*’, the Reviewer proceeds:—

‘In England, on the contrary, the great mass of the industrious classes, of the agricultural peasantry more especially, have been plunged into a condition of hopeless despair: they are conscious that no degree of industry and economy can put it in their power to emerge from their original condition.’

The ‘because’ assigned by the Reviewer, will appear to most persons utterly inadequate to explain the difference;—‘because there are no institutions like the Scotch banks, ready to assist them in the commencement of their struggles for competence and independence.’ Waiving, however, for the present, the examination of the Reviewer’s theory, we avail ourselves of his admission, that, owing to whatever cause or causes,—

‘the working classes in the South have been converted into a caste, like the pariahs of Hindoostan: between them and the rest of the community, there is a wide gulf, which they despair of being ever able to pass. Hence, they are callous to those considerations which practically prove the powerful means of instigating to good conduct and industry. They become necessarily careless of all consequences, and, in a state of hopeless and discontented pauperism, consume in unproductive idleness a very large proportion of those funds which, under a better arrangement, would make an incalculable addition to their own comforts, as well as to the stock of national wealth.’ *Quart. Rev.* No. lxxxvi. p. 361.

Such then being the real predicament in which, apart from all temporary distress or excitement, the country is placed,—a predicament, it must be allowed, deeply to be deplored by the patriot and the philanthropist, apart from the political danger inseparable from such a state of things,—the inquiry cannot fail to interest every rational person, by what concurrent causes have we been brought into this condition, and what are the most hopeful remedies? We agree with our ‘Country Gentleman,’ that, ‘in these times, every man’s opinion is worth something;’ and it is worth something, therefore, that so far as possible, the opinion of every one should be set right. The causes to which the present posture of society is generally attributed, may be thus enumerated.

1. The state of the Currency.
2. Free Trade.
3. Over-population.
4. Taxation and Tithes.
5. The Poor Laws.
6. Machinery and Over-production.

Each of these is put forward by different political doctors, & the chief, if not the sole complaint under which the nation is labouring; and the prescriptions vary accordingly, each having his favourite nostrum,—High prices—Commercial Restrictions—Emigration—Retrenchment and Reform—The Yeomanry—Manual Labour.

Now we hardly know which pretender to wisdom discovers the largest portion of wrongheadedness; he who would hold up any one of the causes above enumerated as furnishing an adequate explanation of all the facts connected with the case; or he who would refuse to admit that every one of them has, in concurrence with other circumstances and changes in society, had a positive influence; and that, consequently, no *specific* remedies can meet a case which, though it has assumed an acute form, under accidental exasperation, is a chronic malady, demanding a combination of moral and political treatment. Error, which, in order to gain reception, must include a considerable proportion of truth, often consists merely in the exaggeration of some particular truth. Thus, it has been remarked by M. Garnier, in his review of the doctrines of Adam Smith as compared with those of his predecessors, that ‘all philosophical sects owe their first origin and foundation to the discovery of some great truth; and it is the madness inspiring their members to deduce every thing from this new discovery, that contributes most to their downfall.’

Among the numbers who labour under this species of *monomania* in the present day, those who ring changes on the Currency, as the sole cause of the existing distress, are, if not the most unreasonable, the most insufferably extravagant. Of this class is our ‘Country Gentleman,’—an ominous designation, which is supported by the Writer to the fullest extent of consistency. The avowed enemy of all political economists, he pleads for the ‘old-fashioned sentiments of statesmen like Bacon and Cecil, who maintain that the land is the principal and only sure source of a nation’s wealth and prosperity.’ He warns the landowners of the destruction which impends over their heads; tells them, they have no time to lose; and what is somewhat amusing, says, it is surprising ‘how few of them are at all acquainted with the loss they have already sustained in their capitals.’ He earnestly exhorts them to ‘insist’ on having a fair value for their land, as a sure means of securing ‘the respect and estimation of their tenantry’ by letting them perceive that they, the lords of the soil, have ‘sense and spirit to maintain their rights, without trespassing on theirs.’ Mr. Peel’s bill of 1819 is denounced as an act of ‘spoliation and robbery committed upon the land-owner and the farmer.’ But

the following paragraph will place this Country Gentleman's sentiments in full view.

‘ No, it is not machinery, nor bad seasons, nor good ones, nor over-production, that will explain any of those phenomena that are now exhibiting themselves in our agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and throughout every department of our productive industry. One cause, indeed, and *one cause only, is sufficient to account for every thing*; namely, the resolution unfortunately adopted by the nation for compelling every man to discharge his engagements in money *double the value* of that in which he contracted them. There is no necessity to look further.’ p. 18.

Nor can there be any necessity to enter into further examination of the pages of a writer who can gravely indite such outrageous absurdities,—such as can be paralleled only by the speeches now and then to be heard in a certain House, which, whether it fairly represents the sense of the country or not, must be allowed to furnish vent for a due share of the national nonsense.

At the same time, let us not be tempted to imagine, that there is not some truth at the bottom of all this stupid extravagance. The Currency subject is the most difficult and perplexing of all the topics connected with the inquiry before us; and we find numbers of intelligent persons giving it up in despair. It is utterly impossible, however, to arrive at any satisfactory or intelligible explanation of some of the phenomena which the state of society, during the past forty or fifty years, has exhibited, without taking into consideration the facts relating to the changes in our currency, and the true reasons of those facts. The fluctuations which have taken place, have been felt more grievously by the farmer,—who has had far more reason to complain than the land-owner. The latter is pretty sure to get his share of the surplus produce of labour, whatever be its nominal or money value; and when prices are falling, he seldom fails to obtain more than his due share. The acre which yielded one quarter of corn fifty years ago, still yields it in corn; and as the labourer neither eats more, nor receives more in wages, measured by wheat, than he formerly did, the same surplus produce still exists, to be divided into rent, profit, and taxes. If profits have been diminished, and taxes have been lessened, there must still remain, notwithstanding the diminution of the money rent, as large a share as ever, in many cases a larger one, to the land-owner.

That the variations in the prices of corn are far more closely connected with the state of the circulating medium, than most persons are aware, is certain; nor is it less undeniable that those variations are often extensively calamitous. A metallic currency presents perhaps the only complete security against the

disastrous effects of the sudden expansion and contraction of the circulating medium. Whether a mixed currency can ever be placed upon so stable a footing, as to afford a similar exemption from this source of hazard, is the great problem which remains to be resolved. In the mean time, it is irrational, on the one hand, to exclude this subject from consideration, on account of its difficulty; as it is ridiculous, on the other, to represent this cause as the only one, or even the main one, which regulates the price of corn\*.

We pass over for the present the lucubrations of the anti-commercial or Sadlerian school, with the remark that, as in the question we have just been considering, they have alloyed some grains of truth with a mass of inconsistent absurdity. Those who would represent the land as the only sure source of a nation's wealth, must be ignorant, even below the lowest average of the attainments of a country gentleman. They can never have heard of Venice or Pisa, Lisbon or Amsterdam; and they must be scarcely better acquainted with the history of their own country. The outcry of the Tory *ultras* against free trade, is on a par, in point of intelligence and consistency, with the outcry of the more vulgar radicals against machinery. Neither party have any objection to participate in the benefits arising from the system they oppose. The benefits of free trade are admitted, except in the particular trade in which the complainants are interested in producing high prices. And the peasant, who wreaks his vengeance on the thrashing-machine, has no sort of objection to be clothed by machinery, nor would he like to be set to the labour of the hand-mill. On the other hand, although there is much ignorant and selfish clamour for protecting duties, it does not follow that no restrictions on freedom of trade are consistent with sound policy. It must be admitted, that national prosperity has been enjoyed to a high degree under a restrictive system. Upon this subject, the following sentiments, taken from a valuable pamphlet already referred to, appear to us distinguished by their good sense and moderation.

‘ France, of late years, has made great advances in commerce, in manufactures, in all industry and wealth, yet, under restriction. In like manner has every nation in Europe. The United States of America, the most rising of countries, is surrounded with prohibitions. The causes of prosperity must, therefore, rest on other more general causes than the freedom of trade, as the security of property, and the

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\* Upon this intricate subject, we would strongly recommend to attentive perusal, “Reflections on the Causes which influence the Price of Corn. By M. Fletcher.” 8vo. 1827. Black and Co.



spirit of individual exertion, whether guided by regulation, or left to their own course under a free commerce. While it is useful to remove all internal impediments, it is inter-nationally expedient to watch and support the great branches of industry. The Legislature, to compensate for the inability to overrule the changeable and sometimes hurtful regulations of other States, may so guard those within the dominions over which it has control, as to secure the stability, compactness, and other advantages of the greatest possible interchange of domestic products. The pursuit of wealth, national any more than individual, cannot be held to be the sole or the great object of consideration: it must be postponed to religion, to morals, to character, to independence, to defence; for, indeed, wealth without these cannot be stably retained.

‘Freedom of trade, therefore, is a good, subject to limitations. Essential interests may claim protection and support at some sacrifice. Yet, *great disparities from the rest of the world, in the main necessities, conveniences, and objects of life, are to be lowered and levelled*; otherwise all who are not locally held, will escape abroad to a condition of less restraint and freer air. As a part of the world, it is requisite to be on some near footing, especially with neighbours, in the price of subsistence and general enjoyments. In grain, this is hardly the case; the difference is from 50 to 100 per cent.; it is felt in fixed incomes, manufactures, in every walk of life. Labour, notwithstanding the accession of machinery, is still the chief ingredient in the chief industry of the country, as well in the first formation of fabrics, as in the multiplied after-processes of finishing and conveying; and the price of grain goes mainly into the price of labour. Hence, reasonableness in food must enter more extensively than any other lessening of expense, into the general cheapness of production; and the consequent enlargement of vent and manufacture; and, what is more, of enjoyment. At the same time, as regards agriculture, the competition of foreign food must interrupt and impair its prosperity, except in so far as the means and condition of the other classes of the community, productive and unproductive, are advanced,—those on whom it rests for support, as they on it. As the silk, cotton, and other manufactures cannot be said to be increased by the admission of foreign, neither can the agriculture of the country by the introduction of foreign grain. But all are brought gradually to a fair and entire competition with the rest of the world, sharing freely with, but not superseding the industry of other nations. In fine, a more easy, solid, and secure position of the country results: and this is the sum of the advantages of free trade, rather than any extension of prosperity consequent upon it.’

*Fletcher's Reflections, pp. 36—39.*

We now come to the third alleged cause of the existing pressure, a redundant population. But why redundant? What is brought forward as a cause, ought rather to be regarded as an effect. There exists no excess of numbers over the means of subsistence. The land could support a far denser population. The excess, then, is relative to the demand for labour or the fund for paying the wages of the labourer. We have not too

large a population, if they could but maintain themselves by their labour. The real evil, then, is not over-population, but the circumstances which render that population a burden, namely, *their absolute dependence upon precarious wages*. In no country is the fund for employing labour so large, in proportion to the numerical population, as in England; but in no country is the mass of the people so entirely and helplessly dependent upon the wages of labour. That the condition of the peasant is still substantially better than that of the corresponding class in other countries, must be admitted; but it is more fluctuating. Taking into consideration his acquired habits, the climate, and other circumstances, he lies more at the mercy of his employer, upon whom it has been the tendency of all the enactments of the Legislature, and the policy of our Country Gentlemen, to teach him and compel him entirely to depend. He has been, by inclosure acts and other specious robberies of the poor, deprived of every means of self-support, and, at the same time, has been compelled to sue as a pauper for the just reward of his labour. Into this subject, however, it is our intention to enter more fully on a future occasion.

Taxation and Tithes form, according to a numerous, perhaps the most numerous, as well as the most noisy complainants, the sum and substance of all our national grievances, and the root of all evil. And the *panacea* for these grievances is expressed in the words, Retrenchment and Reform. Upon this point, we shall content ourselves with citing the judicious 'observations' of the Author of the anonymous pamphlet on the State of the Country.

' Those who affirm that the condition of the people may be materially improved by any retrenchment of expenditure that it is possible to adopt, so long as faith is kept with the public creditor, are either deceived themselves, or are endeavouring, for no good purpose, to deceive others. Upon what are the great retrenchments of which we hear so much, to be made? Of fifty millions of revenue, NINE AND TWENTY MILLIONS go to pay the interest of the debt; and this sum must be paid till revolution, and not reform, is at work; till the title-deeds of Netherby, and the bonds of Mr. Rothschild, are involved in one common blaze. The talk that one hears about pensions is absolutely ludicrous; not that we think that one-third of these pensions should ever have been granted, or that the system which admitted of such a misapplication of the public money should not be utterly abolished; but supposing that *all* pensions and useless places were forthwith put down, and taxes repealed to the extent of the 700,000*l.* or 800,000*l.* a year expended upon them, it would not make a difference of *one shilling* a year to each individual in the country. We are no friends to unnecessary and profligate expenditure, but neither are we any friends to that system of exaggeration that would make it be believed that a whole nation may get rich by saving, what Mr. Wind-

ham happily called, a parcel of cheese-parings and candle-ends. Taxes to the amount of FIVE AND TWENTY MILLIONS a year have been repealed since the end of the war, and yet we seem to be as much depressed as ever. How, then, is our salvation to be effected by the repeal of one or two millions more? If we estimate the savings that may be effected by an unsparing system of retrenchment at *three millions*, we believe we shall be beyond the mark; and yet that would not amount to half-a-crown a year to every individual of this great empire! It is time, therefore, that an end were put to the absurd notions that are afloat as to this matter. Let us have retrenchment, that corruption may be put down; that a minister may not have the same facilities he has hitherto enjoyed of binding majorities to his chariot wheels; but do not let us be so silly as to imagine that it is to fill our pockets, or shower manna upon the land.'

'Perhaps it will be asked, "if reform be really of so little importance as has been represented, why do we recommend it?" This question, however, is founded upon a complete misconception of our opinion: we do not undervalue reform. So far from this, we consider reform, provided it be made upon proper principles, as of the very highest importance, though we know that it will not raise rents, profits, or wages. It will do none of those things for which it is principally sought after; but it will accomplish others that are quite as desirable.'

'The species of reform that ought to be recommended by those who are really desirous of putting down abuse, and at the same time of preserving the peace of the country, their property, and our present institutions, is, therefore, abundantly obvious. All small boroughs, with less than 400 or 500 voters, possessed of property in land, houses, or money, worth 40*l.* or 50*l.* a year, ought to be unconditionally deprived of the power of returning members; the election of members to supply their places being given to the populous towns, at present unrepresented, and the counties. We shall not, however, concede a boon, but inflict a curse upon Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, &c. if we fix the qualification for an elector either too high or too low. In the one case we should throw it into the hands of a junto, and in the other into those of the rabble. The object ought to be to give the franchise to all who, from their circumstances, may be supposed to have an interest in the support of the public peace, and to be above being seduced by such bribes as an unworthy candidate might be able to offer. It is difficult to say what this limit ought to be, and it were far better to fix it a little too high than too low. It is enough for us to have indicated the principle, which is no other than the bringing in of *every individual possessed of a reasonable amount of property, within the electoral body*. A plan of this sort would at once detach every one belonging to the upper and middle classes from the radical standards: they would take their natural place in the ranks of the aristocracy; and the government would be immeasurably strengthened for all good purposes.

'The county representation, though less vicious than that of the boroughs, is still very defective. The qualification ought certainly to be raised; leaseholders and copyholders should no longer be excluded

from the list of voters, and a certain amount of property should be made the only test of capacity to exercise the suffrage. The time during which the poll may be kept open, ought also to be shortened, and every election should be cancelled if it can be shewn that the successful candidate has conveyed a single voter to the hustings, or given any one a pecuniary remuneration for his vote. When once the power of electing members is entrusted to those only who have a *stake in the country*, they will not feel it any hardship to defray their own expense in coming to the poll. They will be aware of the value of the privilege, and they will not grudge the expense incurred in exercising it.

The path which government should follow is sufficiently well defined. If it do that which is right, it will assuredly encounter the opposition of the mob and of the borough holders. But let it not attempt to conciliate either party. It must put its trust in the aristocracy of the country—in those interested in the maintenance of tranquillity and the suppression of abuse. If it concede any thing to radicalism, it will only strengthen the hands of its foes. It will be admitting an enemy into the citadel, who will never be satisfied till it be overthrown—till a republic, “one and indivisible,” be established upon the ruins of King, Lords, and Commons. On the other hand, if ministers make improper concessions to the holders of petty boroughs, they will alienate and disgust a large proportion of the opulent classes—of those whose support is so essential. The task they have to perform is difficult, and requires great prudence. We hope and believe, indeed the character of Earl Grey is in itself a sufficient ground of belief,—that they will neither be wanting in judgement to devise what is safe, proper, and practicable, nor in resolution to accomplish their measures. Popularity they must not seek, and they need not expect to find it. The little vulgar and the great vulgar,—Cobbett and Lord Lonsdale, Hunt and Lord Salisbury,—will be banded against them. But if they conciliate (which they may do by avoiding all extremes) the support of the great body of the people of property and education, they may condemn the opposition of others.

Let it not be supposed, from any thing previously stated, that we mean to state, or to insinuate, directly or indirectly, that the interests of the labouring classes are not of primary importance. We are most anxious to promote them, but we would not, like their radical counselors, vest them with powers they are not in a condition to exercise with sobriety and discretion; nor teach them to look for relief from changes in the constitution that can lead only to bloodshed and ruin. The adoption of some such reform in the representation as we have suggested, would do all that can be done to secure good government; for the interests of such an electoral body as would then exist, would be identified with the real and lasting interests of the labourers, and of every other class. We should not, however, stop here; all that it is possible to do by legislative measures to improve the condition of the poor, to increase the demand for labour, and the rate of wages, ought to be done. The poor laws should be thoroughly sifted, their defects amended, and an end put to that system of cottage building and beggar-breeding so well described by Mr. Hodges, M.P. in his evidence before the Emigration Committee. All those anomalies

which fetter the industry of the country should be rooted out ; the flagrant abuses and oppression of the tithe system, and the game laws, put an end to ; and such taxes as repress the growth of manufactures and commerce should be repealed ;—being, if needful, replaced by others less objectionable. A judiciously-contrived system of emigration might also be brought to lend a powerful aid to the other measures devised for the benefit of the poor. Mr. Horton's plans have been treated with far too little attention : the ridicule that has been thrown upon them has been entirely misplaced. A million or two expended in carrying a portion of the pauper population out of the country, would do ten times more to raise the rate of wages, than will ever be done by any system of economy, how vigorously soever it may be enforced. The outrages now so prevalent must be put down by prompt and adequate punishment ; but if the grievances in which they originate be not, at the same time, effectually redressed, they will break forth again with greater violence than ever.'

*Observations, &c. pp. 15—31.*

We have left ourselves no room to add any remarks of our own upon the various topics here glanced at ; but shall take an early opportunity of discussing them more in detail. In the mean time, we wish to put our readers upon their guard against the delusion which is being practised upon the public by the advocates for the ballot system. We know not whether it is more amusing or more disgusting to find the ultra tories and the radicals uniting in this factious and perfidious outcry, when nothing can be more opposite than the objects they respectively aim at. 'Without the ballot,' says our Country Gentleman, 'there can be no real reform whatsoever' ; and the Whigs are virulently attacked as being all decided enemies to voting by ballot. But then, the object which the Tory reformers have in view, 'is only attainable by a great limitation of the right of suffrage, coupled with voting by ballot.' Whereas, it is admitted, that 'the radical reformers and utilitarians propose to connect annual parliaments and universal suffrage with voting by ballot' ; that is to say, they would couple with it the most *unlimited right of suffrage* ; which would be, our Country Squire justly remarks, 'to place all power at once in the hands of the numerical majority of the population, and to establish a democracy in its fullest extent.'

There cannot be a greater fallacy, than the notion that the ballot would check the corrupt exercise of the elective franchise. It would simply afford a greater shelter for corrupt voting. The people, instead of being bribed individually, would be bought in masses. Election clubs would be formed, as in America ; and these would afford scope for all the meanness of intrigue, the baseness of venality, and the insolence of demagogues. The elective franchise would fall into comparative

contempt; and with the extension of the right of suffrage, the exercise of it would, in all probability, be diminished. Instead of the ballot's being indispensable to every plan of real reform, every plan of real reform is perfectly attainable without it. Look at Preston, and see what the mere extension of the right of suffrage can effect. On the other hand, what protection would the secrecy of the ballot afford to a poor man dependent on the favour of some opulent landlord or patron, who was resolved to do what he pleased with his own? The individual's vote might be a secret, but not so his inclinations, his expressions, his whole conduct; and for these, he would be held responsible and punishable, if they went counter to the wishes of his superior. The agitation of the ballot question will serve only to divide the true friends to an efficient reform, to throw fresh difficulties in the way of effecting any beneficial changes, and to inflame the violence of faction.

We had written thus far, when we received the tract from the pen of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, comprising the substance of the Remarks which it was his Lordship's intention to have made from his seat in parliament, had not 'the disturbed state of the country induced him to return immediately to his diocese', as 'the spot where, by the blessing of God, he might be enabled to do the most good.' The pamphlet does honour to the Bishop's patriotic and humane feelings, and contains some very useful suggestions. He dwells in particular on the importance of assigning to each cottager who has a family, a portion of land; and bears his testimony, founded on the experience of thirty years, to the advantages of this measure. He stigmatises the late beer-bill as one of the most inauspicious measures that ever passed a Christian Legislature; and touches upon other topics of pressing interest and importance, to which it is our intention to advert more distinctly in our next Number. In the mean time, we beg strongly to recommend to the notice of our readers, Mr. Wayland's 'Thoughts', and the well-timed 'Address on the Results of Machinery.'

We cannot better conclude our desultory remarks, than in the language of the Right Rev. Prelate.

'An honest, industrious peasantry is a nation's protection and pride. We are called upon, therefore, by every principle of humanity and justice, to *reverse* the present order of things; to pay the labourer that which he fairly earns, and to pay it to him as his right, and as his due. Thus shall we secure the willing and effectual services of the labouring classes of the community, and remove from their minds every ground of discontent and murmuring. Neither should we forget, that now the people of England are a reading people. Education is communicated to all. It is therefore the part of wisdom to grant



to them what will now be received as a boon; and not to wait till it be demanded as a right. And this humane attention to the wants of the people is no less required by the voice of Revelation. God has made of one blood all the nations, and all the classes of people, upon the face of the earth. And though, for the general good, there must be a diversity of rank and station, yet all have their relative duties and rights. Protection is required from the higher orders. The labour of their hands from the lower. Thus are we all brethren, one of another.' p. 12.

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## NOTICES.

**Art. VIII.** *The Book of Psalms*, according to the Authorized Version, metrically arranged after the original Hebrew, and disposed in Chronological Order. 12mo. Price 4s. 6d. London. 1830.

THE design of this volume, is to promote the private reading of the Sacred Scriptures, by presenting detached portions in a portable form, and printed in a large, bold type, so as to be read with facility and pleasure by persons advanced in life, or by travellers. The Chronological Arrangement of the Psalms here adopted, is conformable to the opinions of Lightfoot, Lowth, Townsend, and the best commentators. The volume is excellently printed, and will, we doubt not, prove acceptable to many. May it extensively promote the pious object of the Editor.

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**Art. IX.** *The New Testament in the Common Version, conformed to Griesbach's standard Greek Text.* Boston, (N. A.) 1830.

THE object of the Editor of this neat and convenient book is, to present the Common English Version 'precisely such as it would have been, 'if the translators could have had access to the standard text of Griesbach, instead of the adulterated text of Beza'; and his inducement to undertake the task which he has executed, was furnished by the inconvenience that he experienced in a course of lectures on the New Testament, in the interruptions that were necessary for the correction of the public Version. Such a work will be acceptable to many persons who have no other means of ascertaining the effect of a critical process employed on the sacred text, and who may wish to know the nature and extent of the alterations thus produced. In rendering the Common Version conformable to Griesbach's text, the Editor is not to be considered as offering to his readers a revised translation; but, without holding him responsible for expectations which he has not raised, they may, we think, justly complain that, in some instances, he has neglected to remove from the edition of the New Testament which he has put into their hands, some blemishes which sadly disfigure the Re-

ceived Version. That he has not 'exactly reprinted' that Version, will be perceived from his reading in Luke vi. 15, 'Simon called the zealot', in the place of 'Simon called Zelotes'. Why, then, has he permitted such gross improprieties to escape his correction, as 'bishop-rick', (Acts i. 20); 'Jesus', instead of Joshua, (Acts vii. 45, Heb. iv. 8.); 'Easter', Acts xii. 4? The paragraphs are arranged in agreement with Griesbach's distribution of the text; his punctuation is followed; and the verses are numbered in the margin. The book is without notes, and, in addition to the text, contains only a short preface comprising a brief sketch of the history of the received text of the New Testament. For such persons as interest themselves in the exact study of the Scriptures, and feel the obligations to interpret it correctly, which lie upon all who are employed in the diffusion of divine knowledge, the pages before us will be found eminently useful. The whole of Griesbach's latest emendations are exhibited, and the want of his edition is cheaply and fully supplied by this American publication, to all who may be unable to obtain or use the original work. This is, we believe, the first impression of the text of Griesbach's revision in the English language.

Art. X. 1. *Eight Discourses to Youth*, with a Memoir of the Author's eldest Son. By John Humphrys, LL.D. 18mo. P. 3s. 6d. London. 1830.

2. *An Address to the Younger Members of Religious Families*, on Subjects connected with the Revival of Religion. By the Rev. R. S. Allom. Second Edition. 24mo. 1s. in Cloth, or 2s. in Silk. London. 1830.

WE know not whether sermons on early piety and discourses to youth have quite gone out of fashion. We can recollect the time when there was a large and ready sale for volumes of this description. Dr. Humphrys's Discourses would then have been sure to gain the attention of religious parents, and to obtain for the venerable Author the thanks he claims for these affectionate addresses to their children. The subjects are well selected and judiciously treated; and the volume is written with peculiar grace from one who has been for many years occupied in the employment of educating youth. The Brief Memoir is an instructive obituary, which will enhance the interest of the volume.

Mr. Allom's Address is an earnest, close, and striking appeal to the younger members of religious families. We are happy to find that it has already obtained a rapid sale. In the exceedingly neat and attractive shape in which it is here presented to us, it forms one of the nicest little new year's gifts that we have seen; and we cannot doubt that the object which the excellent Author has had at heart will be extensively promoted by its circulation. Of the happy talent for dressing youth, which this Address displays, the following extract serves as a sufficient specimen.

‘ The younger members of religious families have been thought to be especially exposed to the danger of formality ; or, in other words, of being satisfied with the mere form of godliness. May not this have been your case ? Constant and regular in your attendance upon religious worship ; invited, perhaps, to lend your aid in instructing the sabbath school ; respected by the pastors and friends of your parents as dutiful and affectionate children ; and shrinking with horror from the grosser violations of the Divine Law : you have felt something very like self gratulation, or have at least endeavoured to answer the remonstrances of conscience on the subject of vital religion, by an appeal to your general character. Has it not struck you, however, that there is a something which even yet you lack ? Is it not apparent to you, that there is a foundation for character, upon which you have not built ?—a principle of action by which you have not been influenced ?—a purity in God’s requirements to which you have not attained ?

‘ *Have you taken the first table of the law into your calculations, and considered its demands apart from all the dictates of the second ?* And, as the result of the enquiry, are you prepared to aver that you love the lawgiver with your whole heart ? How vain, how utterly trifling, would it be for the arraigned criminal to plead only to some inferior count of an indictment, while he left the grand charge wholly undefended ! Such conduct would in itself betray a full consciousness of guilt. If it be true that, until this period of your existence, you have lived without love to God, without secret and holy intercourse with him, without an influential and abiding desire to please him ; marvel not that we most urgently say unto you, notwithstanding all that we admire and love in you, “ Ye must be born again.”

‘ *Have you further considered the claims of THE GOSPEL upon you ?* It was good news to the repentant Magdalene, and to Saul the convicted persecutor, and is such still to characters of a similar description : but does it find nothing in you that needs forgiveness and amendment ? ‘ no guilt to wash away ? ’ Did it not urge its claims upon the young man who had kept the letter of the commands from his youth ? Was it not sent to the devout centurion as heaven’s richest boon ? And has it nothing wherewith to bless and enrich you ? Are you rejecting it as a system that you can do without ? O then let the truth be told, though the heart which prompts is agonized, and the hand that writes it trembles, “ The wrath of God abideth on you.”

‘ Perhaps you admit the necessity of personal religion, but you are *neglecting* it. The claims of Christ and the Gospel are very reasonable, but they have not been felt by you ; they have not reached your hearts. That they have been urged upon you we well know. Terror and love have each in their turn been made the medium of their conveyance : they arrived at the vestibule, but they found the door shut ; they have knocked loudly and repeatedly for admittance, but no responsive voice has replied to them from within ; you have been deaf to the voice of the charmer.’

## ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In a few days will be published, a Second Edition, very much augmented and improved, of Professor Millington's *Epitome of the Elementary Principles of Mechanical Philosophy*. The work will be in an 8vo. volume, and will contain 160 Wood Engravings.

Nearly ready, a *Key to a complete Set of Arithmetical Rods*, containing Directions for their Use, and Answers to nearly Three Thousand Questions in the First Four Rules of Arithmetic, simple and compound, which may be performed by means of sixteen rods, according to the plan of Lord Napier, Author of the *Logarithms*, upon which system more than one half the time usually employed may be saved to both Teachers and Pupils. By P. B. Templeton, Master of Cannon-Street Academy, Preston.

In the press, Mr. Jones Quain's *Two Lectures on the Study of Anatomy and Physiology*, delivered at the opening of the Medical Session, 1830, in the Medical School, Aldersgate Street.

In the press, a *Collection of Statutes relating to the Town of Kingston-upon-Hull*. By William Woolley, Solicitor.

Preparing for publication, a new edition of Colonel Montagu's *Ornithological Dictionary*, with illustrative Wood Cuts, and numerous additions, containing all modern discovery in that Science. Edited by J. Rennie, Esq. A.M.

Messrs. Blackie and Fullarton of Glasgow, have just published, in one volume quarto, a new and corrected edition of Brown's *Self-Interpreting Bible*. Besides embracing all Brown's *Explanatory Notes and Reflections*, this edition contains a vast variety of additional Notes, chiefly illustrative of Eastern manners and customs, natural history, geography, &c.; and the marginal references have all been carefully revised and corrected. An original *Memoir of the Author* is also given by one of his descendants, the Rev. J. Brown Patterson, of Falkirk; and the edition on the whole is the most complete and the most beautiful that has yet been published of Brown.

In the press, *Vegetable Cookery*; with an Introduction, recommending Abstinence from Animal Food and Intoxicating Liquors.

In the press, *Travels in Chili, Buenos Ayres, and Peru*, by Samuel Haigh, Esq. 1 vol. 8vo.

In the press, *Essays concerning the Faculties and Economy of the Mind*, by William Godwin. It is intended that each of these Essays shall treat of some interesting truth, or of some truth under a fresh aspect, which has never by any preceding Writer been laid before the public.

The fifteenth volume of "*The Annual Biography and Obituary*" to be published early in the present month, will contain *Memoirs*, among other distinguished persons, of Sir Charles Vinicombe Penrose, The

Right Hon. George Tierney, Sir George Montague, His Majesty George IV. Lord Redesdale, Sir Charles Brisbane, Dr. Gooch, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Bishop James, Sir Thomas Staines, Dr. Somerville, Sir Charles Morice Pole, Bart. William Bulmer, Esq. Sir Eliab Harvey, The Right Hon. William Huskisson, Major General David Stewart, William Hazlitt, Esq. Major Rennell, &c. &c.

In the press, Roxobel. By Mrs. Sherwood. In 3 Vols.

The London Society for Printing and Publishing the Writings of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg, have now in the press, a new Edition of the Four Leading Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church, viz. The Doctrine of the Lord ; the Doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures ; the Doctrine of Faith, and the Doctrine of Life.

In the press, an Examination of the English System of Balancing Books, by E. T. Jones, styling himself Professor of the Science of Perfect Book-keeping. Exemplified in a Ledger wherein every entry is *wrong* posted, and which is proved by his System to be perfectly correct. By a Practical Book-keeper.

Early in January next will appear an entirely New Edition, carefully revised and corrected by the Author, of "An Original Essay on the Immateriality and Immortality of the Human Soul; founded solely on Physical and Rational Principles." By S. Drew. 1 Vol. 3vo., with a highly finished Portrait.

Mr. Rowbotham, of the Academy, Walworth, has in the press, "A Course of Lessons in French Literature," on the plan of his "German Lessons."

Preparing for publication, An Analysis of Archbishop Secker's Lectures on the Church Catechism, arranged as a Course of Sermons preparatory to Confirmation, by the Rev. Richard Lee, B.A., Vicar of Aslackby, and Curate of Walcot, Lincolnshire.

On the 1st of January 1831, will be published the Sixth Part, containing all the Numbers issued in 1830, of the Botanic Garden, by B. Maund, F.L.S. The Third Volume, containing Parts V. and VI., will be ready for delivery at the same time.

Professor Macculloch is preparing for publication, a Theoretical and Practical Dictionary of Commerce and Navigation, in 1 large 8vo. Volume.

In a few days will be published, Hints illustrative of the Duty of Dissent. By a Congregational Nonconformist.

Preparing for publication, Twenty-nine Original Psalm Tunes, in Four Parts, with figured Bases, and an Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano-forte. By J. I. Cobbin.

Mr. Klattovski has nearly ready for publication, in 2 Vols. 12mo., a German Manual for Self Tuition. The object of this Work is to enable the Student to acquire a knowledge of Words without recurrence to a Dictionary, as well as the Principles and Construction of the German Language through the medium of a Literal and Analy-

tical Translation, in English and French, of Seventy-two entire Compositions of the most eminent German Authors.

The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, by Thomas Moore, Esq., is nearly ready for publication, in 1 Vol. small 8vo., with a Portrait.

Shortly will be published, the Persecutions of the Nonconformists, contrasted with the Liberties of the present Dissenters, with Remarks Published on account of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts By John Holloway.

In the press, An Inquiry into the Proofs, Nature, and Extent of Inspiration, and into the Authority of Scripture. By the Rev. Samuel Hinds, A.M., &c.

## ART. XII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### BIOGRAPHY.

Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of his Life. By Thomas Moore. 2 vols. 4to. Vol. II. 2l. 2s.

### FINE ARTS.

A Portrait of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Copied from an Ancient Picture in worsted thread, in the possession of the Publisher. 5s. Proofs 7s. 6d.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Temple of Melekartha. 3 vols. post 8vo. 1l. 7s.

Modern Fanaticism Unveiled. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Pen Tamar; or the History of an Old Maid. By the late Mrs. H. M. Bowdler. post 8vo.

### THEOLOGY.

Dissent and the Church of England; or a Defence of the Principles of Nonconformity contained in "The Church Member's Guide," in reply to a pamphlet entitled "The Church of England and Dissent." By John Angell James. 8vo. 2s.

Sermons on the Principal Festivals and Holydays of the Church. By the Rev.

Arthur T. Russell, B.C.L. of St. John's College, Cambridge. 12mo. 4s.

A Help to the Private and Domestic Reading of the Holy Scriptures. By J. Leifchild. Second Edition, considerably enlarged. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

The Pillar of Divine Truth Immovably fixed on the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner Stone: shewn by the Genuineness, Preservation, Authenticity, Inspiration, Facts, Doctrines, Miracles, Prophecies, and Precepts of the Word of God. The whole of the Arguments and Illustrations from the pages of the Comprehensive Bible. By the Editor of that Work. 8vo. 6s.

Sermons by James Parsons, York, 8vo. 12s.

The Irish Pulpit: a Collection of Original Sermons by Clergymen of the established Church of Ireland. Second Series. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

A Comparative View of the English and Scottish Dissenters. By the Rev. Adam Thomson, A.M. Coldstream. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

ERRATUM in the present Number. At page 9, line 16, for "Mr. Erskine" read "Mr. Douglas."



# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1831.

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Art. I. *The Life and Correspondence of the late Admiral Lord Rodney.* By Major-General Mundy. 2 Vol. 8vo. pp. 947. Portrait. Price 1l. 4s. London, 1830.

**WHO** was it that originated, as a practical system of sea-fighting, the decisive manœuvre of breaking the line of battle? This long-agitated question has been recently revived by Sir Howard Douglas, as a claimant in behalf of his father; and we have gone through with much interest, though without entire certainty of result, the controversy to which his claim has given rise. There is, we believe, some difference of opinion among professional men, both as to the uniform expediency of the manœuvre, and concerning the historical question of its exclusive use in modern, at least in our own times. For all purposes of immediate inquiry, it may, however, be taken for granted, that, in naval conflict, the line of battle was first broken by Sir George Rodney's own ship, the *Formidable*, on the 12th of April, 1782.

In a work published some short time since, it was stated by Sir H. Douglas, that his father, Sir Charles, who was Rodney's first captain in that engagement, urged repeatedly and ineffectually on the Admiral, and at last wrung from him by importunity a reluctant consent, to carry the flag-ship through an opening in the French line. This statement was supported, in all its circumstances, by the disinterested testimony of two officers, still living, who were then on the quarter-deck of the *Formidable*, and witnessed the whole transaction. The *Quarterly Review* chose to quarrel with these allegations; with Sir H. Douglas for making them, and with the witnesses for supporting them. The article, which General Mundy seems to think as decisive an affair as any breaking of the line can possibly be, appeared to us, when we read it, though authoritative

in its tone, to halt miserably in its reasoning. There was much and exceedingly supercilious browbeating of the evidence; there was a mighty fuss about considering the fame of great men as 'public property'; there were queries and innuendoes; there was, in brief, a multitude of words, but neither proof nor disproof. In answer, and, so far as we can judge, in unanswerable answer to all this, Sir Howard Douglas returned to the charge with a mass of documentary testimony and incidental illustration, before which the Quarterly has, hitherto, been mute. The volumes under review, throw no light whatever on the question. General Mundy shelters himself behind the Reviewer; puts conspicuously forward the very questionable reminiscences of Richard Cumberland; and lays great stress upon a very guarded statement by Sir Gilbert Blane, which avoids grappling with the gist of the business, and closes with an expressive intimation, that it was *highly fortunate* for Lord Rodney to 'have had about him an officer so gallant, intelligent, 'and energetic' as Sir Charles Douglas.

But there is another and exceedingly interesting question, which requires definitive settlement, before the credit of this manoeuvre can be assigned either to the Admiral or to the Captain of the fleet. Was either of them aware that it had been laid down systematically by an able, but navally inexperienced landsman? General Mundy makes very short work with this knotty point, contenting himself with the dry observation, that Mr. Clerk's, of Elgin (Eldin), claim to have suggested the movement to Sir George, has been 'completely negatived and for ever set at rest'. We must, however, confess that, after having read the strong reasoning on the contrary side, given in the late Number of the Edinburgh Review, we require something more tangible than vague negation or convenient evasion. We have not the means of bringing the matter to a settlement, and are unwilling to multiply words on a question of fact; but it seems to us, that the letter of the Count de Guichen, on which General Mundy relies as a positive proof of prior intention on the part of Lord Rodney, though it by no means invalidates the statement of Sir Howard Douglas, does, in conjunction with the circumstances of the battle with De Grasse, give some support to the opinion which ascribes to the Admiral previous knowledge, not resulting from his own investigation and invention, but obtained from communication with others. Self-suggestion is usually bold in enterprise; but, in realizing the plans of others, many of the motives to decided conduct are absent; and, neither in the indecisive action with De Guichen, nor in the victorious contest with De Grasse, can we trace the firm grasp of a well-digested system, or the thorough-going execution of a predetermined plan. Be all this as it may, Rodney's

fame rests upon a foundation that cannot be affected by any result of these controversies. He was a fearless man, a consummate commander; and the correspondence which is here, for the first time, laid before the public, exhibits his character to an advantage which is in no way aided by the very imperfect labours of the Editor. Yet, there could hardly have been found a subject that more demanded faithful dealing and intelligent elucidation. There are circumstances in Rodney's life that require much explanation; and it behoved his Biographer to clear up difficulties, to refute censure, and to give a fair exposition of the circumstances which gave plausibility to accusation. Very little of this has been done; and, while we express gratitude for what is given, we cannot but record our regret, that so much has been left for future biographers to supply, though with inferior means and increasing disadvantages.

'It hath been,' says an ancestor of the Admiral, 'a constant tradition in our family, that we came into this land with Maud, the Empresse, from foraigne parts; and that for service done by Walter Rodeney, in her wars against King Stephen, the Usurper, she gave them lands and estates in this kingdom.' The manuscript which thus records the primal honours of the Rodeneys, is a curious document, written by the last of the family in the male line, and preserving many interesting particulars of its history, in the quaint, but expressive language of the time. We are half tempted to cite the passage in which the bereaved parent bears testimony to the virtues of his lost son, the last heir of his house; but pithier matter lies before us, and we pass on. The line of Rodeney did not run out its course without supplying materials for at least secondary history. A daughter of the family was wife to Thomas Burdet, basely murdered by sentence of servile judges, in the reign of Edward the Fourth, for words spoken in anger 'concerning a white buck which the king killed in his parke.' Good Sir John Rodeney, as they called him, obtained that honourable addition from his conduct when offered a reward for his skill in jousting; he asked and obtained 'an abatement of the king's silver,' in behalf of his tenantry. Sir Edward Rodeney, in 1611, aided Sir William Seymour in his elopement with the Lady Arabella Stuart. Previously to that date, a deep tragedy had darkened the family annals. We shall give the particulars as stated by Wilson, in his life of James the First.

'Frances, daughter of Thomas, Viscount Bendon, who was the greatest both for birth and beauty in her time, married one Prannel, a vintner's son; and he dying soon after, she became a widow; upon whom Sir George Rodney, a gentleman in the west (suitable to her person and fortune) fixing his love, had good hopes from her to reap the fruits of it; but Edward, Earl of Hertford, being entangled with

her fair eyes, and she having a *tang* of her grandfather's ambition, left Rodney, and married the earl.

' Rodney, having drank in too much affection, and not being able with his reason to digest it, summoned up his scattered spirits to a most desperate attempt, and coming to Amesbury, where the earl and his lady were then resident, to act it, he retired to an inn in the town, shut himself up in a chamber, and wrote a large paper of well-composed verses to the countess in his own blood (strange kind of composedness), wherein he bewails and laments his own unhappiness; and when he had sent them to her, as a sad catastrophe to all his miseries, he ran himself upon his sword, and so ended that life which he thought death to enjoy, leaving the countess "to a strict remembrance of her inconstancy, and himself a desperate and sad spectacle of frailty."'

The Sir Edward Rodeney who aided in the escape of Arabella Stuart, and who afterwards compiled the memoir which has supplied us with these scraps of family history, married, in 1614, 'a lady of Queen Anna's privie chamber.' The wedding was superb: the 'marriage feast' was at the Queen's charges; and King James, who loved such merry-makings to his heart, knighted the bridegroom after the fashion of Sir Richard Monypies, in the *Fortunes of Nigel*. 'The presents in plate given 'unto my wife,' quoth the highly honoured Sir Edward, 'that 'day by great lords and ladies, and others her friends and 'kindred, did amount in value near 2000 pounds; but my 'charge in apparel, wedding-gloves, scarfes, and rewards to 'those that brought the presents, *did fully equal it*.'

From a collateral branch of this ancient and respectable family, the subject of the present memoir was descended. His grandfather was a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry; and his father campaigned in the Spanish war as a cornet of horse, but, after brief service, quitted the army for a quiet and retired life at Walton-upon-Thames. George Brydges Rodney derived his baptismal names from his sponsors, King George the First, and the Duke of Chandos: he was born Feb. 19, 1718, and received his education at Harrow School. He went early to sea; became a lieutenant in 1739, captain in 1742; and when in command of a forty-gun ship, took a vessel of equal force. In June 1747, he was with the squadron that intercepted the French St. Domingo convoy; and in October of the same year, he shared in Admiral Hawke's victory off Cape Finisterre. From 1748 to 1752, he was governor and commander-in-chief on the Newfoundland station; and in the latter year, having returned home, he took his seat in parliament for the borough of Saltash. In February 1753, he married Lady Jane Compton, who died four years after. He sailed with Hawke, when the latter engaged in the fruitless bombarding expedition to Rochefort; and he assisted, under Boscawen, at the taking of Louisburg. In

May 1759, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and took the command of a small squadron equipped for the bombardment of Havre, where an expedition was in preparation, supposed to be destined against the British territory. He did his work skilfully and with success: the hostile armaments were crippled, and their intended enterprise was adjourned *sine die*.

In 1761, Rodney was appointed commander-in-chief on the Leeward Island station, and, in conjunction with General Moncton, took Martinique. It was a remarkable feature in the Admiral's character, that he systematically set at nought that dry and rigid construction of orders, by which too many officers are apt to make excuses for their own timidity or indolence; and on the present occasion, he gave a striking illustration of his determination to act on his own conviction of sound policy and discretion, rather than on convenient suggestions of punctilio. Having received authentic intelligence that the enemy had designs on Jamaica, and that a squadron was on its way to the West Indies for the purpose of aiding in that enterprise, he immediately, although Jamaica was not within the limits of his command; took measures for the safety of that valuable island, despatching a strong division to its assistance. He was unable, however, to inspire General Moncton with similar feelings; and he rather dryly observes, that having 'again solicited the General for a body of troops' lying unemployed at Martinique, 'he must do him the justice to say, that he seems much concerned at the present distress of Jamaica, but does not think himself sufficiently authorized to detach a body of troops without orders from England.' As for himself, Rodney quietly expresses his hope, that the Admiralty will not blame him for so construing his instructions, as to hold himself 'obliged to succour any of his Majesty's colonies that may be in danger;' and states his determination to sail for Jamaica 'without a moment's loss of time.' A letter from an officer serving in the expedition to Martinique, describes in so lively a manner the exertions of the sailors engaged on shore, as to make it worth citing.

'All the cannon and other warlike stores were landed as soon as possible, and dragged by the *Jacks* to any point thought proper. You may fancy you know the spirit of these fellows; but to see them in action exceeds any idea that can be formed of them. A hundred or two of them, with ropes and pulleys, will do more than all your dray-horses in London. Let but their tackle hold, and they will draw you a cannon or mortar on its proper carriage up to any height, though the weight be never so great. It is droll enough to see them tugging along, with a good twenty-four pounder at their heels: on they go, huzzaing and hallooing, sometimes up hill, sometimes down hill; now sticking fast in the brakes, presently floundering in the mud and mire;

swearing . . . . . and as careless of every thing but the matter committed to their charge, as if death or danger had nothing to do with them. We had a thousand of these brave fellows sent to our assistance by the admiral; and the service they did us, both on shore and on the water, is incredible.'

The treaty of Fontainebleau, in February 1763, recalled Rodney from his active service. In the following January, he was made a baronet, and in the course of the year, married a second time. He was appointed Governor of Greenwich Hospital, and in that office distinguished himself by attention to the comforts of the pensioners. 'There are very few young sailors,' was his reply to one who thought him too liberal in that way, 'that come to London without paying Greenwich Hospital a visit; and it shall be the rule of my conduct, as far as my authority extends, to render the old men's lives so comfortable, that the younger (younker?) shall say, when he goes away, "Who would not be a sailor, to live as happy as a prince in his old age!"' In January 1771, he obtained the appointment of Commander-in-Chief on the Jamaica station: in 1774, he was superseded.

The four ensuing years were spent in depression, and chiefly in an exile which can hardly be called voluntary, since it seems to have been his only refuge from a gaol. His fortune had never been large, and a handsome person, with gentlemanly manners, had made him an acceptable associate in fashionable society. He was warm-hearted and profuse; nor has he escaped the imputation, though it is discredited by his Biographer, of a disposition to gambling. 'Many were the fortunes,' it is significantly observed, 'that were wrecked at the Dutchess of Bedford's assemblies, where Sir George was a frequent guest.' When he accepted the appointment to the Jamaica station, he had been compelled to resign the governorship of Greenwich Hospital, and an attempt to procure the government of Jamaica had failed. His circumstances became hopelessly embarrassed, and he was under the necessity of seeking security from arrest, by taking up his residence at Paris. Early in 1778, finding that matters were pressing to a rupture with France, he wrote to the Admiralty, tendering his services. The answer was cold and discouraging, though Lord Sandwich had always made the greatest professions of friendship, and officers of much inferior pretensions to himself, were appointed to important commands. He now determined on making a vigorous effort to obtain assistance toward the discharge of his debts, that he might obtain an audience of the King, and represent personally the circumstances of his case. His friends failed him, and he was extricated from his embarrassments by the liber . . . . . tantly



accepted aid of a Frenchman, Marshal Biron. It was a chivalric business altogether, on the Marshal's side; for he well knew Sir George's abilities, and that he risked his own popularity by the probable consequences of the act.

' Upon the arrival of the intelligence at Paris of Sir George's great and decisive victory over the French fleet, on the 12th of April, 1782, the population of that city were inflamed with the most violent rage and resentment against the Maréchal, vehemently reproaching him with having brought that calamity upon their nation, and even proceeding to threats of personal violence, at which the Maréchal, little moved, replied, 'that he gloried in the man whose liberty he had effected, and in the victory which he had so nobly won.'

' In some of the notices which have been heretofore published respecting Sir George's detention at Paris, it has been confidently stated, that pending this period, Maréchal Biron waited upon the Admiral, with an offer from the king of France, of a high command in his fleet, since he could not obtain employment in that of Great Britain; and that Sir George immediately replied, "Had, Sir, this proposal come from yourself, I should have resented it as one of the greatest insults you could have offered me. Since, however, it emanates from a quarter *which can do no wrong*, I shall only answer that, though my own country has forgotten me, she alone is entitled to, and shall have the best services I can afford her." Of the veracity of the above anecdote, it is impossible at present to produce any positive proof. It is, however, generally credited in the noble Admiral's own family.'

By the liberal assistance of the banking-house of Drummonds, the pecuniary advance made by the Marshal was immediately discharged; but, although the King, in a personal audience, promised that he should be employed on the first opportunity, it was not until the close of the year 1779 that he hoisted his flag as commander of a fleet destined for the West Indies. This was a season of severe trial to the energies of the nation. Party spirit was at its height; its disastrous effects were strongly felt among the officers of the navy; and Keppel's ill-fought battle off Ushant exhibited a lamentable evidence of its prevalence. During the period of his constrained inactivity, Rodney employed himself in drawing up able memorials for the guidance of the Admiralty. At length, on the 29th of December, 1779, he sailed on that eventful command which was to confer immortality on his name. His letters to Lady Rodney, during the interval of preparation, shew the intentness with which he was bent upon his service, and the strenuous efforts that he made to forward the equipment of his fleet: they give, too, advantageous illustration of his family attachments.

' Our dear girls' pictures are hung up in my cabin; I own it is a very great relief to me when I look at them; at the same time I abuse the painter most heartily. The dog shall never draw mine, he has

done so much injustice to them. Give my dearest love to them and the other little ones.'

Before Rodney had been ten days at sea, he had rich earnest of a prosperous cruise. On the 8th of January, 1780, he fell in with a Spanish convoy of between twenty and thirty sail, laden with provisions and naval stores; seven of them were vessels of war: the whole were captured. His next despatch was dated from Gibraltar Bay, and announced a signal victory, gained on the 16th and 17th, over the Spanish fleet under Don Juan de Langara. Besides those that were destroyed or crippled, 'five Spanish men-of-war, as fine ships as ever swam,' were taken. In his public letter, the Admiral deemed it politic to describe in terms of eulogy, the behaviour of his captains; but, in his letter to Lady Rodney, he told a different tale, spoke of his reluctance to 'have the world believe that there were officers slack in their duty,' and avowed his conviction, that 'without a thorough change in naval affairs, the discipline of our navy' would be 'lost.' His language concerning himself, was, as it behoved to be, lofty—'I can defy envy, malice, or even villany, to tax me with not having done my duty even to the utmost extent.' His personal conduct was, indeed, of the highest order. When closing with the enemy, in the dusk of the evening, and doubtful respecting the numbers and force of the Spanish fleet, he called the master of the Sandwich—'Master,' was his brief order, 'this ship is not to pay any attention to the merchantmen or small ships of war. Lay me alongside the biggest ship you can see, or the admiral, if there be one.' The Corporation of London voted him the freedom of the City in a gold box; and some wag, who recollected that the same compliment had been paid to Admiral Keppel, on his very questionable triumph over the French fleet, but that the material of the box was *heart-of-oak*, launched the following very tolerable *jeu d'esprit*.

- ' Each Admiral's defective part,  
Satyric cits, you've told;  
That cautious *Leeshore* wanted *heart*,  
And gallant Rodney, *gold*.
- ' Your wisdom, London's Council, far  
Our highest praise exceeds,  
In giving each illustrious Tar  
The very thing he needs.
- ' For Rodney brave, but low in cash,  
You *golden* gifts bespoke;  
To Keppel rich, but not so rash,  
You gave a *heart-of-oak*.'

There is nothing that lets one so completely into the secret

of character, as the inspection of correspondence; not merely when, as in the case of Rodney and his family,—including his dog, Loup, whom he usually refers to with that pleasant kind-heartedness which indicates good humour and affectionate dispositions,—it is the simple overflow of the feelings; but even when it is tainted by selfishness, or stiffened by the full dress of official and diplomatic intercourse. We have, in this way, some rather curious illustrations of the personal qualities of the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Though there appears to have been something of early intimacy between him and Rodney, yet, when the latter needed his interest and patronage, the minister of the Marine was cold, distant, formal. When the neglected officer had forced himself upon observation, obtained the royal notice, and, in the lack of willing and efficient leaders, been appointed to command, then came urgencies, half-hints of want of energy, recommendations to favour, and all the little, irritating bye-play of small-minded authority. But when the gallant seaman had placed himself in the eye of the nation,—swept the Spanish convoys—defeated De Langara—relieved Gibraltar—and thus rescued his country from fears and depression; then did his Lordship of the Admiralty take up a different descant, and claim for himself the praise and honour of having called forth from obscurity the Blake and Nelson of his day.—‘*I have pitched upon a man who knows his duty*’—‘*I am eager in dealing out to all around me the praise due to your merit*’—‘*I have obtained you the thanks of both Houses of Parliament*’;—with much other flummery of the same sort, which Rodney seems to have received with all possible courtesy, and to have prized at its just value.

In the action with the Spanish fleet, we have already intimated that Sir George had reason to be much displeased with some of his captains: he was destined to experience still more vexatious effects from their waywardness or cowardice. In one short month after reaching Barbadoes, he brought to action a superior French fleet under the Count de Guichen; and it is on this occasion that he is supposed, by his Biographer, to have manœuvred with the deliberate purpose of breaking the French line. We much doubt this; but, however it may be, there can be no question that Sir George Rodney displayed admirable seamanship. He first gained the weather-gage; he next brought his line of battle in close formation against a section of the hostile fleet; but, when he signalled his ships to engage, he was grossly disobeyed, and the enemy escaped. It is remarkable that one of the very few officers who really distinguished themselves in this engagement, was Captain Molloy,—the same, we believe, who, under Lord Howe, committed the very fault which he was now conspicuous in avoiding. The two captains

most disgracefully deficient, had both risen from the lower classes; one of them had once been coxswain of an admiral's barge: he was subsequently broke.

'The Marquis de Bouillé, the French governor of Martinique, afterwards paid a visit to England, and became exceedingly intimate with Lord Rodney. This engagement having on one occasion become the topic of conversation, the Marquis said, that one of his officers was on board Count de Guichen's ship, and that the French admiral, appreciating the masterly manœuvre by which his opponent had contrived to force him into action, as well as the noble example he set in his own ship, betrayed, by his countenance and certain expressions, the anxiety he felt for the result of the conflict. This anxiety was in some manner shared by his military friend, who, however, upon observing that few of the British fleet were disposed to partake of the glory and danger of the attack, relieved the spirits of De Guichen by exclaiming, "Courage, General! the English desert their commander."'

Rodney now felt the necessity of decided measures: his own honour and the interests of his country had been basely compromised, and he was determined to be trifled with no longer. If he had not, like Nelson, the happy skill of winning hearts, he possessed, in perfection, the genius of command; and he at once assumed the lofty attitude which was imperiously called for by the critical circumstances in which he was placed. He announced to his officers, that he should, in the event of battle, hoist his flag on board a frigate, and that if his slightest signal were not instantly and implicitly obeyed, the neglect would be punished by immediate supersession. He hung on the track of the French fleet, and at length gained sight of De Guichen; but no consideration would induce that cautious commander to risk an action. 'For fourteen days and nights, the fleets were so near each other, that neither officers nor men could be said to have had sleep.' This stern schooling had its expected effect on Rodney's refractory subordinates.

'My eye on them', he writes, 'had more dread than the enemy's fire, and they knew it would be fatal. No regard was paid to rank—admirals as well as captains, if out of their station, were instantly reprimanded by signals, or messages sent by frigates: and, in spite of themselves, I taught them to be, what they never had been before—officers; and shewed them that an inferior fleet, properly conducted, was more than a match for one far superior; and that France, with all her boasting, must give up the sovereignty of the sea to Great Britain, when, with twenty-three sail of the line, opposed to only nineteen, she did not dare either to attack or stand a battle, but basely fled before them, and avoided by all possible means any rencounter; but notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, my van twice had an opportunity of attacking their rear, as they passed upon different tacks. The treatment they met with made them so shy, that we never could get near them again; and their ships being all clean, and mine so very

foul, it was impossible to follow them with the least probability of overtaking them.'

It is not unimportant to observe, with reference to this passage, or rather to that previous portion of the letter which states Rodney's intention of hoisting his flag on board a frigate, in the event of a battle, that it does not by any means bear out the opinion of those who cite the authority of this great Commander in favour of such a practice. French admirals have occasionally adopted it; and it presents advantages of extensive and undisturbed observation, which have led some skilful officers of our own navy to recommend the system, though none of them have, we believe, actually ventured on thus keeping aloof from the casualties of close quarters. Sir George Rodney mentions the scheme, evidently and solely in its application to a peculiar situation of affairs: some of his captains were either timid or treacherous, and while himself engaged in the anxieties of actual conflict, with his ship involved in smoke, it would be impossible for him to exercise that jealous vigilance which their misconduct had rendered necessary. But when he found that a different spirit pervaded his officers, and that they were to be thoroughly trusted in the emergencies of battle, he laid aside his design; and we find him not only occupying his station in the line, but taking the lead in that bold and decisive movement which threw his antagonists into irrecoverable confusion.

In the same letter to Lady Rodney from which we have just quoted, he expresses much indignation against the ministry for neglecting to send him adequate reinforcements. 'What are they about?' he asks: 'are they determined to undo their country?' He describes his embarrassments, and avows his resolution to tell the entire truth in his 'public letters', and to 'let the blame lie where it ought.' He assumes the high ground which his great services had entitled him to take:— 'Thank God, I now fear no frowns of ministers, and hope never again to stand in need of their assistance. I know them well. All are alike, and no dependence is to be placed on their promises.' Yet, the same communication which is thus fraught with anxious and indignant feeling, beautifully displays the tenderness of his kind and affectionate heart.

'I will endeavour', he says, 'to write to my dear girls. Tell Jenny (his daughter) I am much obliged by her affectionate letter; and I wish, after mentioning her sisters and the family, she would not forget my poor dog. I have another sort of French favourite now—a French boy, who, during the battle with the French fleet on the 17th of April, leaped overboard from the *Couronne*, when we set her on fire, and swam on board us. Many others perished in the same attempt. Humanity makes us take notice of him, poor boy!'

The command of the West India fleet was, in the time of Sir George Rodney, a very different affair from the same service within our own recollections. In the war of the French Revolution, our naval superiority was so decided as to leave the commander in chief on that station little more to do, than to remain quietly in harbour, while the vessels under his orders were employed in dodging privateers, and in chasing the ships of war that, 'few and far between', visited that quarter from the enemy's ports. But, during the war of the American Revolution, circumstances were altogether dissimilar. The French and Spaniards maintained there a superior force, both naval and military, well officered and equipped, keeping up an active warfare, under all the advantages offered by a complicated navigation. The Marquis de Bouillé was a skilful and indefatigable general, and his projects were zealously seconded by the commanders of the marine forces. Thus situated, it required all the talent and energy of Rodney, with an armament almost always inferior, to preserve the balance; and, so far as we are able to judge, his skill and enterprise were equal to the crisis. His letters are admirable specimens of knowledge, forecast, and reasoning; and his actions were always in the spirit of his statements. Not a circumstance, however minute, seems to have escaped him: his light ships were constantly ranging the ocean, and every vulnerable point had its squadron of observation, so far as his means extended. In September 1780, the season for active operations in the West Indies having passed for the year, he sailed for the coast of America, much to the annoyance of Arbuthnot, the admiral on that station, who remonstrated rather fiercely. It is very evident that Rodney disapproved of the manner in which the war with America was managed, both by land and by sea: but this is not a subject for our present investigation, and we pass on, with the Admiral, to an enterprise, of which the conduct excited much animadversion. The Dutch, after a season of hesitation, at length joined the league distinguished as the 'Armed Neutrality'; a measure which drew down upon them prompt and severe visitation. The island of St. Eustatius had long been the centre of a traffic, nominally neutral, but, in reality, subserving the interest of the French Americans, to the exceeding disadvantage of the English. Of this wealthy spot, it was resolved to take possession; and Rodney, determined to make all sure, made a grand sweep of every thing that he could lay his hands on, as hostile property, or as tainted by contraband transactions. This of course came home to the 'business and bosom' of many an individual, and among them, of not a few who, though engaged in a traffic essentially illegal, had contrived to keep on the safe side of the law. There was much clamour and much litigation. Rodney's mo-



tives were fiercely attacked, but, so far as appears from his correspondence, unjustly. We shall not, however, revive a dispute of which the interest has ceased: it is more to the present purpose to state, that, eventually, Rodney was no gainer by the affair; and by this it should seem that he had, at least, acted with some precipitancy. It is but fair to state, that there were circumstances which threw some mystery over the management of the business at home. Papers of the utmost importance to Rodney's claims, and deposited by him for safe custody in the Secretary of State's office, were, by some unascertainable means, abstracted, and the general result is thus accounted for by his Biographer.

‘ Various political circumstances, especially the termination of the American war shortly afterwards, rendered it expedient that the affair of St. Eustatius should not be thoroughly investigated, and that the conduct of those in this country who had secretly assisted the revolted colonists should not be too strictly examined. This contributed at the time to leave the question involved in a degree of mystery which has never since been cleared up; although the general impression has ever been, that the conciliatory spirit which it was thus deemed politic to adopt towards those who during the war had assisted our enemies, was attended with great injustice towards the Admiral.’

Rodney invariably expressed himself in terms of strong and indignant feeling about St. Eustatius; and, in his letters to Lady Rodney, where his real sentiments are expressed without disguise, his language is equally energetic. ‘ This rock ’, he says on one occasion, ‘ of only six miles in length and three in breadth, has done England more harm than all the arms of her most potent enemies, and alone supported the infamous American rebellion.’ When the Admiral, in 1781, was in England, he repelled with considerable animation, in the House of Commons, as member for Westminster, the imputations cast upon his character. He had, on that occasion, to stand the fierce fire of Burke's empassioned eloquence. His visit was a brief one: his health had suffered much, and he came home to recruit; but he was soon forced out again, by the increased activity of the Marquis de Bouillé and the Count de Grasse, against whom Sir Samuel Hood's inferior forces, notwithstanding the consummate skill and intrepidity of that excellent officer, would not allow him to make effectual head. We imagine that there has been no finer instance of decision and ability, than was displayed by him, when he decoyed De Grasse from his anchorage in Basseterre Roads, St. Christopher's, and placed his own fleet in the very position which the French admiral had quitted. The Count de Grasse had received intelligence of Hood's approach,

‘and, confiding in his superiority of numbers, immediately put to sea. Sir Samuel Hood’s object being to relieve the island, he instantly indicated by signal his intention of steering for the anchorage which the enemy had just quitted, which he adroitly accomplished in spite of all the exertions of the French admiral; who, too late, perceived the error he had committed, and who again attempted the ensuing morning to dislodge him from his station, but in vain. The island, however, having in consequence of the enemy’s great superiority of force, been compelled to capitulate, which it did on the 13th of February, nothing remained for the British admiral but to quit his station, now become very perilous and quite untenable, as soon as possible. He, therefore, gave orders for the ships to cut their cables at eleven o’clock, on the night of the 14th, and put to sea, proceeding under easy sail (the sternmost and leewardmost ships first, and so on in succession), till otherwise directed by signal. This manœuvre was effected with such perfect order and secresy, that the enemy, who were only five miles distant, were not aware of it till the following morning, when the British squadron had vanished out of sight.’

Circumstances had now become urgent; and bidding seasons at defiance, Rodney put to sea. By carrying ‘a press of sail’, notwithstanding a ‘very severe gale’, he weathered Ushant, and ‘through storms, and tempests, and contrary winds,’ succeeded in forcing his way in five weeks to Barbadoes. ‘None’, he writes with the excusable elation of a British seaman, ‘but an English squadron, could have forced its way to the West Indies as we have done. Poor ——’s fatal cape of Ushant, ‘we weathered in a storm but two leagues, the sea mountains high, which made a fair breach over the Formidable and the ‘Namur.’ This was a brave beginning; but his mind was made up to all risks. He had promised a friend who wished him a prosperous voyage, that he would bring him back *a present of De Grasse*; and when some one told him that the French admiral had spoken of him in terms of ridicule, he avowed his determination that, if ever they came alongside each other, *one should be a prisoner*. Nothing, indeed, was now wanting to him, but such an opportunity. The Admiralty had given him a fleet, strong in numbers and gallant captains to the full extent of his wishes; and it was felt by both French and English, that a collision must take place. He found the West Indies almost in the enemy’s power, and his first cares were directed to the security of Jamaica, against which the French were preparing, at Martinique, a powerful armament. Their first object, which it was, of course, Sir George’s anxiety to defeat, was to form a junction with the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. De Grasse endeavoured to gain his point, by creeping under the islands; but he was followed so hard by Rodney, that he was at length compelled to stand at bay. Having already

adverted to some of the more important circumstances connected with this great battle, we shall not renew the discussion here, but give, as the best general statement of particulars, the following extract from "*Select Dissertations on Subjects of Medical Science*,"—a highly interesting work, by Sir Gilbert Blane, Physician to the fleet, who was in personal communication with the Admiral during the engagement.

' About half an hour before the engagement commenced, at breakfast on board of the *Formidable*, the company consisting of the Admiral, Sir Charles Douglas, captain of the fleet (an officer whose functions nearly correspond to those of the adjutant-general of an army), Captain Simmons, commander of the ship, Lord Cranstoun, a volunteer post-captain, the Admiral's secretary, and myself,—the conversation naturally turned on the glorious prospect of the day; and Lord Cranstoun remarked, that if our fleet should maintain its present relative position, steering the same course close-hauled on the opposite tack to the enemy, we must necessarily pass through their line in running along, and closing with it in action. The Admiral visibly caught the idea, and no doubt decided in his own mind at that moment, to attempt a manœuvre at that time hitherto unpractised in naval tactics. It was accordingly practised by him with the most complete success, setting the illustrious example in the ship which bore his own flag; for the signal for close action being thrown out, and adhered to in letter and spirit for about an hour, and after taking and returning the fire of one half of the French force, under one general blaze and peal of thunder along both lines, the *Formidable* broke through that of the enemy. In the act of doing so, we passed within pistol-shot of the *Glorieux*, of seventy-four guns, which was so roughly handled, that, being shorn of all her masts, bowsprit, and ensign-staff, but with the white flag nailed to the stump of one of the masts, breathing defiance as it were in her last moments, became a motionless hulk, presenting a spectacle which struck our Admiral's fancy, as not unlike the remains of a fallen hero; for, being an indefatigable reader of Homer, he exclaimed, that now was to be the contest for the body of Patroclus. But the contest was already at an end; for the enemy's fleet, being separated, fell into confusion, a total rout ensued, and victory was no longer doubtful.' *Blane*, pp. 75, 6.

Sir George Rodney was blamed for not following up the enemy through the night; but a paper in his own hand-writing, found after his decease, assigns strong reasons for his caution in this respect. It was also asserted, that, if the advice of his first captain had been followed, the victory would have been more decisive; and the evasive language of Sir Charles Douglas, when the subject was referred to in his presence, seems to indicate that there was some reason for the imputation. 'We had a great deal to do, Sir; and I believe you will allow that we did a great deal.'

Previously to the arrival of the intelligence in England, a

new administration had succeeded the party which patronized Sir George; and Admiral Pigot had been sent out for the purpose of superseding him. When the news came, the ministers were anxious to rescind their order; but it was too late; the vessel had sailed, and nothing remained but to join in the popular applause, and to decree titles and pensions to the hero of his day. Rodney returned; and the following anecdote may assist in giving some notion of the enthusiasm which his presence excited.

‘ On Lord Rodney’s arrival at Bristol, he took up his quarters at the Bush Tavern, where himself and his suite were entertained in the most sumptuous style. The next day, on his Lordship inquiring for his bill, the patriotic landlord replied: “ Your Lordship forgets that you paid it beforehand on the 12th of April.” Two days afterwards, when the noble Admiral had got into his carriage to be driven to Bath, he begged to be conveyed thither as expeditiously as possible. The person who rode the leaders instantly turned round, and taking out his watch (when his Lordship instantly recognized Mr. Weeks in the dress of a postillion), “ as your Lordship said to the governor of St. Eustatius, on demanding his capitulation, in an hour, my Lord, and not a moment longer ”; and Mr. Weeks was as good as his word.’

In the year 1787, Lord Rodney made a tender of his services, and received an evasive acknowledgement from Mr. Pitt. When the Regency question was agitated, he joined with the Royal Dukes and other peers, in a protest against the imposition of restrictions on the Regent; and in consequence of this step, his son, Captain John Rodney, was refused a command which had been previously promised. The old Admiral resented this despicable procedure in a firm and dignified remonstrance to the Earl of Chatham, then at the head of the naval administration. During the latter years of his life, Lord Rodney had been much visited with gout; and his constitution, never very strong, gradually broke down under repeated attacks of that slow, but sure invader of the sources of existence. He died in the night of May 23, 1792, in his 71st year.

We shall not go again over ground which we have already travelled, but leave the character, personal and professional, of this great commander, to be inferred from the materials with which we have furnished our readers. We have been induced to give a more ample exhibition than we are usually wont to allow, in consideration of the elevated rank he holds in our naval history. He was a seaman of the highest order, exemplary as a disciplinarian; and he led the way to that close and decisive system of fighting which has made Great Britain the first naval power of the world.

**Art. II. *The Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature.* By Richard Whately, D.D. Principal of St. Alban's Hall, &c. 8vo. pp. xxviii. 348. Price 10s. London. 1830.**

**WE** have often been led to regard it as one of the most unhappy consequences resulting from the controversy between Conformists and Nonconformists in this country, that it has seemed to render it a point of honour with the Churchman, to shut his eyes to every defect in the system he is pledged to uphold;—as, in troublous times, men are obliged to barricade their windows, to keep out an enemy, and obtain security at the expense of living in the dark. The dread of giving an advantage to the Dissenters, of symbolizing with the Sectaries, or, worst of all, of being stigmatised as disaffected to the Church, has sealed the lips and fettered the spirit of the clergy, so as to preclude their instituting any inquiries that might have issued in the detection and removal of the faults and errors incident to every human system, whether of doctrine or of polity. It might seem to be in the highest degree Quixotic, for Dissenters to take upon themselves any part of the blame attaching to the stationary and passive character of the Establishment; more especially as they have not been backward in testifying against all that they deem erroneous or evil in the system. But, though they cannot be fairly blamed for this, acting, as they have ever done, on the defensive, they have been, we think, to a certain extent, the innocent cause of diverting the attention of the Church from all attempts at self-improvement. Parties within the Establishment, who could never have been otherwise made to coalesce, have been united by a jealousy of the enemy without; and the watch-word of ‘The Church is in danger’, has been sufficient to call every man to the battlements by a sense of common interest. The Dissenters have been viewed and represented simply as enemies and rebels, ever bent on the demolition of the Establishment, whose objections, proceeding from mere faction and unreasonable hostility, were unworthy of being listened to, and to whom no concessions should be made.

Accordingly, no concessions have been made,—none by the Church in her corporate capacity. During the one hundred and seventy years that have elapsed since the Restoration, it is a remarkable fact, that no attempt has been made to place the Church of England in correspondence with the increased intelligence, the more liberal spirit, or the altered circumstances of the times. While every thing else has been in progress, the Church, as an institution, in her canons, rubrics, ritual, and polity, still speaks the language, and maintains the prejudices of the seventeenth century. To the present day, the Church of England is governed by Charles II. and the Bishops of his

appointment. In fact, a very large proportion of the clergy may be said to live, in imagination, in those times. Their precedents, their habits of thinking, their politics, their theology, are all drawn from that period. Their historical recollections, with Southey's Book of the Church, stop short at the Revolution; and their greatest glory is that of being not wiser than their fathers.

There is not a much more trite or hackneyed axiom, than that which is conveyed in the admired phrase, *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*; but there is none which is less easily reduced to practice. Men will not submit to be so taught, but will hate and reject truth whenever it comes from those whom they dislike. Most persons, when told of their faults, are merely put upon defending them. Collective bodies are still less apt to confess themselves in the wrong, and to set about the unpalatable and self-denying work of reformation, on the prompting of a despised minority. To the objections against her forms or doctrines, reiterated by dissidents from without, through nearly two centuries, the Church has turned a deaf and haughty ear. The controversy stands, at the present moment, pretty nearly in the same state in which it was left on the breaking off of the Savoy Conference in 1661. And there, for all that Dissenters might say, it is likely to rest—till the Millennium.

Of late, however, things have assumed a very novel aspect, in consequence of the nascent spirit of free inquiry within the Establishment. We allude not now to the loud and general clamour for reform in the administration of the revenues and patronage of the Church, which is partly of a political character, and is instigated by the pressure of the times. The recent publications of Mr. Acaster, Mr. Nihill, Mr. Riland, Mr. Hurn, and others, are indications which cannot be mistaken, of approaching changes, the precise nature of which we will not venture to predict, but by which we entertain the cheerful confidence that the cause of Truth and Piety will be promoted. But no publication that has yet come before us, affords so striking an instance of this new-born spirit of candid inquiry in matters ecclesiastical, leading to the re-discovery of neglected truths, and of bold consistency in avowing the results of such investigation, as the present valuable work from the pen of Dr. Whately.

Had the Author of this work been a Protestant Dissenter, it might have been regarded as an invidious and sinister attempt to convict the Church of England of retaining, how unconsciously soever, many of the errors of that Church against which she protests. And the apology here put forward, that such errors as are common to the two Churches, have their origin in human nature, would, possibly, have been regarded as a masqued,



battery. This, it would have been said, is the old story over again,—the stale objection of the Puritans, dressed up in a philosophical garb, the mere offspring of perversity and prejudice. But no imputations of this cast can be thrown upon Dr. Whately. So far from having adopted his views from Protestant Dissenters, he scarcely seems to be aware of their existence; he vouchsafes not to notice them. The fact, that the very Errors which he here exposes, are the errors to which Nonconformity is most chiefly and directly opposed,—that the truths which he has in so masterly a style illustrated and defended, have long been the prevailing and characteristic opinions of the great body of Protestants holding the Congregational Polity,—seems to be wholly unknown to him; and it is even possible that he may receive this intimation of it with incredulous surprise. That such is the fact, however, our readers will soon perceive.

The Errors which Dr. Whately has here selected for consideration, ‘as being among the most prominent, and usually regarded as most characteristic of the Romish Church,’ but which he endeavours to trace to our common nature, are thus recapitulated.

‘1. Superstition; considered as consisting, not in this or that particular mode of worship, but in *misdirected* religious veneration generally. 2. The tendency towards what may be called a vicarious service of God; a proneness to convert the Christian minister into a priest, and to substitute his sanctity of life and devotion for those of the people. 3. The toleration of what are called “pious frauds”, either in the sacrifice of truth to supposed expediency, or in the propagation of what is believed to be the truth, by dishonest artifice. 4. An undue deference to Human Authority; as, in other points, so especially in forgetting the legitimate use of creeds, catechisms, liturgies, and other such compositions set forth by any Church, and intruding them gradually into the place of Scripture, by habitually appealing to them (where the appeal ought always to be made to the records of Inspiration) in *proof* of any doctrine that is in question: which practice I have pointed out as not originally the consequence, but the cause, of the claim to inspiration and infallibility set up by the Church. Lastly,—Intolerance, or the spirit of Persecution; i. e. the disposition to enforce by secular coercion, not this or that system of religion, but one’s own, whatever it may be; a fault inherent in human nature, and to which consequently all mankind are liable, however strongly they may reprobate (as e. g. the Romish Church has always done) persecution, or any form of compulsion, exercised on themselves.”—pp. 319, 20.

It is no part of Dr. Whately’s design, as may well be supposed, to palliate these errors in the Romish Church, or to shew that they are less criminal, because they are the offspring, not of Romanism, but of corrupt human nature. His object is to

point out the danger of viewing them as existing only in the Church, and of neglecting to guard against the spirit of those corruptions, while exulting in the name of Protestants. Such a work must be regarded as peculiarly seasonable at the present crisis; and Dr. Whately deserves the warmest thanks of every sound Protestant, every enlightened Christian, for the admirable sagacity and fidelity with which he has analysed and exposed the spirit of Popery lurking under Protestant forms. Unless the principles which are here illustrated are kept constantly in view, the effect of having our thoughts turned by frequent discussion towards the errors of Romanism, will be, he remarks, to put us off our guard against 'similar faults in some different shapes; and the more shall we be apt to deem every danger of the kind effectually escaped, by simply keeping out of the pale of that corrupt Church.' It is a remarkable fact, which must have come under the observation of many of our readers, that the most violent Anti-catholics, as they are improperly designated, are generally found among that class of Protestants who approach the nearest, in their spirit and in many of their religious sentiments, to the objects of their invective. Theirs is, in fact, simply a political, or an ecclesiastical quarrel with a hostile Church: they hate its errors far less than they dread its claims.

The errors in question may not, perhaps, be regarded by some persons as the most prominent or fundamental characteristics of Romanism: at least, others, it may be thought, claimed equally to be noticed. Many persons, Dr. Whately remarks, 'would place foremost, one to which they give the title of self-righteousness.' We must transcribe his reasons for not devoting a separate head to this error, as they will require a little examination.

'The word (self-righteousness) does not perhaps savour of the purest English \*; but what they mean is, a confident trust in the merit of our own good works, as sufficient to earn eternal happiness, and as entitling us to that as a just reward. The Romish Church, however, has not in reality ever set this forth as one of her distinct tenets. If

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\* According to the analogy of other similar compounds, Dr. Whately contends, such as 'self-love,' 'self-condemnation,' &c., self-righteousness should signify, upright dealing in respect of one's self. He must be aware, however, that the term righteousness is here used in the sense of justification, as in the authorized version of the New Testament; and that self-righteousness, i. e. self-justification, is designed to answer to the expressions, τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοσύνην and ἰπὴν δικαιοσύνην. The ambiguity of the term righteousness has been a source of much misconception; but the fault lies with our Translators.

any one will consult, what is of decisive authority in that Church, the decrees of the Council of Trent, he will perceive, that though they may perhaps have made an injudicious use of the word "merit," the abstract question between them and others (not Antinomians) is chiefly verbal. For they admit, and solemnly declare, that nothing we can do can be acceptable before God except for the sake of Jesus Christ; and that we are unable to perform good works except by his Spirit working in us: so that what is called a Christian's righteousness, is at the same time the righteousness of Christ, although the Scriptures promise repeatedly and plainly, that it will, through his goodness, not "lose its reward."

'That part of their theory which is the most objectionable on this score, is the doctrine, that from the pains of *purgatory* Christ has not redeemed us, but we are to be rescued either by penances done in this life, or by masses offered in our behalf after our death.

'But I do think that, in practice, the Romish system tends to foster the error in question; not so much, however, by the use of the words *merit* and *reward*, as by the importance attached to the *actual performance* of a vast multitude of specific works, many of them arbitrarily prescribed: such as abstinence from particular meats on particular days, repetition of Ave-Marys and Pater-nosters, pilgrimages, crossings, &c., which have a manifest tendency to absorb the attention in the *act* itself—to draw off the mind from the endeavour after inward purity—and to create the feeling so congenial to our nature, that we have been so far advancing in the performance of something *intrinsically* capable of forwarding our salvation.' pp. 36, 37.

Dr. Whately proceeds to remark, that it would be a great mistake, 'to imagine that Protestants, even those who are the 'forwardest in condemning this particular kind of spiritual 'pride, called by them self-righteousness, are therefore exempt 'from the danger of spiritual pride altogether. One may sometimes,' he says, 'hear a man professing himself the chief of 'sinners—proclaiming his own righteousness to be filthy rags, '—calling himself a brand plucked out of the burning—resting 'his confidence of salvation wholly on the atonement of the Redeemer, and on the imputation to himself of the righteous 'works performed by Christ,—who, while renouncing boasting 'in words, is full of the most overweening confidence in his own 'gifts and graces.' All this may be very true, but it is extremely little to the purpose; and we do marvel that so acute and candid a writer as Dr. Whately should have confounded things so distinct as a vice of temper and an error of doctrine. Self-righteousness, in the sense intended, is not spiritual pride, which implies an overweening sense of our attainments, gifts, or infallibility. Self-righteousness may or may not be associated with this disposition; but it is in itself a palpable error, an integral and characteristic part of that system 'which may be called, in 'a certain sense, the *Religion of Nature*,' as being 'such a kind

‘ of religion as “ the natural man ” is disposed to frame for himself.’ (p. vii.) It implies the notion, that man is able to turn away from himself, by his good works or his penal sufferings, the condemnation which attaches to him as a sinner. It is true, that many who hold this notion, pay Our Saviour the compliment of admitting, that it is through him, and by virtue of the concurrent efficacy of his atonement, that they are able to do this. The efficacy of penances and pilgrimages, alms and masses, ave-marias and pater-nosters, is *hypothetically* consequent upon his interposition. But still, it rests with sinful man to *entitle himself*, by his own doing or suffering, to the remission of sin and the possession of heaven.

Dr. Whately seems to represent the Romish system of justification as erroneous, chiefly as it tends ‘ to create the feeling ‘ that we have been advancing in the performance of something ‘ *intrinsically* capable of forwarding our salvation.’ But the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic or conditional, is, in this reference, too nice and intangible to be of any practical importance. Were such the only difference between truth and error on this point, plain Christians would require to be metaphysicians. Whatever performance of ours is capable of forwarding our salvation, must be intrinsically capable of forwarding it; except, indeed, in the case of prescribed rites of a symbolic character, such as those of the Jewish dispensation, the acceptableness of which resulted immediately from the positive appointment of God, and not from any inherent value.

We are as little disposed as Dr. Whately is, to insist upon mere verbal distinctions: we profess ourselves latitudinarians in phraseology, although not in creed. We have no quarrel with the words merit, reward, good works, virtue,—grossly and perniciously as they are often misapplied; for, indeed, the Scriptures plainly teach, that the good works of the Christian have merit, and shall be rewarded, as surely as the industry of the husbandman is recompensed with the harvest. And this prospect of an infinite reward is urged by St. Paul as a motive not to be weary in well doing. Liberality, benevolence, kindness, God will recompense at the resurrection of the just. We recognize the importance of unequivocally insisting upon these Scriptural statements, for with such motives the languid zeal of Christians requires to be constantly plied; and we never wish to be more orthodox than the Scriptures. But ‘ the abstract question ’ between the Romanists and ourselves on this point, seems to hinge upon a difference which Dr. Whately must admit to lie a little deeper than the surface of phraseology. The question is, whether the deeds of either sinner or saint can have, under any circumstances whatever, a *propitiatory efficacy*;—whether, intrinsically or extrinsically, in connexion with faith or without it,

they have any power to forward our redemption by 'putting away our sins,' (as the xiith Article expresses it,) or by turning away the wrath of God, and reversing our just condemnation. The acceptableness of good works is not the question, nor how they become acceptable, nor when, nor under what conditions. Definitions and dogmas intended to settle these points, fall very far short of the mark. There seems to us no danger of attributing any degree of merit to good works which can be reasonably claimed for them, short of an expiatory or piacular virtue. For this purpose, they are, at the best, worthless, and worse than worthless. The very attempt to make them serve this purpose, converts them into sin; for, if our absolution from sin result from works, then 'Christ is dead in vain.'

The notion (unhappily not confined to the Romanists) that good works, though not in themselves of expiatory virtue, derive a satisfactory and piacular efficacy from the righteousness, or atonement, or intercession of Christ, betrays a lamentable confusion of ideas, and is practically subversive of the hope of the Gospel. Were this the doctrine of the Christian Revelation, it would differ little, after all, from the religion of human nature, and from the notions of the heathen on the subject of propitiation and mediation. 'Now every peculiarity of our religion,' Dr. Whately justly remarks, 'is worth noticing, with a view to the confirmation of our faith.'

'For, that our religion should differ from all others, in points in which they all agree, is a presumption, at least, that it is not drawn from the same origin. And the presumption is the stronger, inasmuch as the difference is not slight or verbal, but real or essential. The priesthood of pagan nations, and that of our own,' (improperly so called, as the Author has shewn,) 'are not merely *unlike*, but, in the most essential points, even *opposite*. They offer sacrifices for the people: *we* refer them to a sacrifice made by another. They profess to be the mediators through whom the Deity is to be addressed: *we* teach them to look to a heavenly Mediator, and in his name boldly to approach God's mercy-seat themselves. They study to conceal the mysteries of religion; *we* labour to make them known. . . . . The Romish Church has in fact, in a great degree, transformed the Presbyter (the priest of the Gospel dispensation) into the *Hiereus*, or Levitical Priest; thus derogating from the honour of the one Great High Priest, and altering some of the most characteristic features of his religion into something more like Judaism or Paganism than Christianity.

'The Romish Priest professes, like the Jewish, to offer sacrifice (the sacrifice of the mass) to propitiate God towards himself and his congregation. The efficacy of that sacrifice is made to depend on sincerity and rectitude of intention, not in the *communicants* themselves, but in the Priest: he, assuming the character of a mediator and intercessor, prays, not *with*, but *for* the people, in a tongue unknown to

them, and in an inaudible voice ; the whole style and character of the service being evidently far different from what the Apostle must have intended, in commanding us to " pray for one another." The Romish Priest undertakes to reconcile transgressors with the Almighty, by prescribing penances, to be performed by them, in order to obtain *his* absolution ; and profanely copying our only High Priest, pretends to transfer to them his own merits, or those of the saints.' pp. 109—112

This is admirably put ; and we entirely agree with the Author, that a large and important portion of the errors of the Romish Church may be comprehended under this general charge, that they have destroyed the true character of the Christian priesthood. We admit also, that this feature of the system may be traced to the innate propensity of mankind to endeavour ' to serve God by proxy ' ; that ' the disposition men ' have ever shewn to substitute the devotion of the Priest for ' their own ' , is ' not so much the consequence, as it is the origin ' of Priestcraft.\* But whence arises this disposition or propensity in mankind ? Dr. Whately justly accounts for it, in part, by remarking, that ' through the corruption of his nature, ' man's heart, except when divinely purified, is too much alien- ' ated from God to take delight in serving him.' But this leaves still unaccounted for, the general anxiety ' to serve him ' by proxy.' Dr. W. seems to resolve this into ' a natural re- ' verence for religion, and a desire that God should be wor- ' shipped.' But the question again returns, Whence this desire in those who take no delight in serving him ? The answer is, that a sense or dread of the Divine anger, is the true source of that anxiety to honour and appease a Being who is not known and not loved, which is the foundation, or rather the essence of all superstition. Hence, all religions of man's devising have had but one aim and purpose in reference to the Object of Worship, namely, to propitiate the Deity.

Now if this be any part of the design of Christian worship or Christian obedience, our religion differs little, after all, from the religion of human nature. In the most essential circumstance, it does not differ from other religions ; and the presumption that it is not drawn from the same origin, is materially weakened, if not destroyed. Admitting that Christianity knows nothing of a mediatorial priesthood, if it teaches men to offer a propitiatory service for themselves, it differs from false religions, only as to the means and apparatus of religious worship,

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\* Dr. Whately is not aware, perhaps, that in this representation, he sanctions the acute remarks of Hume, cited in our review of Mr. Stratten's "*Book of the Priesthood.*" See p. 532 of our last volume. (Dec. 1830.)



which is still piacular, though not vicarious. Nor would the doctrine of a heavenly Mediator through whom such personal service or obedience is rendered efficacious, form so broad a mark of distinction as may at first sight be imagined. The devout Mussulman trusts in the mediation of *his* Prophet for the acceptableness of his meritorious acts of genuflexion, fasting, alms, and pilgrimage, and thus ascribes his salvation to the merits of another. He would admit, probably, with the Romanist, that 'nothing we can do can be acceptable before God, except for the sake of that One Mediator'—allow him only to substitute the name of Mohammed for that of Christ. In *his* religion, there is no vicarious priesthood, scarcely any thing that can be termed priestcraft. In this respect, it comes much nearer than Popery to primitive Christianity. In what, then, consists the total opposition between the Religion of the Koran and that of the New Testament? Chiefly in this; that alike by the acts of unmeaning superstition and of meritorious conduct which his religion inculcates, the Mohammedan devotee seeks to propitiate God, and to deserve or purchase at once immunity from future punishment and the rewards of a sensual paradise.

This is the religion of nature, Justification by Works; the religion, under specious disguises, of thousands who profess and call themselves Christians, within the pale of the Established Church. This is that cardinal error, obscurely designated as 'self-righteousness', against which, like the Reformers of other times, the evangelical teachers of our own day so zealously contend. Of the extent to which this error has blended itself with the popular theology of the English Church, no proof more striking could be given, than is afforded by the language of so acute and learned a writer as Dr. Whately. That *he* should have been led to regard 'the abstract question' between the Romanists and Protestants on this point as 'chiefly verbal', and to overlook the all-important distinction between the merit or acceptableness of virtuous actions, and their supposed *propitiatory* value, can be explained only by the powerful bias of educational prejudice. Actuated by a sincere and ardent love of truth, he has emancipated himself from the trammels of authority, and, with the Scriptures as a lamp unto his feet, has discovered for himself much that has hitherto been hidden from many of the wise and prudent. But he has yet to learn some things which have long been familiar to babes in wisdom,—to many of those persons whom he would class, perhaps, among 'fanatical pietists', and charge with spiritual pride, owing to a misapprehension of the ground of the happy assurance they entertain that their sins are blotted out. He has yet to discover in its full-orbed beauty and originality, the

glorious doctrine, that Christ has made our peace with the Father; that God, as the Moral Governor of a rebel world, is reconciled and appeased; that nothing remains to be done by us, even were the thing in itself possible, to forward our salvation in this respect; that the reconciliation which the Gospel proclaims, is to be accepted, not to be earned, in order that a religion of love, and generous obedience, and child-like assurance, may take the place, in the heart of the pardoned sinner, of the religion of fear, which is the religion of the unregenerate heart. He has yet to perceive that this faith is the only foundation of virtue; that the maintaining of the utter nullity and worthlessness of the most self-denying penitence, the most meritorious actions, the richest accumulation of good works, for the purpose of expiating our sins or appeasing a just God,—leaves in undiminished force all the reasons for obedience, all the motives to virtue; that the assurance of forgiveness and ‘inspiration,’ which he deems fanatical, is capable of becoming the most powerful incentive to work out our salvation with fear and trembling. How much is there that the Christian Athens cannot teach!

We have sometimes thought, that it might answer the purpose of familiar illustration, to suppose a case, absurd and improbable indeed to the last degree, yet, in some sort parallel to that of a sinful man seeking to satisfy the justice of God by his reluctant service. Let us imagine a husbandman, placed in some dark region over which the night of ignorance has long rested, and who, utterly unacquainted with the laws of vegetation and the mysteries of nature, is taught by his priests to believe, that, by performing certain ceremonies of turning up the ground and scattering a multitude of grains, he propitiates the gods who preside over the earth, and induces them to bestow in return the fruits of the soil. What would be the natural effect of this persuasion? Would he not be apt to regard the prescribed performance as a very irksome task, and to content himself with the most careless and grudging discharge of a service to him so unmeaning? Or, if his anxiety for success led him to observe the utmost diligence and precision in executing it, would he not be liable to a thousand apprehensions, as well as to some serious mistakes that might mar his toil? And would he not receive the reward of his labour as that which he had wrung from the reluctant gods, rather than as the marks of their bounty? Now, then, let us suppose some officious philosopher addressing the poor peasant in this wise: ‘My friend, you are deceived altogether as to the nature of your performance and the cause of its success. Your hoeing and sowing the ground can have no effect in satisfying or propitiating the gods: for this purpose, your toil would be all

‘ thrown away. Had not the Goodness of Heaven been before-  
 ‘ hand with you, and ensured the success of your operations by  
 ‘ the fixed economy of vegetation, nothing you could do would  
 ‘ make the earth bring forth. But go on, and be assured, that,  
 ‘ according as you sow, so shall you reap. Heaven will reward  
 ‘ your confidence, and bless your industry.’ Who does not see  
 how this explanation would infallibly cut the sinews of exertion,  
 and destroy all the poor man’s relish for husbandry? Would  
 he not at once cease from his good works? So, to be consis-  
 tent, some theologians would tell us. Others would say:—  
 ‘ Why disturb the poor man’s mind with such subtle distinc-  
 ‘ tions? What does it signify, whether he fancies that he  
 ‘ bribes the gods by his labour, or that he toils from more en-  
 ‘ lightened motives? Sowing is sowing, whatever the man may  
 ‘ think of the matter,—whether he thank his stars, or curse the  
 ‘ gods for imposing such labour upon him. Leave him to go  
 ‘ on in his own way.’

Not so Dr. Whately, who is the uncompromising enemy of  
 all superstition on the one hand, and of all pious frauds on the  
 other. We transcribe with pleasure the following just and im-  
 portant sentiments.

“ The temptation to deceive, either positively or negatively\*, i. e.  
 either by introducing or by tolerating error, is one of the strongest  
 that assail our frail nature, in cases where the conscience is soothed by  
 our having in view what we believe to be a good end, and where that  
 end seems hardly attainable but by fraudulent means. For the path  
 of falsehood, though in reality slippery and dangerous, will often be  
 the most obvious and seemingly the shortest. Accordingly, nothing is  
 more common, among the indolent and thoughtless, when entrusted  
 with the management of children, than to resort to this compendious  
 way of controlling them; for the employment of deceit with those who  
 are so easily deceived, will often serve a present turn much better than  
 scrupulous veracity, though at the expense of tenfold ultimate incon-  
 venience.’ p. 144.

Some of the ‘ conceivable cases’ adduced by the Author as  
 specimens of pious frauds, are not a little curious; but they  
 evince the honourable integrity and fearless independence  
 which strikingly characterize his writings.

‘ Let us imagine a case of some one desirous to receive, and induce  
 others to receive, the rite of Confirmation, from supposing it alluded to  
 and enjoined in the passage of Scripture which describes an apostle as  
 going through a certain region “ confirming the churches” (ἰπιστοῦντας);

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\* Of the guilt of negative deception, Dr. Whately might have  
 drawn a striking and authoritative illustration from John viii. 55.

should we venture to attempt removing his conviction from this false basis, and replacing it on a sound one?

‘ If, again, we should meet with a case of Christians having a deep reverence for all the rites and circumstances of Christian burial, founded on a persuasion that the souls of those whose bodies are interred in consecrated ground, after the performance of the funeral service, are in a more safe state than they would otherwise have been, might not a danger be apprehended, of impairing their respect for the ministers of religion and the services of the Church, by inculcating the groundlessness of that persuasion? And might not therefore a minister be tempted, in such a case, to leave undisturbed an error which he could not charge himself with having directly introduced?

‘ Once more ; imagine the case of a man long hardened in irreligious carelessness or gross vices, conscience-stricken on his death-bed, professing sincere repentance, and earnestly wishing for, and seeming to implore, a positive assurance, from the minister of his acceptance with God, and his eternal happiness in the next world ;—a wish in which the relatives and friends around him should strongly join ; and suppose the minister to be one who could not satisfy his own mind that he had any authority in Scripture for speaking positively in such a case ; would he not be exposed to a temptation of feigning a confidence he did not feel, for the sake of smoothing the death-bed of one for whom nothing else could be done, and administering comfort to the afflicted survivors?

‘ And if a person so situated were anxious to receive the Eucharist, though he were (suppose) from ignorance respecting religion, and long continuance in careless or depraved habits, combined with the distractions of bodily pain, and the feebleness of mind resulting from disease, utterly incapable of being made to understand the nature of Christian Repentance, or the doctrine of Christian Redemption, or the right use of that Sacrament which he craved for as a kind of magical charm ; (with the same kind of superstitious confidence which the Papists place in their Extreme-Uction ; ) would not the minister be tempted to shut his eyes to the unfitness of such a candidate—to the consequent nullity of the Ordinance, as far as that recipient is concerned—and to the profanation of so celebrating it? And if, moreover, we suppose some fanatical teacher to be at hand ready to make confident promises of salvation if *we* speak doubtfully, and to administer the sacred Ordinance if *we* withhold it—and that he would in that case win many converts, while we should incur odium, as wanting in charity ; we must admit that, in such a case as here supposed, the temptation would be very strong, to any but a devoted lover of truth, to connive at error, as the less of the evils before him. And the temptation would be much the stronger both in this and in the other supposed cases, if we imagine them presented to a person who (as might easily be the case) had no distinct perception of the ultimate *dangers* of deceit—of the crowd of errors likely to spring from one—the necessity of supporting hereafter one falsehood by another, to infinity—and the liability to bring truth into discredit by blending it with the untrue ; dangers which are recognized in the popular wisdom of appropriate proverbs. These ill

consequences may very easily be overlooked in each particular instance: for, though it is a just maxim, that falsehood is inexpedient in the long run, it is a maxim which it requires no small experience and reach of thought fully and practically to comprehend, and readily to apply: the only safe guide for the great mass of mankind, is the abhorrence of falsehood for its own sake, without looking to its consequences.'

Of the superstition existing among multitudes in this country, in relation to the Eucharist, Dr. Whately, in his first chapter, adduces some flagrant and melancholy instances; and he shews, that such superstition, 'instead of promoting, as some persons 'vainly imagine, true Religion, stands in the place of it.' 'Do pray, dear sir, give me the sacrament first, and then talk 'as much as you please',—is an answer by which, our Author assures us, he has known a sick man perseveringly repel the attempts of the minister to examine into the state of his mind, and to impart to him the requisite instruction. Again, as to the superstition cherished by the burial-service, Dr. Whately says:

'I have known a person, in speaking of a deceased neighbour, whose character had been irreligious and profligate, remark, how great a comfort it was to hear the words of the funeral-service read over her, "because, poor woman, she had been such a bad liver." I have heard of an instance again, of a superstition probably before unsuspected, being accidentally brought to light, by the minister's having forbidden a particular corpse to be brought into the church, because the person had never frequented it when alive: the consequence of which was, that many old people began immediately to frequent the church, who had before been in the habit of absenting themselves.' p. 70.

It is impossible that Dr. Whately should not be painfully sensible of the gross impropriety of the practice imposed upon every clergyman, of reading the service indiscriminately over good or 'bad livers.' With his views, the ordinary functions of a parish priest must involve a sort of perpetual martyrdom. Why do not such men as he boldly come forward to solicit and procure emancipation from "a yoke which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?" The following remarks on some of the prevailing characteristics of superstition, are highly deserving of attention.

'The tendency to disjoin religious observances (i. e. what are intended to be such) from heartfelt and practical religion, is one of the most besetting evils of our corrupt nature; and it is the very root of most superstitions. Now no one can fail to perceive how opposite this is to true piety. Empty forms not only supersede piety by standing in its place, but gradually alter the habits of the mind, and render it unfit for the exercise of genuine pious sentiment. Even the natural food of religion (if I may so speak) is thus converted into its poison. Our very prayers, for example, and our perusal of the holy Scriptures, become superstitious, in proportion as any one expects them to operate

as a charm—attributing efficacy to the mere words, while his feelings and thoughts are not occupied in what he is doing.

‘ Every religious ceremony or exercise, however well calculated, in itself, to improve the heart, is liable, as I have said, thus to degenerate into a mere form, and consequently to become superstitious ; but in proportion as the outward observances are the more complex and operose, and the more unmeaning or unintelligible, the more danger is there of superstitiously attaching a sort of magical efficacy to the bare outward act, independent of mental devotion. If, for example, even our prayers are liable, without constant watchfulness, to become a superstitious form, by our “ honouring God with our lips, while our heart is far from Him,” this result is almost unavoidable when the prayers are recited in an unknown tongue, and with a prescribed number of vain repetitions, crossings, and telling of beads. And men of a timorous mind, having once taken up a wrong notion of what religion consists in, seek a refuge from doubt and anxiety, a substitute for inward piety, and, too often, a compensation for an evil life, in an endless multiplication of superstitious observances ;—of pilgrimages, sprinklings with holy water, veneration of relics, and the like. And hence the enormous accumulation of superstitions, which, in the course of many centuries, gradually arose in the Romish and Greek Churches.’ pp. 38—40.

And it is not a little remarkable, Dr. Whately proceeds to observe, that, in many instances, superstition not only does not promote true religion, but even tends to generate *profaneness*; in respect, too, of the very objects of superstitious reverence. He cites, in proof of this, from Doblado’s Letters, an account of the strange mixture of extravagant superstition and indecent levity and wit, which is exhibited in the shows and ceremonies of Good Friday, in some parts of Spain. Abundant evidence might be adduced of a similar kind. Mr. Blunt tells us, that, ‘ when disappointed by his tutelary saints, an Italian or Sicilian ‘ will sometimes proceed so far as to heap reproaches, curses, ‘ and even blows on the wax, wood, or stone, which represents ‘ them’ \* ; and he shews, that the ancient Romans treated their gods with similar freedom.

———— ‘ *Injustos rabidis pulsare querelis  
Cœlicolas solamen erat.*’——Stat. Sylv. v. 22.

The Hindoos are in like manner described as reviling their gods in the grossest terms, on the occasion of any untoward event. Something strictly analogous to this, is but too notoriously prevalent among nominal Protestants.

‘ In this country, a large proportion of the superstition that exists, is connected more or less with the agency of evil spirits ; and accordingly

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\* Blunt’s “ Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs in Modern Italy.” p. 125.



(in conformity with the strange principle of our nature just mentioned) nothing is so common a theme of profane jests among the vulgar of all ranks, as the Devil, and every thing relating to that Being, including the "everlasting fire prepared for him and his angels;" and this, by no means exclusively, or chiefly, among such as disbelieve what Scripture says on the subject; but, on the contrary, even the most, among those who give credit to a multitude of legendary tales also, quite unwarranted by Scripture.

' This curious anomaly may perhaps be, in a great measure at least, accounted for, from the consideration, that as Superstition imposes a yoke rather of fear than of love, her votaries are glad to *take revenge*, as it were, when galled by this yoke, and to indemnify themselves in same degree both for the irksomeness of their restraints and tasks, and also for the *degradation*, (some sense of which is always excited by a consciousness of slavish dread,) by taking liberties, *wherever they dare*, either in the way of insult or of playfulness, with the objects of their dread. And jests on sacred subjects, it is well known, are, when men are so disposed, the most easily produced of any; because the *contrast* between a dignified and a low image, exhibited in combination, (in which the whole force of the ludicrous consists,) is in this case the most striking.

' But how comes it that they ever do *dare*, as we see is the fact, to take these liberties? Another characteristic of Superstition will perhaps explain this also. It is, as I have just said, characteristic of Superstition to enjoin, and to attribute efficacy to, the mere performance of some specific outward acts—the use of some material object, without any loyal, affectionate devotion of heart being required to accompany such acts, and to pervade the whole life as a ruling motive. Hence, the rigid observance of the precise directions given, leaves the votary secure, at ease in conscience, and at liberty, as well as in a disposition, to indulge in profaneness. In like manner, a patient, who dares not refuse to swallow a nauseous dose, and to confine himself to a strict regimen, yet is both vexed and somewhat ashamed of submitting to the annoyance, will sometimes take his revenge, as it were, by abusive ridicule of his medical attendant and his drugs; knowing that this will not, so long as he does but take the medicine, diminish their efficacy. Superstitious observances are a kind of distasteful or disgusting remedy, which however is to operate if it be but swallowed, and on which accordingly the votary sometimes ventures gladly to revenge himself.'

pp. 41—44.

It would be easy to multiply citations from these pages, of an instructive and interesting cast; but we must pass on to notice very briefly the remaining chapters. The fourth, which treats of an 'undue reliance on human authority', is of a more desultory and unsatisfactory character than the preceding ones, but abounds with valuable remarks. Dr. Whately is anxious to disavow, on behalf of his Church, claims which the language of her formularies *seems* at least to favour, and for which the majority of his brethren have ever been found zealous to contend.

And it is not a little remarkable, Dr. W. observes that in many instances, superstition is not true religion, but even tends to pervert it, too, of the very objects of superstition. He cites in proof of this, from Deland's letter of the strange mixture of extravagant superstition and wit, which is exhibited in the story of Good Friday, in some parts of Spain. And might be adduced of a similar kind. Mr. K. is sometimes disappointed by his tutelary saints, as I have sometimes proceed so far as to heap reproaches and even blows on the wax, wood, or stone, which represent them; and he shews, that the ancient Romans were with similar freedom.

——: *Injustos rebus potare querens*  
*Catholici solamen erat.* — *Sent. Syll.* v. 22

The Hindoos are in like manner described as being in the grossest terms, on the occasion of a festival. Something strictly analogous to this, is however prevalent among nominal Protestants. In this country, a large proportion of the superstitious are more or less with the agency of evil spirits ; and

*• Book: "Traces of Ancient Manners and Customs"*

ple of our nature just mentioned) ne jeats among the vulgar of all relating to that Being, including and his angels;" and this, by long such as disbelieve what the contrary, even the most, itude of legendary tales also,

, in a great measure at least, at as Superstition imposes a ries are glad to *take revenge*, to indemnify themselves in heir restraints and tasks, and hich is always excited by a iberties, *wherever they dare*, as, with the objects of their well known, are, when men f any; because the *contrast* hibited in combination, (in sta,) is in this case the most

re, as we see is the fact, to ic of Superstition will per- just said, characteristic of cy to, the mere performance me material object, without ing required to accompany a ruling motive. Hence, ms given, leaves the votary as well as in a disposition, r, a patient, who dares not confine himself to a strict hamed of submitting to the ge, as it were, by abusive igs; knowing that this will ne, diminish their efficacy. steeful or disgusting remedy, llowed, and on which ac- dly to revenge himself.

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He would resolve the whole *authority* of the Church in controversies of faith, into such an authority as attaches to the historian or the philosopher. But still, he ingenuously admits, 'the use of the word authority in the sense of *power*, is so common, that it has, I have no doubt, aided in producing the impression, that a claim is advanced by the Church, of being 'an infallible interpreter of Scripture.' (p. 193.) Surely, then, he must wish to have the phraseology of the article in question amended, if not to see the entire article expunged. Again, he remarks, that 'Our Church' does not, like the Romish, denounce as '*heretics*', the members of other churches, not claiming any spiritual authority over those who are not within its pale. Yet, in denouncing the members of other churches as schismatics, if not as heretics, does it not equally lay claim to a jurisdiction beyond its pale? Our Author is no advocate, however, of the perfection of the Church to which he belongs; fully aware, that 'the claim to exemption from all error, shuts the 'door against reform'; and he points out how the danger of virtually substituting human authority for Divine, is increased by the use of human expositions of Scripture, such as creeds, articles, and catechisms, as well as of liturgical formularies. The following remarks we cannot suppress.

'It is a circumstance not a little remarkable, that they' (the inspired Writers) 'should all of them have thus abstained from committing to writing (what they must have been in the habit of employing orally) a Catechism, or course of elementary instruction in Christianity, consisting of a regular series of unquestionable Canons of doctrine—Articles of faith duly explained and developed—in short, a compendium of the Christian religion; which we may be sure (had such ever existed) would have been carefully transmitted to posterity. This, I say, must appear to every one, on a little reflexion, something remarkable; but it strikes me as literally *miraculous*. I mean, that the procedure appears to me dictated by a wisdom more than human; and that the Apostles and their immediate followers must have been *supernaturally withheld* from taking a course which would *naturally* appear to them the most expedient. Considering how very great must have been the total number of all the Elders and Catechists appointed, in various places, by the Apostles, and by those whom they commissioned, it seems hardly credible, that no one of these should have thought of doing what must have seemed so obvious, as to write, under the superintendence and correction of the Apostles, some such manual for the use of his hearers: as was in fact done, repeatedly, in *subsequent ages*, (i. e. after, as we hold, the age of *inspiration* was past,) in all the Churches where any activity existed. Thus much, at least, appears to me indubitable; that Impostors would have taken sedulous care (as Mahomet did) to set forth a complete course of instructions in their Faith; and that Enthusiasts would never have failed, *some* of them at least, to fall into the same plan; so that an

omission which is, on all human principles, unaccountable, amounts to a moral demonstration of the divine origin of our religion. And this argument, we should observe, is not drawn from the supposed *wisdom* of such an appointment: it holds good equally, however little we may perceive the expediency of the course actually pursued; for that which cannot have come from *Man*, must have come from *God*. If the Apostles were neither enthusiasts nor impostors, they must have been inspired; whether we can understand, or not, the reasons of the procedure which the Holy Spirit dictated.

‘ In this case, however, attentive consideration may explain to us these reasons. God’s wisdom doubtless designed to guard us against a danger, which I think no human wisdom would have foreseen—the danger of indolently assenting to, and committing to memory, a “form of sound words”; which would in a short time have become no more than a form of words;—received with passive reverence, and scrupulously retained in the mind—leaving no room for doubt—furnishing no call for vigilant investigation—affording no stimulus to the attention, and making no vivid impression on the heart. It is only when the understanding is kept on the stretch by the diligent search—the watchful observation—the careful deduction—which the Christian Scriptures call forth, by their oblique, incidental, and irregular mode of conveying the knowledge of Christian doctrines—it is then only, that the Feelings, and the Moral portion of our nature, are kept so awake as to receive the requisite impression: and it is thus accordingly that Divine wisdom has provided for our wants, “*Curis acuens mortalia corda*”.

‘ It should be observed, also, that a single systematic course of instruction, carrying with it divine authority, would have superseded the framing of any *others*,—nay, would have made even the alteration of a single word of what would, on this supposition, have been *Scripture*, appear an impious presumption; and yet could not possibly have been well-adapted for all the varieties of station, sex, age, intellectual power, education, taste, and habits of thought. So that there would have been an almost inevitable danger, that such an authoritative list of credenda would have been regarded by a large proportion of Christians with a blind and unthinking reverence, which would have excited no influence on the character; they would have had “a form of godliness; but denying the power thereof,” the form itself would have remained with them only as the corpse of departed Religion.

‘ Such then being the care with which God’s providence has guarded against leading us into this temptation, it behoves us to be careful that we lead not ourselves into temptation, nor yield to those which the natural propensities of the human heart present. For, through the operation of those principles which I have so earnestly, and perhaps too copiously, dwelt on, we are always under more or less temptation to exalt some human exposition of the faith to a practical equality with the Scriptures, by devoting to that our chief attention, and making to it our habitual appeal.

‘ And why, it may be said, should we scruple to do this? giving to Scripture the precedence, indeed, in point of dignity, as the foundation on which the other is built, but regarding the superstructure as

no less firm than the foundation on which it is fairly built? "I am fully convinced," a man may say, "that such an exposition conveys the genuine doctrines of the Scriptures: in which case it must be no less true than they; and may, therefore, by those who receive it, be no less confidently appealed to. Supposing us fully to believe its truth, it answers to us the purpose of Scripture: since we can *but* fully believe *that*. For in mathematics, for instance, we are not more certain of the axioms and elementary propositions, than we are of those other propositions which are proved from them: nor is there any need to go back at every step to those first theorems which are the foundation of the whole."

'The principle which I have here stated, as favourably as I am able, is one which, I believe, is often not distinctly stated, even inwardly in thought, by multitudes who feel and act conformably to it.

'One obvious answer which might be given to such reasoning is, that to assign to the deductions of uninspired men the same perfect certainty as belongs to mathematical demonstrations, and to repose the same entire confidence in their expositions of Scripture, as in Scripture itself, is manifestly to confer on those men the attribute of infallibility. Believe indeed, we must, in the truth of our own opinions: nor need it be such a wavering and hesitating belief, as to leave us incessantly tormented by uneasy doubts: but if we censure the Romish Church for declaring herself not liable to error, we must, for very shame, confess our own liability to it, not in mere words, but in practice; by being ever ready to listen to argument—ever open to conviction;—by continually appealing and referring at every step "to the Law and to the Testimony"—by continually tracing up the stream of religious knowledge to the pure fountain-head—the living waters of the Scriptures.' pp. 199—205.

The chapter on Persecution is admirable throughout. We cannot, indeed, conceal our satisfaction at finding principles which we have long struggled to maintain, at the cost of exposing ourselves to no small misrepresentation and obloquy, so explicitly avowed and so ably defended by a person of Dr. Whately's station and attainments. Upon no subject do more mistaken opinions prevail; and to the correction of these popular mistakes, our Author has particularly addressed himself. In opposition to one of these false notions, we meet with the important remark, worthy to be treasured up as an axiom, that 'Persecution is not wrong, because it is cruel; but it is cruel, because it is wrong.' Nor is it correct to characterise persecution as consisting in the infliction of punishment for the gratification of revenge or malice. 'What candid (or even uncandid) student of history,' asks Dr. W., 'can believe Cranmer' (or, we would say, Calvin) 'cruel and revengeful? Yet, he sanctioned the cutting off of heretics by the secular arm, from a sincere, though erroneous sense of duty.' The following remarks require from us no commendation or comment.



‘ The ultimate penalty accordingly, in this world, with which the Author of our Religion thought fit to sanction it, was (with the exception of a few cases of miraculous interference) the exclusion of the offender from the religious community which he had scandalized : “ if he refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto you as a heathen man and as a publican :” if he would not listen when repeatedly admonished, he was to be removed from the Society. And it is worthy of being remarked, that the Romish Church itself claims no right to punish those who do *not* belong to the Society : a “ *heathen* man ” does not come under her jurisdiction. In order therefore to retain the right of coercion over all who have been baptized, even by such as she accounts heretics, the Romanists affect to regard them as truly members, though rebellious subjects, of the Catholic Church. In literal and direct opposition to our Lord’s words, though censuring them for “ refusing to hear the Church,” they yet will *not* regard them in the light of “ heathen men.”

‘ The language of the Apostle Paul corresponds with his Master’s : “ a man that is an heretic, and after the first and second admonition, reject.” But no personal violence—no secular penalty whatever, is denounced against heretics and schismatics—“ heathen men and publicans.” The whole of the New Testament breathes a spirit of earnestness indeed in the cause of truth, and zeal against religious error ; but of such a zeal as was to manifest itself only in vehement and persevering persuasion.

‘ This, which the Romanists cannot deny, they are driven to explain away, by saying, that the Apostles and other early Christians were *unable* to compel men to a conformity to the true faith ; they abstained from the use of secular force, because (I cite the words of Augustine, a favourite authority with the Romanists) “ that prophecy was not yet fulfilled, Be wise now therefore, O ye kings ; be learned, ye that are judges of the earth ; serve the Lord with fear.” The rulers of the earth, he adds, were at that time opposed to the Gospel ; and *therefore* it was that the secular arm was not called in against the Church’s enemies.

‘ But the Romanists might be asked in reply, if indeed such an argument be worth a reply, *why* the Apostles had not this power. Surely their Master could have bestowed it ;—He unto whom “ all power was given, in heaven and in earth :”—He who declared that the Father was ready to send him “ more than twelve legions of angels :” whose force, as it would have destroyed all idea of resistance, would at once have established his religion, without any need of a resort to *actual* persecution. Or, if for any hidden reasons, the time was not yet come for conferring on his disciples that coercive power which was to be afterwards justifiably employed in his cause, we might expect that He would have given notice to them of the change of system which was to take place. But had He designed any such change, his declaration to Pilate would have been little else than an equivocation worthy of the school of the very Jesuits. Had He declared that “ his kingdom was not of this world,” meaning, that though such was the case, *then*, He meant it to be supported by secular force hereafter, and consequently to *become* a kingdom of this world ;—and that his ser-

vants were not allowed to fight in his cause ; with the mental reservation, that they were hereafter to do so ;—He would have fully justified the suspicion which was probably entertained by many of the heathen magistrates, that the Christians and their Master did, notwithstanding their professions, secretly meditate the establishment of a kingdom supported by secular force ; and that though they disavowed this principle, and abstained from all violent methods, this was only a mask assumed during the weakness of their infant power, which they would (according to the principle which Augustine avows) throw aside as soon as they should have obtained sufficient strength.

‘ But the very idea is blasphemous, of attributing such a subterfuge to Him who “ came into the world that He might bear witness of the truth.” The immediate occasion indeed of our Lord’s *making this declaration*, to Pilate, was his desire to do away the expectation so strongly prevailing both among Jews and Gentiles, of a temporal Messiah about to establish a triumphant kingdom : but no occasion would have led Him to make the declaration, had it not been *true* : and it would *not* have been true, had He meant no more than that his kingdom was spiritual, in the sense of its having dominion over the souls of men, and holding out the glories and the judgements of the other world ; for this was what the infidel Jews expected, and expect to this day : they look for a kingdom both of this world and also of the next.—for a Messiah who shall bestow on his followers not only worldly power and splendour, but also the spiritual blessings of a future state besides. They did indeed expect the Messiah to reign over them forever in bodily person : but the main part of their expectation would have been fulfilled, had He merely *founded* a temporal kingdom, and delegated (as the Lord did of old, to the kings) his power, to his anointed, in whom his spirit should dwell. Jesus accordingly not only *claimed spiritual* dominion, but *renounced* temporal : He declared *not* merely that his kingdom is one of the *next* world, but that it is *not* of *this* world.

‘ All the declarations, however—all the direct and indirect teaching—of Scripture, is unavailing to the uncandid inquirer, who seeks in these books, not a guide for his conduct, but a justification of it ; and who is bent on making the word of God, where it does not suit his views, “ of none effect, by the tradition ” of a supposed infallible Church, or by the subtleties of strained interpretations. But to a candid mind the instructions afforded by the Evangelists and Apostles appear to me not only sufficient to settle all questions relating to the subject of persecution, but also (to the generality of mankind) better adapted for that purpose than any arguments which human reason could supply.’ pp. 245—251.

Dr. Whately has some most valuable remarks on the notorious fact, that the feeling which tends to foster the spirit of persecution against infidels and heretics, is usually much stronger than our indignation against those who, professing our religion, disgrace it by an unchristian life. ‘ With the early Christians, the case must have been reversed.’ Not less deserving of notice is another striking fact ; that ‘ those who are anxious to re-

tain within the pale of the Church, such professing Christians as lead a careless or immoral life, are not found to feel any thing like a proportionate tenderness towards differences of opinion. On the contrary,' adds Dr. W., 'they are usually the foremost in exaggerating into fatal heresy, the smallest shade of variation from their own views of orthodoxy, and the loudest in urging all those openly and at once to separate from the Church, whose notions do not appear minutely to coincide with their own.' Dr. Whately is the decided advocate of the most comprehensive toleration. 'Coercive means,' he remarks, 'cannot suitably be employed for either the propagation or the maintenance of Christianity.' Upon Christian principles, the interference of the civil magistrate, to whom is committed the care of the temporal welfare of the community, must be limited 'to those cases in which the persons or property of the citizens are directly and confessedly concerned.' Those principles leave no 'opening for the forcible suppression, or for the forcible establishment, by the civil magistrate, of any religion whatever.'

We will not charge Dr. Whately with 'stealing our thunder.' We have not the arrogance to claim him as a disciple or a convert; but we do congratulate ourselves upon the accession of so powerful an auxiliary. Sentiments which, under the uninviting title of 'Protestant Nonconformity,' have failed to gain assent, may be listened to with respectful deference when thus promulgated *ex cathedra*. Let us not be misunderstood, as if we imputed to our Author any bias towards Dissenterism, or any disposition to symbolize with Congregationalists in their notions of ecclesiastical polity. Against much that they would be apt to contend for, he would perhaps strenuously object; but all the views which he has so admirably illustrated in these Essays, they have long entertained. We may venture, indeed, to assert, that there is scarcely a position that we have cited from Dr. Whately, that will not be found, in substance, in Mr. Conder's work, from which, in one of the Bampton Lectures of 1819, copious extracts were made, with a view to their confutation. If the volume referred to never fell into Dr. Whately's hands, the coincidence is the more satisfactory, as shewing the near agreement of collateral inquiries, originating in very opposite quarters, and instituted with very different intentions.

But are Protestant Dissenters in no danger of falling into the errors here exposed, inherent as they are in our common nature? To some of them, the Nonconformist may be less liable than the Churchman, as the Churchman is less liable than the Romanist; but a false security, as Dr. Whately justly remarks, is itself one of the most fatal of those errors. Let Dissenters then receive the admonition addressed by our Author to the members of his own community.

### 134 *Lectures on the Apocalypse* by Jones and Others.

‘We are, in fact, imitating the Romanists, if we securely exult in our separation from them; if we trust in the name of Protestant, as they do in that of Catholic, and look back, with proud satisfaction, at our emancipation from their corrupt system, without also looking forward, to guard vigilantly against the like corruptions: even as they triumphed in their abandonment of Pagan superstitions, while they forgot that Paganism itself was the offspring of the self-deceiving heart of man, in which the same corruptions, if not watchfully repressed, will be continually springing up afresh.’ p. 317.

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Art. III. 1. *Lectures on the Apocalypse.* By William Jones, M.A. 8vo. pp. 613. Price 15s. London, 1830.

2. *Lectures, expository and practical, on the Book of Revelation.* By the late Rev. Robert Culbertson. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1560. Price 1l. 10s. London.

3. *Practical Sermons on the Epistles to the Seven Churches, the Millennium and the Church Triumphant, and the CXXXth Psalm.* By the late Rev. Joseph Milner, M.A., Vicar of the Holy Trinity Church, Kingston upon Hull. With prefatory Remarks by the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Vicar of Sir George Wheler’s Chapel. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 392. Price 10s. London, Seeley, 1830.

4. *An Inquiry into the Origin of Opinions relative to an Expected Millennium.* By William Vint. 8vo. pp. 130. Price 2s. London, Baynes, 1830.

**T**HE Apocalypse is a book which some of the most celebrated commentators have designedly omitted in their expositions of the New Testament. ‘*Calvinus sapuit,*’ says Scaliger, ‘*quis non scripsit in Apocalypsin;*’ and Whitby thought himself incompetent to the task of elucidating its symbols and explaining its language, ‘having,’ as he confesses, ‘neither sufficient reading nor judgement, to discern the true intendment of the prophecies contained in this book.’ To others, however, it has evidently been one of the most attractive portions of the sacred Volume, and has been selected by not a few theological writers, as an appropriate field in which to exercise their ingenuity, and to display their learning. Instances might easily be produced, of the flippant and prejudiced perversion of the book in accommodation to occurrences of temporary interest; but the very names of such men as Mede, and Lowman, and Vitranga, are sufficient vouchers that, in the illustration of the Apocalypse, the most solid and extensive erudition, combined with sobriety of judgement and the most entire honesty of purpose, has been employed. To these names, distinguished as they are, we need not hesitate to add that of Dean Woodhouse. Other writers of inferior pretensions have from time to time endeavoured to interest the religious part of the community in the ‘Revelation,’ by compendious and popular representations of its contents.

To this class belong the 'Lectures' of Mr. Jones, which have evidently been prepared with much careful attention and cost of labour, and which we may safely recommend as a very useful work, well calculated to serve the Author's purpose of furnishing a popular digest of the most valuable comments on the Apocalypse. Opinions are sometimes hazarded at variance with the most approved of his predecessors; but, in his unborrowed illustrations, we occasionally find him supporting his conclusions with reasons which it would not be very easy to invalidate. The leading distinction of his work is, the continual reference to the original state of the Christian profession, and to the scriptural character of the primitive institutions of Christianity. If the design of the Apocalypse be, to trace out the progress of the gospel, and the vicissitudes of its history, nothing can be more obvious than the position zealously maintained by the Author, that a knowledge of the primitive state of the religion of Christ, is indispensable to the elucidation of the prophecies which respect its alternations; and that it is by a comparison of the several states in which the Christian profession has subsequently existed, with its original condition, that its corruptions are to be detected. As there can be no question that such is at least one purpose of the book of Revelation, the principles on which Mr. Jones conducts his interpretations, must be admitted to be the only correct ones, though we may not be able to concur with him in every particular comprised in his application of them.

Most writers who have offered their aid as interpreters of Christian prophecy, have, it must be acknowledged, very inadequately apprehended the import of the 'good confession' which Jesus Christ witnessed before Pontius Pilate; and, in consequence of this defective appreciation, they have been much less observant of the limits which distinguish the Church from the World, than was necessary to preserve them from great errors, and their followers from dangerous mistakes. Mr. Jones's readers will have no occasion to distrust him as their guide, in this respect; and some of them may probably find reason to suspect, that the view which they have been accustomed to take of the degeneracies and corruptions of professed Christian communities, is by far too much contracted. Among Protestants, it has been usual to consider the antichristian institutions of Europe as destined to be overthrown; and certainly such an expectation cannot be pronounced extravagant or unreasonable. It is not only as an inference from the *data* furnished in the Scriptures, that this catastrophe is looked for; the altered aspect of those institutions in some countries, and their extinction in others, may be thought to warrant a persuasion of the probability of the event. But what are the boundaries which include

antichristian institutions, and by what distinctions are they to be known? Is the usurpation of temporal authority a sign to be interpreted one way in the East, and another way in the West? We need supply no answer to these queries; but we cannot forbear to remark, in relation to their importance, that, for whatever is truly and essentially a part of the religion of Christ, and necessary for its preservation and extension in the world, there can be no cause for alarm or fear. It must be owned, however, that many Christians are very unwilling to inspect the form of primitive christianity. The chaste and beautiful simplicity of Christ's institutions is very unattractive to the eyes of many, who will look only where they can see the bravery of ornaments, and the pomp of circumstances. In the changes which such persons may deplore, the true adherent of a spiritual religion may receive confirmations of his faith, and consolations of his hope. There are, in all the mutations of the world, 'things which cannot be shaken,' and which will survive the destruction of the vanity and the pageantry of man's device.

To preceding expositors of the Apocalypse, Mr. Jones is under obligations which he is generally careful to acknowledge; and we are usually at no difficulty, by the guidance of his references, to trace the opinions he has adopted, to the writers from whom he has obtained them. He has, however, in respect to one primary source of his comments, scarcely rendered the necessary tribute of literary justice to an Annotator by whose labours he has been very considerably assisted in his lectures. We refer to the work of the Dean of Lichfield, whose interpretations are introduced into the present discourses, in such a manner as to induce the readers of them to regard them as the original suggestions of the Author. It is not only from the omission of the necessary references that such an impression will be produced, but, in addition to this, all preceding commentators are, in the instances to which we refer, so directly and strongly represented as in error, that no other supposition can occur to a reader than the one in question. In commencing his fifteenth Lecture, 'On the Third Seal,' Mr. Jones proceeds as follows:

'BRETHREN, before I enter upon the present lecture, and by way of preface to it, I must take leave to apprise you, that there is no part of the Apocalypse on which we have yet been called to pass a judgment, which has so much perplexed the commentators and others who have undertaken to illustrate this book, as the two verses now read, namely, the opening of the third seal. In proof of the truth of this remark, I may add, that one of the latest and most judicious writers on the subject has dismissed it in about twenty short lines, and those, unfortunately, but little to the purpose; from which I think it neither unreasonable nor uncandid to infer, that he despaired of throwing any



light upon it. Others, indeed, have written more copiously with that view, but, I am sorry to say, with scarcely better effect; for the amount of all that they have said upon the contents of the opened seal is simply this, that the symbol of the black horse and his rider—denotes that the Roman empire during an approaching period should suffer greatly from a scarcity of provisions.'

To this interpretation, Mr. Jones objects, that it divests the hieroglyphic of its main attributes, and reduces it to a literal history or prophecy.

'But, then,' he proceeds to say, 'you will ask me, if the literal famine which scourged the empire during the second century, be not the import of the *third seal*, what does it intend? I answer in few words; it is *the beginning of the corruption of Christianity, after the days of the apostles*, that is denoted by it. And, now, having put you in possession of the conclusion at which it is my object to arrive—'

As applied to Mede and his followers, the above remarks may be admitted; but, if our readers will look into Dr. Woodhouse's work, they will find, not only the explanation of the seal which is assumed by Mr. Jones to be an unpatronised one, but the very reasons which he himself has urged against the rejected interpretation. 'By these provisions, thus scarce and difficult of acquirement,' says Dr. Woodhouse, 'are we to understand wheat, barley, wine, and oil, in their plain and literal meaning? Assuredly not. The tenor of prophetic language forbids,—directing our attention as our Lord has directed it (see ch. ii. 7.) to scarcity of another kind, even that of which the prophet Amos speaks, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.—But when dark clouds of ignorance, denoted by the colour of the black horse, spread over the face of the christian world, and corrupt teachers could advance their worldly purposes by bringing their disciples under the yoke of superstition, the knowledge and practice of genuine religion became scarce.' Vitranga, too, noticed by Woodhouse, explains the scarcity to be, not of temporal provisions, but of spiritual blessings, and refers the period of this scarcity to the times from the age of Constantine to the ninth century.

Again, in his twenty-second 'Lecture,' Mr. Jones represents the whole of the 'commentators, expositors, and other learned writers, as explaining the judgements of the first trumpet as falling on the Roman empire, the body politic.' (p. 263.) In p. 271, he speaks of his being guided by a principle of interpretation which compelled him, in explaining the import of the *first* trumpet, to 'abandon the whole host of commentators and expositors.' Now, we have compared the interpretation of the first trumpet in Mr. Jones's volume, with the exposition of Dr. Woodhouse, and find the principle of the

former, an exact transcript of that which is proposed by the latter, which, indeed, had previously been suggested by Vitranga, and according to which the judgements of the first trumpet fall 'upon the professors of christianity, who are symbolized by the trees and the herbage, the third part of which is destroyed.' In reference to a note in Mr. Jones's work, p. 273, we judge it requisite to guard our readers against the impression which it is likely to produce, unfavourable to Dr. Woodhouse, as if he had failed to notice the corruptions of the true religion consequent on the elevation of Constantine to the throne of the Cæsars. On the subject of ecclesiastical establishments, neither Mr. Jones's views, nor our own, would accord with those of the Dean of Lichfield; but he has not subjected himself to censure by any unfair representations of Constantine's patronage of the Church, from whose advancement to the imperial power, he dates, as Mr. Jones himself does, the increasing debasement of the Church, and the rapidly advancing degeneracy of Christian professors corrupted by worldly prosperity.

At p. 278, Mr. Jones describes the distinction between the bishop and the presbyter, as an innovation first broached in the days of Constantine, 'which did not pass without remonstrance from the friends of truth at the time.' This strange error, we should attribute to some inexplicable confusion of times and circumstances in the Author's memory, since we cannot impute to him so defective a knowledge of ecclesiastical history as might be the origin of such a misrepresentation as this. The 'bishop' had been distinguished by the 'presbyter,' and raised to a higher elevation, long before the beginning of the fourth century. It was not against the power and arrogance of 'bishops,' as an innovation, that Ærius raised his voice: he opposed the order as a usurpation which had long existed, and was become intolerable; and endeavoured to revive, in conformity with the simplicity of the New Testament, correct notions of the office of christian pastors.

One rule of interpretation which would seem to be required for the consistent explanation of the Apocalypse, is, that a uniform sense be assigned to the same symbols, and a unity of principle be observed in the application of them. We find, however, in the existing Commentaries on this prophetic book, perpetual departures from this rule, in the varying meanings which they attach to the figurative representations which are identical, or coincident, in its visions. The adaptation of many of the events which have been selected by expositors as answering to the symbols supposed to denote them, is quite arbitrary. Mr. Jones has evidently been desirous to guide his interpretations by the rule to which we have referred, yet, like many of his predecessors, he fails in the consistency of his explanations.

We may refer for an example to his view of the Trumpets. After passing sentence against Lowman and others, for giving their suffrages to a mode of interpretation 'obviously foreign to the scope of the Apocalypse', he remarks, that—

'If we would rightly understand the first four trumpets, we must carefully consider the several notable degrees of the corruption of Christianity; the secularizing of the kingdom of Christ; the gradual change which was thereby brought upon the face of the Christian profession; and the several steps whereby Antichrist, the Man of Sin, arrived at his height from the very first beginning of his being revealed. But these are topics which unfortunately find no place in our modern treatises on the book of the Revelation; and this single consideration makes it the more important for us not to gloss it over superficially.'—p. 272.

The 'trees and herbage' of the first trumpet are accordingly (after Woodhouse), as we have already noticed, considered by the Author as denoting the primitive fruitful profession of Christianity; and the hurt inflicted on the Christian professions understood by him as the effect of the symbolic 'hail and fire'. So, in the second trumpet, the 'sea' is the emblem of the professors of Christianity, that were within the bounds of the Roman empire (p. 274); and the change of a third part of this element into blood, on the falling of the mountain burning with fire that was cast upon it, is explained as follows.

'Life and death must here be understood, not in a literal, but metaphorical sense—as importing that a third part of the professors of Christianity that were in the sea or *empire*, had their *spiritual* life extinguished, and so perished in consequence of this burning mountain being cast into it. *Ships* are an emblem of commerce, and, taken metaphorically, what is this commerce but communion in spiritual matters or church privileges, and in the profession of Christianity, which was now marred and spoiled by impurity of communion, the unavoidable effect of amalgamating the church and the world: for, when Christianity had become the established religion of the empire, multitudes found access to the former, who sought nothing but worldly privileges, and these they obtained by strife and contention.'—p. 275.

But, on turning to the next Lecture, on the 'third trumpet', we find the unity of interpretation no longer regarded. The inroads of the Barbarians who overran the Empire, from the irruption of the Goths, after the death of Theodosius in 395; to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy, in 571, are the great star Wormwood falling from heaven, and destroying *literally* the lives of men. But, if the symbols of the first trumpet cannot refer to the subversion of the empire by the barbarous hordes who invaded it at all points (p. 262), we do not see with what propriety the third trumpet can be so explained. Dean Woodhouse has preserved consistency of principle in re-

ferring the effects of this trumpet to the introduction of heretical tenets, and by describing the death as spiritual. In the explanation of the symbols of the fifth trumpet, Mr. Jones represents the star falling from heaven as the emblem of an apostate from the faith, and refers it to the Romish Church, the clergy of which he understands as being symbolized by the locusts. But, if the falling of this star denotes a spiritual corruption and tyranny, why should the star falling from heaven, at the third trumpet, be assumed as an emblem, not of religious apostasy, but of political conquest and devastation?

The Two Witnesses (ch. xi.) have been explained by one class of expositors in reference to the Old and New Testaments; while, by another, they have been understood of a succession of living instructors, who, during the reign of Antichristian error and superstition, have borne testimony to the truth. Mr. Jones unites these opinions in his Comments, and interprets the Apocalyptic text which describes the Witnesses, as designating the sacred Scriptures of the Jewish and Christian economies, which might be said to prophesy by means of pious men and evangelical communities, raised up from time to time to exhibit the pure doctrines of revelation. Whatever may be said of the principle of interpretation, the details which Mr. Jones has adduced in the course of his illustrations of the chapter relating to the Witnesses, are neither so appropriate, nor so consistent as to invest the interpretation itself with the characters of a true one. His explication is in some particulars improbable and contradictory. The event which he selects as having fulfilled the prophecy of the fall of the tenth part of the city (v. 13), is the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. A very slight examination of the chapter might have been sufficient to prevent the accommodation of that event to the passage to which it is here applied. As the fall of the tenth part of the city is subsequent to the ascension of the Witnesses, or at least coincident with it, and certainly not prior to it, the death and resurrection of the Witnesses, and the completion of the period of their prophesying, must all precede the catastrophe. But in Mr. Jones's exposition, they are not so arranged. The Witnesses, he says, were raised to life again, 'when Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin brought the Scriptures into public view, and pleaded their authority above that of all human testimony.' But this was long after the fall of Constantinople. Again, if the resurrection of the Witnesses be explained by the circulation of the Scriptures, which were rendered accessible by means of the art of printing, the prophecy cannot be supposed to have received its fulfilment before the application of the art to multiply copies of the Scriptures for public use. But in 1453, there was no extensive publication of the

Scriptures; nor was there a single instance, at that date, of any part of them being issued from the press, in a translation into any European language. Luther's German Version of the New Testament was not published before 1522, seventy years after the subversion of the Greek empire.

The taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, cannot, therefore, on Mr. Jones's own shewing, be coincident with the ascension of the Witnesses. Besides, the Witnesses prophesy in sackcloth during the period of 1260 days, the time of the duration of the Antichristian usurpation; and the deduction of so many years from 1453, would give a date for the commencement of the reign of that corrupting and desolating tyranny, far too early to accord with the calculations which Mr. Jones adopts.

No one of the mysteries of the Apocalypse has proved more vexatious to the Commentators, than the enigmatical number of the Beast; and they all fail, in the solutions which they have proposed, to induce in us the persuasion that the true method of discovering its import has yet been tried. It is, indeed, quite curious to bring together the several calculations and assumed meanings which, from the time of Irenæus to the present, have been suggested in the explanation of the mystic number, and to observe their variations and inconsistencies. In respect to the whole of them, 'there is wanting,' as Woodhouse remarks, 'that flash of illumination, that lively sense of having passed from darkness to light, which so delightfully affects us upon the solution of a well-formed enigma.' Mr. Jones, however, has not been deterred, by either the difficulty of the subject, or the unsuccessful attempts of his predecessors, from endeavouring to penetrate into the secret. Neither the *Apostates* of Faber, nor the *Lateinos* of Irenæus can please him. These writers 'have not taken up the words of the prophet in a proper point of view;' and Mr. Jones, proceeding by means of a more simple method, giving promise of a more probable result, elicits from the numerals  $\chi\epsilon\rho'$ , expressing 666, the descriptive sentence,  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\ \xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ , *Christians, strangers to the cross*; and in prolonging the *Euphonia* produced by this discovery, he invites the concurrence of his readers, in the following terms.

'I appeal to yourselves whether this be not a very proper motto for the beast and his company—a character that, in one way or other, adapts itself to them all, and *none else but them!* Examine the fact, and form your own judgment on it. Here are myriads of *professed* Christians, but they are Christians only in name. Instead of taking up the cross, and following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth—instead of patiently suffering for his sake, they are worshipping the beast and his image to avoid the cross.

'To corroborate the view now given of the number of the beast, it

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may be further observed, that in ch. vii. 4, the number of the seals of the Lamb's company is expressed by three letters also, viz.  $\epsilon. \mu. \lambda$ . And these again are the initials of three words, viz.

*ἵμῶντος, μαρτυρῶν, διωκόμενους.*  
or, *The persecuted witnesses of the word;*

which is the very opposite of the former class of professors, and agrees exactly with the account which the Apocalypse gives of the followers of the Lamb in opposition to the worshippers of the beast.' p. 438.

The 'flash of illumination' does not accompany this proposed solution, and we must still wait for an interpreter who shall be more successful than the present Author, in finding out and applying the simple method of calculation by which we may obtain the result that shall conclude our inquiries on this perplexing subject. Mr. Culbertson has taken great pains with a hypothesis which he details at some length, and which is both ingenious and erudite, though it is not more worthy of our confidence than the preceding. In the number 666, he discovers an allusion to the Roman legion, the full complement of which was 6000 men, including 6 military tribunes, 60 centurions, and 600 decani; and the mystic number thus formed, he understands as intended to convey an intimation of the military character of the Papal church.

It would be but an unprofitable toil in a reviewer, to collect the various explanations which have been given of the content of the Apocalypse; and, as an entire production, there is no exposition which it would be creditable to his discernment to recommend. Where, however, the obscurities are so great, and the subjects so diversified, as we find them in this book, we would rather applaud the patient researches and edifying labours of the writers who have been employed upon it, than indulge in censuring their interpretations. Our objections cannot, however, be misplaced, when they are directed to the violations of rules which the authors themselves assume as principles of interpretation, and which obviously require consistency in the application of them. We could easily have multiplied instances of this kind, occurring in the course of our progress through Mr. Jones's volume; but upon the whole, we may safely recommend it to our readers as an instructive and excellent work.

Mr. Culbertson's work escaped our notice at the time that, in the regular supply of our pages, its character and contents should have been reported to our readers. In its present form, the publication is a posthumous one; the portion which comprehends the exposition of the first three chapters of the Revelation, not having been included in the edition published by the Author, though he lived to prepare it for the press. The



events of the French Revolution seem to have furnished the excitement which led him to extend his original design of expounding only the addresses to the Seven Churches, to an exposition of the whole book; and some of his interpretations strongly indicate the influence which those events exerted upon his study of the Apocalypse. Unlike many contemporary expositors, however, whose object in applying to the events of that extraordinary convulsion the symbolic predictions of the book, was more closely connected with politics, than with religion, Mr. Culbertson manifests throughout his work, an entire freedom from the bias, so unfavourable to truth, which secular interests are apt to create; and if his views are not always so comprehensive as we could wish, respecting the rights of religious profession, his principles are always sound. The work affords honourable evidence of the talents and literary industry of the Author, and is highly creditable to the solidity and general correctness of his judgement. He appears to have possessed an extensive acquaintance with the historical facts, as well as the ancient manners and customs, which bear upon the language and subject of the predictions; and his elucidations are sometimes very ingenious. The Lectures preserve their original form as delivered by the Author to his congregation, and are severally concluded with devotional and practical reflections suggested by the subject; a feature of the work which will render it acceptable and instructive to all pious readers, even though they may not concur in all his interpretations of the prophetic parts of the Revelation. In this point of view, we know of no better exposition of this portion of the inspired volume.

The name of Joseph Milner will be a sufficient recommendation of any volume of sermons bearing his name; more especially sermons of a practical character. The present volume, published for the benefit of the Church Missionary Society, forms a fourth, in addition to those which have appeared under the editorship of Mr. Fawcett. It was at first intended, Mr. Bickersteth states, to publish only the Sermons on the Epistles to the Seven Churches; but the additional sermons have been supplied, at his request, from the MS. originals in Mr. Fawcett's possession. That on the Millennium, Mr. B. deems 'peculiarly important as conveying Mr. Milner's sentiments on 'a subject which engages much of the attention of Christians 'at the present moment.'

The sermon was written in 1796, and bears internal marks of its date. Speaking of the overthrow of the ecclesiastical establishment in France, Mr. Milner remarks, with his characteristic plainness of speech and strong sense, that, when Popery was demolished in our own land, 'it was not by murdering her

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‘priests and destroying all civil order, but by wholesome laws and rules, and by preaching the Gospel, and God was with the Reformers.’

‘So foolish a religion as Popery is not likely to flourish again, when Scripture truth and godliness have been sown and flourished. But no one can pretend this to be the case in France, if Popery should there arise again in a few years, I should not be surprised; for truth, and wisdom, and piety is there to resist it? I do not say it will be so. I do not undertake to prophecy, nor to use any very probable guesses. I have no business with such things; and the design of this first remark is to guard those who may have fallen into this spirit. There is no ground, in this description of the Millennium, whence I can at all collect when it is to begin; and it is very foolish for persons to apprehend any for themselves. Events have shewn that those who have undertaken to prophesy in this way formerly, are commonly mistaken; and in the mean time, it takes people’s attention off from better things, from the serious discharge of their duties.’

pp. 274, 5.

Mr. Milner’s ideas of the nature of the Millennium, are briefly stated in the following paragraph.

‘The Apostolic Prophet had been shewn in vision the complete destruction of Popery and false religion, in the former chapters; and in this he is shewn the vision of what is called the Millennium, or the spiritual reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years, which will then take place;—a happy time of the Church, no doubt; for then, it seems, wickedness, though by no means extinct, will be subdued, and the world shall see, what hitherto it has not seen, the governments of the world truly Christian, and Christian godliness as common on earth as ungodliness now is. Now, though the Gospel in its own nature cannot be better than it is now, nor Christ more precious than he now is, yet the light, evidence, and glory of the Gospel will be much stronger in the eyes of men than they can be now. The good effects of the Gospel, in the world, in society, will be more sensibly apparent; and ten thousand objections now made against the Scriptures, will then vanish, without any need of arguments at all, like mists before the sun. At present, kingdoms and governments cannot shew so much the wholesomeness of Christianity, because the number of real Christians is small, and they too, for the most part, poor and of no influence in the great world. In families, and in private life, the Divine glory of the Gospel appears indeed as powerful as it can do then, in those instances where families and private men are real Christians.—If any serious soul be wishing, as it were, to see this glorious day of the Church on earth, I would say, However glorious it be, heaven itself is still unspeakably more glorious; and, therefore, let us not be deceived by such thoughts and wishes into a love of this earth, but still remember to “set our affections on things above.” Besides, there is no sort of probability that the youngest of us will ever live to see the Millennium.’ pp. 267—269.

Well would it be for the Church, if this sound and simple-minded view of the subject were more generally taken. The homely advice will, probably, excite a sneer in the 'students of prophecy;' but, if they are more knowing, it does not follow that they are more wise. The volume contains little that is of a critical or expository character, but well corresponds to its title, and is worthy of its estimable Author.

We have taken this opportunity of noticing Mr. Vint's tract, as bearing upon the general subject, for the purpose chiefly of clearing ourselves from a heavy charge in which we cannot but feel implicated, although not indicted by name. We are not, indeed, quite certain that the reverend Author, who describes himself as having been forty years a minister, and thirty years a Tutor, ever so much as heard of our obscure Journal; the Evangelical Magazine being apparently, if not his favourite work, that upon which he lays most stress, as a critical authority.

'Among the censors of literature,' he remarks, 'there are two modes of sinking a production of the pen into the gulf of oblivion; the one by preterition,—to adopt a theological term, the other by reprobation. The former is, perhaps, the more fatal of the two. Of this, I have had my full share. In the course of the last ten years, I have published eight octavo volumes, two in duodecimo, and three pamphlets; but not one of these has ever been noticed in the Review department of the Evangelical Magazine!'

Leaving the Editor of that Magazine to answer for himself, we would respectfully submit to the reverend Author, whether the question of either preterition or reprobation can be agitated, with any theological propriety, respecting the still-born. Of all malice prepense towards the offspring of his prolific pen, we must demand to be acquitted, not having had any cognizance of their existence. Had any of the ten volumes above-mentioned reached our hands, we should have been liable to account for the fatal treatment of them charged upon the Editor of the Evangelical Magazine. One work, indeed, the "Illustrations of Prophecy," we chanced to see advertised, and endeavoured to obtain a copy, but without success. Since then, a pamphlet has fallen into our hands, bearing the name of Mr. Vint, which, from respect to the Writer, we forbore to notice. It contained some strictures on a discourse by the said Editor of the Evangelical Magazine, so evidently inspired by strong personal feeling, and the attack seemed to us, not being in Mr. Vint's secret, so uncalled for and out of character, that we doomed it to preterition. It appears that the severity of those strictures has exposed the Author to rebuke. 'Perhaps,' he says, 'they are too severe; perhaps there is too thick a sprinkling of the Attic salt.' Not so; the salt was the simple muriate, and was without savour.

What the twelve octavo volumes and two duodecimos of Mr. Vint's works consist of, we have not the remotest idea; but, as he promises 'a second edition of *the whole* of what' he has 'published on the subject of prophecy,'—we hope the whole ten volumes are not on that subject,—we will engage, on receiving a copy of the same, to make the *amende honorable*, by duly reporting their contents to our readers. In the mean time, we shall briefly notice his present Inquiry.

The principal object of the Author in the pamphlet before us, is, 'to prove the truth of an assertion which,' he tells us, 'he has repeatedly made, namely, that the popular doctrine of the Millennium originated in a Jewish tradition.' This assertion, we had ourselves occasion to make, in an article devoted to an examination of the Millenarian heresy\*; in which we endeavoured to shew, that the doctrine is the offspring of Jewish error, repugnant to the genius of Christianity, and adapted to weaken the influence of every consideration drawn from the joys or terrors of the world to come. We take to ourselves no credit, however, for the statement of an opinion which, had it been original, would have been suspicious, but which is as old as the days of Eusebius and Jerom. 'If we understand the Revelation literally,' remarks the latter, 'we must *judaize*.' What he means by taking it literally, he afterwards explains, by referring to 'the fable of a thousand years and the terrestrial Jerusalem.'† Mr. Vint has occupied a chapter with citations from Gill, Lightfoot, and other learned writers, describing some of the Jewish traditions relating to the seven millenniums. He then proceeds to shew 'the reception given to Jewish traditions, by the first professors of Christianity;' but no direct evidence on this point is of an earlier date than the second century. Passages are cited from the writings of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, and other early Millenarians, which are familiar to those who have entered into the controversy, but may be acceptable to readers who have not ready access to learned tomes and primary authorities. A learned writer, in a volume now on our table, has attempted to vindicate the character of Papias, the father of the judaizing Millenarians, by attributing to his gross and puerile representations a figurative meaning. 'It is quite evident,' he thinks, 'from Papias's expressions, as cited by Irenæus, that he did not intend to be understood literally; when, for instance, he says, that each vine shall have ten thousand branches, limbs, bunches, &c., &c., things quite out of nature, and which have no possible connexion with religion, unless taken figuratively; and the wonder is, how Eusebius could have forgot-

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\* See Eclectic Review, March, 1829. Vol. I., 3d. Series, p. 198.

† See Lardner's Works, Vol. II., p. 702.

‘ten himself so far as to think they had.’\* Both Papias and Irenæus have been, it is contended, misunderstood. But they must have been misunderstood, not only by Eusebius, but by Dionysius, who is represented by Jerom as having written expressly, not against Cerinthus, but against the fables of Irenæus. The anxiety to attribute a spiritual meaning to their fables, is not new. A curious passage is cited by Mr. Vint from the writings of Brightman, an English clergyman of the sixteenth century, who wrote commentaries in Latin on the Canticles and the Apocalypse, (it is remarkable, that a particular fondness for the former book should almost uniformly have characterized the Millenarians,) and who dated the *commencement* of the thousand years from ‘the binding of the Devil by Constantine.’†

‘For this is the kingdom of Christ, when he ruleth in the midst of any people, and swayeth them with the sceptre of his word. And this is, indeed, the most true empire and kingdom of any nation, when it is subjected to Christ’s empire alone, and when it is governed by his conduct and command alone. Now, at length, we may perceive what kind of kingdom of a thousand years lasting, that is, whereof we are a part, thanks be given to God for it, touching which, all the ancient Fathers almost, as Papias, Irenæus, Justin, Tertullian, Lactantius, and Augustin also in some part, have spoken so many things and those so magnificently. Out of all doubt, they would have this kingdom to be spiritual, the infinite sweetness whereof, they shadowed out by corporal things after the manner of the Prophets. And yet I will not deny, that some of them inclined too much in their opinions to bodily delights; but was it that they might plunge themselves and gratify themselves in them, as men are wont to do that overwhelm themselves with riot and with being given to sensual pleasures? It cannot be that any such matter should ever come into the minds of such learned and holy men; but, because they knew that the church should also enjoy exceedingly great felicity pertaining to this life under this kingdom of Christ, therefore, they make mention of the abundance of this kind of delights. And indeed, we wait now every day till the Antichrist of Rome and the Turk shall be utterly destroyed. Till this victory be obtained, the Church shall be still in her warfaring estate, she must keep in tents, and has to wrestle with many adversities. But after this work shall be despatched, she shall have a most joyful triumph, as rejoicing exceedingly because of those unspeakable pleasures and delights which she shall afterwards live in perpetually.’ pp. 53, 54.

One ancient commentator on the Apocalypse (Andrew, bishop of Cæsarea, about A. D. 500) interprets ch. xx. 1—3, of ‘the weakening of the power of the Devil by means of Our Lord’s

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\* Lee’s Sermons and Dissertations, p. 344.

† This was also the opinion of Grotius.

'death;' an opinion which has found a modern advocate: Professor Lee, although, strange to say, he makes the thousand years end with the apostolic age! Bishop Andrew discloses more sobriety of judgement: 'whether the thousand years spoken of denote exactly that term, or only a long duration he says, 'God only knows.' Afterwards on verse 7, he has the following remarks, which we cite from Lardner as being wholly undeserving of attention.

'Some confine the above-mentioned thousand years to a short period of Our Lord's ministry, from his baptism to his ascension to heaven, being no more than three years or three years and a half. Others think that, after the completion of six thousand years, shall be the first resurrection from the dead, which is to be peculiar to the saints alone; who are to be raised up, that they may dwell again on this earth, where they had given proofs of patience and fortitude; and that they may live a thousand years in honour and plenty; after which will be the general resurrection of good and bad. But the Church receives neither of those interpretations; for we remember what our Lord said to the Sadducees, That the righteous shall be as "the angels which are in heaven;" and also the words of Paul, who says, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink." By the thousand years, therefore, we understand, the time of the preaching of the Gospel (or the time of the Gospel dispensation).'\*

Mr. Vint, if we understand him aright, seems to have adopted a similar conclusion. He complains of the translation of Rev. xx. 4. in the Authorized Version, as the worst that he has seen, and a violation of all grammatical construction. He considers the Vulgate translation as the best that has fallen under his notice, and renders it thus:

"And I saw thrones, and some sat upon them, and judgement was given to them; and I saw the souls of such as had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God, and those persons who worshipped not the beast nor his image, and who received not his mark on their foreheads and on their hands, and lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years." p. 79.

Conformably to this view of the passage, he is of opinion, that the confinement of the dragon for a thousand years has terminated, or is about to terminate.' This alarming intimation, however, is accompanied with an avowal, that the Author believes with all the eagerness of desire and hope, that the glory and blessedness of the latter days are approaching, but un-

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\* Lardner's Works, Vol. V. p. 79.



limited by any period of a thousand years, or of three hundred and sixty thousand years.'

We had intended to notice in the present article, some recent publications by the Rev. S. R. Maitland upon inquiries connected with 'the prophetic periods' of the Apocalypse, which, if not more satisfactory than the general mass of dissertation upon this boundless theme of discussion, merit the praise of learned ingenuity. But our readers are, we fear, already weary of being led through the mazes of opinion, without being conducted to any definite issue. The best possible issue, however, of such investigations, it seems to us, is that humility of mind which acquiesces in uncertainty, where evidence is unattainable, and knowledge is for the wisest reasons withheld. "It is not for *us* to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power." Of this, however, we are assured: that "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall they say, Lo, here! or Lo, there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you." (Luke xviii. 20, 21.)

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Art. IV. *An Inquiry concerning the Indications of Insanity, with Suggestions for the better Protection and Care of the Insane.* By John Conolly, M.D., Professor of Medicine in the University of London. 8vo. pp. 496. Price 12s. London, 1830.

THE Author of this "Inquiry," is a person of highly respectable talent and character, whose appointment as medical professor in the London University, was, we doubt not, awarded with as little of the spirit of a *job* as may consist with the decrees and determinations of any corporate body: and we have been given to understand, that his conduct in the professorial chair fully justifies the election of the council. If, indeed, Dr. Conolly lectures as he writes, his manner must be exceedingly well calculated to make that favourable impression on his pupils, which, so far as it goes, is of much avail towards insuring an attentive auditory. A treatise on Insanity from an individual placed in so honourable and responsible a station, cannot fail of exciting higher expectations, and of being subjected to a severer scrutiny, than one from an unknown or obscure writer; more especially when an announcement is made, largely by implication, and well nigh in absolute terms, that, in the pages put forth are to be found originality in theory, and improvement in practice, to the extent of not merely justifying, but actually rendering necessary their prompt publication.

We have attentively perused Dr. C.'s work, and must say that we have been charmed with the liveliness of its style, and with the Writer's aptitude for illustration. The impression that

it has left, is, that the work, as a whole, indicates much cleverness, and not a little vanity; vanity, we say, inasmuch as our duty imposes a plainness of terms, and because we consider that Dr. Conolly has both much overrated his own powers, and much undervalued those of his predecessors and contemporaries, by imagining himself to have thrown any new light either on the nature of the mind, or on the phenomena of its disordered condition.

The often iterated question, What is Insanity? received a reply, some thirty years ago, from an acute metaphysician, who has since distinguished himself by his Lectures on Moral Philosophy, and his criticisms, more especially, on the doctrines of Stewart and Reid. Dr. Darwin, in his "*Zoonomia*," had defined the essence of insanity to be an excess of volition. In his strictures on that work, Dr. Brown, objecting to this hypothesis, assumes that the state in question is constituted by a peculiar vividness in the ideas of imagination; and he proceeds to 'examine whether this be sufficient to explain all the phenomena of deranged intellect; for if it be sufficient, it is unphilosophical to suppose another cause of difference from the sane condition.' We are here tempted to transcribe the fine paragraph by which this Author introduces his strictures on Darwin; not that the remarks have any particular bearing on the points under discussion, but as they furnish an admirable example of that manly tone and good taste, that 'seriousness in a serious cause,' and abstinence from meretricious graces of diction, which some of our flashy writers would do well to imitate.

'Of the various spectacles of misery', says Dr. Brown, 'which the great drama of life continually presents, that of madness excites the most painful combination of feelings. We regret the death of a man of genius, because we believe that the mind which delighted and instructed us, has survived the mouldering body, and is still in possession of all its former energies. But, in madness, it is the decay of the mind itself which we view. The large projects of benevolence and genius have subsided. He whose former years were wholly employed in relieving misery, now seems to take pleasure in the little tricks of malice; the tongue to which we have listened with rapture, while every word removed a prejudice, or unfolded a truth, now utters only incoherent ravings; the hand which "waked to extacy the living lyre", is earnestly employed in the most trifling sports of the infant; and that mind which pierced the secret recesses of nature, and traced the laws by which our ideas succeed, now seems sunk in listless indolence. The past rushes on our memory; we compare it with the present; and he who has walked without anguish

amid the ruins of an empire, finds it difficult to sustain the sight of intellect in decay.'

In subsequently illustrating his theory of Insanity, Dr. Brown remarks:—' Vividness in the ideas of imagination, leads us to refer them to external objects; checks the usual course of association; occasions us to form erroneous judgements, and thus to perform actions which appear irrational to those who compare only ideas of perception. The madman swears, talks obscenely, and pays no regard to cleanliness in his person and actions, because the associate idea of impropriety is not induced. He thinks that he has performed certain actions, or that certain events will necessarily happen, because he does not remember the ideas with which these are inconsistent. In the midst of wealth, he pines with the thoughts of dying in indigence; and surrounded with all the endearments of friendship and of domestic tenderness, he believes himself abandoned by the world. He discerns malignity in an eye which beams only with love and compassion; every heart disowns him, and every expression of regard is only meant to deceive.

' When the system is in a sound state, we rectify our erroneous judgement by *comparing* them with other ideas. In the mind of the insane person, these ideas are not excited, and his judgements, therefore, are permanently erroneous. He disregards perception, and, confined in a small apartment, fancies himself sovereign of the universe; or he combines imagination with perception, and believes himself a captive prince.'

The whole case is, in fact, reducible to the relative weakness of perception, and the relative strength of conception. We employ the term relative, because conception or imagination, or call it by whatever name you please, may mount up far above its ordinary standard, while the individual still continues sane. The conceptions of the poet may take a wide range and lofty flights, without inducing any approach to madness. And why? Because the man of kindled imagination, if his judgement remains unimpaired, knows that he is imagining; or, in other words, voluntarily transports himself into an ideal world, and in that world revels and luxuriates, only so long as may consist with a power to retain correct perceptions, or return to healthy associations. His mind is furnished with balance as well as spring. He carries into dangerous regions ballast proportioned to his wide-spread canvass; and the moment that these due adjustments are interfered with, is the moment of peril that the intellect is about to suffer those commotions which may ultimately make shipwreck of the understanding.

This view of the subject, by the way, may serve to expose

the vulgar error, which places wit or genius in an appropriate relation to insanity. It is *deficiency*, and not exuberant mental power, which conducts to madness. One is heightened at the expense of another's depression and larity; and derangement is the result.

'Madness', again to cite Dr. Brown, 'is a disease of motives alone. That is, we are not then excited by the appearance of things, but by the more vivid ideas of them.' Before we proceed to collate this principle and position with the statements of Dr. Conolly, as to the essentials of a disordered, in opposition to a healthy condition of intellect, we must again advert to the exposition given by our able opponent of Darwin, who, in the paragraph just before the reader, plainly states the loss of the comparing power to be the main deficiency by which madness is induced. Yet, notwithstanding the distinct announcement of this discovery more than half a century ago, our Professor brings forward as an original discovery, this same definition or account of the condition; which he represents as the detection of an important principle, equally important, in the illustration of the phenomena of mental disease, and, before the appearance of his book, equally hidden, as the latent heat or fixed air in Black, in respect to chemical philosophy. Whole sections of our Author's treatise are devoted to the comparison of his supposed discovery, that a madman has lost the correctness of his comparing power, and is therefore not able to judge and act as he ought to do. Indeed, the words comparing and impairment occur so frequently in the pages of Dr. Conolly, that the reader becomes actually nauseated by the introduction. 'Insanity', says Dr. C., 'is the impairment of any one or more of the faculties of the mind, accompanied by or inducing a defect in the comparing faculty.'

' "Who thus define it, say they more or less  
Than this, that happiness is happiness!" '

We have been better pleased with that division of the present treatise, in which Dr. C. opposes those minute distinctions of the disorder, and those subtle distinctions between madness and sanity, with which the works of mere nosographers abound. Mental disorder and mental health differ, according to the present Writer, in degree, more than in kind; and an interesting section of his book is devoted to the consideration of intermediate states which, without being medically considered as mad, are, in a manner, intermediate between actual sanity and insane disorder. It behooves the professors of the healing art especially to observe and recognize these shades and gradations, inasmuch as both decision on the question of sound int-

the adaptation of means to prevent the establishment of derangement, may be furnished by such recognition. It is happy to find that the opinion is daily gaining ground, that insanity is not so definitively separated from mental and bodily health and disease, as was formerly thought. This consensus seems to us to harmonize both with philosophy and with common sense; and the adoption of the principles arising out of this conviction, is calculated to lessen the horror connected with the contemplation of madness in all its dread varieties. By the aid of these principles, the pathology and treatment of intellectual disorder may be placed on a better footing, and to conduct to a more successful result. In his sentiments on this head, however, Dr. C. cannot claim to be listened to in the character of a philosopher, whatever ingenuity he may have shown in his position; but however felicitous his illustrations. 'Every nervous disorder', remarks an antithetical and somewhat quaint writer, 'is a degree of insanity.' 'Madness', says another writer of distinguished talent, 'means every thing, and means nothing.' The same all tract on Nervous Disorder recently noticed in our review, has strongly insisted on, as necessary to a correct view of all derangement in the class *neurosis* of nosologists. The good sense of mankind is gradually coming in accordance with this more philosophical and more salutary view of morbid affections of mind, or rather of body and mind, than hitherto generally obtained.

Conolly, without being apparently a decided phrenologist, speaks favourably of the recent attempts to *locate* faculty, those physiologists have attempted, who assume for their science the name of phrenology;—a name, by the way, which to assume the existence of the science as the only true basis of mental phenomena that has been broached. Be it may, we have no wish to deny, that some of the positions advanced and maintained by the phrenological school, coincide with fact. Perception, memory, &c., are, in the most part, treated by the metaphysicians as distinct faculties; and based on the assumption of these principles, a fabric of philosophy has been erected, consistent with what has been imagined, with what is traceable by common observation. Yet, we are surely taught by the workings of our own mind, and by observing, so far as is possible, the peculiarities of others, that one individual recollects a facility one which another finds it hard to retain, and a second has an advantage over the first, in the same faculty as the first has over the second.

\* See Eclect. Rev. Vol. III.

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circumstances which become the subjects of recognition. In this may, it is alleged, be the result of accidental impressions directing the faculties into this or that course. If, however, the phrenologist could, by induction from sufficient facts, make good his conclusions, the remarkable discrepancies to which we now allude, would certainly be more easily accounted for upon his system, than upon the other. It is a singular fact, that the Author whose description of insanity we cited at the commencement of the present article, differs from his predecessors in the same degree that he approaches the phrenologists, in this without any reference to the creed of Gall. Indeed, he argues and reasons as if no such creed had ever cost him a moment's thought; and we have reason to believe, that he classed the thing altogether with the visionary sciences and false pretensions of physiognomy and astrology.

It is easy to say, that deficient attention is the source of defective memory; and that, for want of the memory's being due and proportioned exercise with the other faculties, deviations from the standard of mental health,—in other words, the different degrees and kinds of insanity originate. It is, indeed, of the greatest importance for individuals to gain and preserve as much as in them lies, an habitual command over the faculties of attention, and a consequent integrity of general recollection, if they wish to guard against the possible inroads of madness. But it cannot be questioned, (whatever system we adopt in order to explain the fact,) that assiduous attention to, and a subsequent mastery of one subject of pursuit, may consist with an incapacity to attend to and master another, to a surprising extent. Nor do we see how the vast varieties manifested in positive insanity,—the extreme cleverness and skill of the madman in some things, combined with an almost idiotic obtuseness in others, can be made to square with the generally received theory respecting the intellectual powers of perception, attention, memory, and judgement. Indeed, if we are thus to simplify and class faculties, we should find our paths through the mazes of mind and the wanderings of mania, rendered more easy, by adopting a theory which we have lately met with in a Medico-Metaphysical Lecture of Mr. Greville Jones, who maintains, that every mental phenomenon is susceptible of solution, by assuming that all the elements of the mind are resolvable into impressions present to the senses, conceptions which are the recollection of impressions, and the union of these two, by which union are constituted pure abstractions. Association and imagination are, in this theory of Mr. Jones, supposed to be consequences resulting from the relative bearings which impressions have with conceptions, according to the varied conditions, natural and induced, of mind and body.



The most striking deficiency, perhaps, in Dr. Conolly's treatise, relates to that part of the subject which comes under the head of pathology; for after all, abstracts of Locke's Philosophy of the Human Mind, and ingenious subtilties as to the cause, and modes, and principles of intellectual circumstance, bear much less directly upon the prevention and cure of madness, than investigations of connecting bodily states. In the next lecture to which we have just adverted, this connection is treated of, so far as the Lecturer goes, in an interesting manner. One great difference', remarks Mr. Jones, 'in the activity and power of the mind, will be found to be according as the brain is fully or scantily supplied with blood, and according as that blood is well aerated. Thus we find that, where the cortical or sanguineous part of the brain predominates so as to afford an extensive surface, the activity of the mind is greater; and so essential is the quality of the blood, that if the action of the lungs stops a moment, the brain's action ceases at once.'\*

\* That Mr. Jones is no disciple of the new doctrines alluded to in the text, the following citation will fully prove, which we throw into a note, as the subject has no immediate connexion with the matter of the text.

'Man has a more convoluted and capacious cerebrum than any other animal that approaches him nearly; and his memory is more extensive, and his associations more numerous. Observe, however, that there are no parts of consequence in the human brain, other than are found in beasts, although he (man) possesses faculties of which they (animals) have no trace. Man is not superior to animals in degree. He is quite different from them. There is a gradual link in the creation up to the monkey. From him to man, the break is abrupt. To turn round, as it were, on himself; to say, "thus do I think, and thus will;" to ask "what am I, and whence?" to dive into the future and the past; to be susceptible of the love of fame, and the miscalled bubble, "reputation"; to feel the poet's frenzy, the enthusiast's devotion;—these are attributes which could never have been produced by the associations which belong to brutes, however exalted those might become.

'When, then, we observe that, with all these mighty powers, there are no fresh cerebral parts, we shall be inclined to look with a deriding eye on those philosophers who attribute the superior qualities of man to a bump in this or that situation; and we shall scarcely feel less contempt for those who talk of genius, talent, and intellectual superiority, as if man were of many species—as if the *rational* faculties of men differed—as if there were any other causes of our different attainments except what belong to the goads to exertion, to our constitution, and our education. But I shall not dwell on this; for I despair of any converts at present to this opinion; the opposite is too flattering to vanity to be easily parted with.'

It is moreover of the highest importance that we should bring into our account the condition of the stomach, of the liver, the uterus, of the several secretories of the body, in conjunction with and relation to cerebral conditions, before we can have a clear conception as to the astonishing mutations of which a thinking principle is susceptible. These mutations are effected in an exceedingly short space of time,—a man becomes irascible or *mad* at one moment, obviously from physical circumstances, and in the next, calm, composed, and in his *senses*. All these particulars ought to be traced and scrutinized in a work on disordered perception; and the difficulty which attends the investigation in many cases, ought to serve only to excite to a more close and thorough research.

A section of Dr. C.'s book is, indeed, devoted to the consideration of those 'various *stimuli* by which intellectual power and activity are modified.' In this division of the treatise, we meet with some excellent hints in reference to the management of the mind, and to those conditions of it out of which insanity is easily engendered. The following extract is rather long, but we should be doing injustice to our Author by omitting or even abridging it.

'There is also an excitement of the mind, which arises from its own action; but when it is produced, the attention, and comparison, and memory, cannot always be exercised without borrowing so much aid from the imagination, as to shew the latter faculty its importance, and to produce the danger of its encroachment; and thus, men who are anxious to excel in serious labours, are not unfrequently led away from them to imaginative creations. The most lively of the faculties will not always condescend to play the part of an auxiliary, to guide and animate the mental labour, and decorate the solid fabric raised by the judgement; but allures away the attention from occupations which fatigue it, to more pleasureable exercise, from which, although it may sometimes return refreshed, it cannot always be reclaimed. I am inclined to believe, that many of the shorter kinds of poetical performances, and several of the most unbidden, but acknowledged felicities of harmonious composition, have intruded themselves upon their authors' minds in the midst of their most serious occupations, bounding in among their graver thoughts like the dancers in a serious pantomime, and after usurping the stage for a time, allowing the graver plot to proceed. When the mental faculties are excited to any kind of exercise, a disposition may be raised in them to other kinds of exercise; and their exertions and powers may prove to be greater than the individual possessing them knew himself to be endowed with. It is exercise which discloses the uncounted and unknown treasures of the memory, and produces from the imagination, combinations of such force and variety, as to justify our calling them creations.

'The influence of the mind's exercise upon the mind itself, is commonly then of a beneficial kind. A belief, however, is entertained by

some, and industriously propagated by others who can hardly be supposed to entertain it, that the mind is generally hindered by its own exercise, and that education, as applied to the middle and lower ranks, is therefore hurtful to the understanding, and even productive of madness. Why these effects should be limited to rank, and not be the universal consequences of education, they do not explain. It would not be more unreasonable to assert, that the exercise of the body is necessarily productive of disease and deformity. Education is the training and exercise of the mind; and, as when we recommend bodily exercise, we do not mean the unnatural postures of the ballet, or the violent exertions of the gymnasium, neither do we mean an intemperate straining of the mental faculties. To educate a man, in the full and proper sense of the word, is to supply him with the power of controlling his feelings, and his thoughts, and his actions; between doing which and becoming insane, or unable to control his feelings, his thoughts, and his actions, there is no very visible connexion. The best way of deciding the matter is, by an appeal to facts. Whoever will converse with lunatics with a view to its elucidation, will soon be satisfied, that a very small proportion of them consists of those whose talents have been regularly and judiciously cultivated. If I may trust to my own observation, I should say, that a well-educated man or woman is generally an exception to the rest; and that the majority is made up of weak and ignorant persons; even those who seem to have acquired some little knowledge, being commonly those who have picked it up as they could, with many disadvantages, and without the method which what alone deserves the name of a good education, would have imparted to their application. The registers of the *Bicêtre* for a series of years, shew that even when madness affects those who belong to the educated classes, it is chiefly seen in those whose education has been imperfect or irregular; and very rarely indeed in those whose minds have been fully, equally, and systematically exercised. Priests, artists, painters, sculptors, poets, and musicians, whose professions so often appear marked in that register, are often persons of very limited or exclusive education; their faculties have been unequally exercised; they have commonly given themselves up too much to imagination, and have neglected comparison, and have not habitually exercised the judgement. Even of this class, it is to be remembered, that it is commonly those of the lowest order of the class, in point of talent, who become thus affected; whilst of naturalists, physicians, chemists, geometricians, it is said, not one instance occurs in these registers. Every one's recollection will convince him, that of those attaining to eminence in any of the departments even of a more imaginative character, nothing is so rare as for any one to exhibit symptoms of insanity.

We have already intimated our opinion, that irregularity, rather than exuberance, is the constituent element of madness; and we are glad to find the present Author ably maintaining the same *postulatum*. It is of importance, that absent, eccentric individuals may not run away with the notion, that superiority

to others is manifested by a disposition to deviate from ordinary and accustomed modes of feeling and conduct. Dr. Haslam has maintained a similar opinion. 'I am at a loss,' he says, 'to understand, how deficiency can be construed into power, defect into superiority. If a man talk and act irrationally, there is surely to be argued, a want, rather than an exuberance of faculty.'

It has been stated, that Dr. Conolly has omitted to consider the *rationale* of the insane state as connected with physical condition and circumstances. He would, perhaps, refer us to the contents of his seventh chapter, in disproof of the allegation; but we must say, that we have been able to deduce no further information from the whole of it, than this, that the *corpus sanum* is necessary for the *mens sana*. Of the same sort of truisms, the section immediately succeeding is chiefly made up. Surely, neither medical readers nor unprofessional inquirers require to be told, that disordered condition is regulated or modified by age, or that some intellects are more, some less, precocious than the average standard. The ninth chapter is entitled, as if *par excellence*, "Insanity;" and here we have histories and definitions, and objections to definitions, and amusing, if not instructive, anecdotes; but it all ends in this, that madness, in all its modifications, consists in an 'impairment of the comparing faculty,' or what others have, with at least equal propriety, termed a state in which the due balance is destroyed between perception and conception. 'The madman is not capable of rectifying his erroneous judgements, by *comparing* them with other ideas. In his mind, indeed, these are not excited, and his judgements are therefore permanently erroneous. He disregards perception, and, confined in a small apartment, fancies himself sovereign of the universe; or he combines imagination with perception, and believes himself a captive prince.' Can any statement be more correct than the above? Is not the accuracy of it confirmed by the every days' observation of those individuals who officially visit asylums for lunatics? Surely, there was no necessity for attempting to establish it by expanding the argument over the compass of 500 pages.

Several passages, however, might be extracted from this part of Dr. C.'s volume, which would prove the Author to be possessed of no mean abilities; and he has thrown a graphic force and interest into some of his remarks and illustrations, which almost cheats us into the belief that originality of thought and information are combined with a lively and fascinating style. We select the following passage, not because it is the best in the chapter, but because it contains an allusion to the system of Gall and Spurzheim, as the one which, if true, best

harmonizes with those inconsistencies that are so extremely puzzling when we attempt to account for them by any of the received doctrines of mental pathology.

‘ It is only by the supposition of the comparing power being lost, that we are at all enabled to explain a phenomenon which can in no other way be accounted for; viz. that presented by a man labouring under an insane delusion, and yet entertaining a belief entirely opposite to it, and what is incompatible with the delusion; cherishing two opposite sentiments, in fact, or two opposite convictions at the same time. I have heard a man in this state say, that he was the most miserable of human beings, but that he had every thing about him to make him happy; or lament that he had lost all affection for his wife, or nearest connexions, whom, however, he would thus allude to with tears in his eyes, and in affectionate language. Others accuse themselves of having led a deplorably wicked life, and in the same breath protest that they have never done harm to any body living; or they will lament the disordered state of their own minds, and yet accuse themselves of not wishing to have the disorder removed; or they will address those about them in harsh and cruel terms, and weep because they feel that they do so. A lunatic will sometimes say, that he knows he is very ill, but that it is very strange he cannot persuade himself to believe it; and he will perhaps end the sentence by declaring that he is not ill at all. Truth and delusion seem, under such circumstances, to be contending for the mastery; but the strongest ally of truth, the power of making just comparisons, has deserted her standard, and unless her forces can be rallied, delusion finally gains the victory. That which is false, is believed, not because, in these instances, that which is true is forgotten, for that which is true is believed also; but the comparison which would shew that both could not be true at the same time, and that one of two opposite things believed was untrue, cannot be exercised. In this intellectual disorder, lunatics have committed atrocious crimes, feeling remorse even whilst committing them; and others, fearing death from poison or from natural causes, have committed suicide\*; whilst some, like the idiot mentioned by Dr. Gall, have delighted in setting fire to houses, and have been seen to be equally glad to extinguish the fire when lighted.

‘ Assuredly, it is no inconsiderable fact, in support of the opinion of the propensities being located in different portions of the nervous substance, that we find individuals, not remarkable for inhumanity, seized with a sudden desire to murder and destroy. If, in some instances, we can explain the propensity by the supposition of a morbid impression of a nature to excite revenge, we see other instances in which it is indulged without any such object; and men and women have cruelly murdered their relatives, or even their own children, ap-

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\* ‘ They rush into the arms of death’, says Dr. Reid very poetically, if not very philosophically, ‘ as if to avoid the terrors of his countenance.’

parently impelled to such frightful crimes by a physical excitement which was not extended to other propensities. The excitement is so strong as to exclude every opposing emotion, and to prevent the exercise of either the attention or memory ; and no comparison is made ; the whole man is dominated by one morbid feeling. The degree to which this feeling admits of resistance, is often a very important question, inasmuch as it affects the responsibility of such individuals for the crimes they commit. It appears, in some cases, to be as little within the control of the patient, as the muscular movements are in a fit of hysteria or epilepsy. In one case, a *part* of the nervous system is irritated, and the effect is irregular and violent action in the organs receiving supplies of nervous stimulus from that part. I do not see how the same explanation can well be withheld from the other case. If it is extended to it, we must also admit, that, as remote mischief or irritation, the presence of irritating secretions, of undigested food, or even of worms in the intestinal canal, may cause a nervous irritation of which the result is an epileptic paroxysm. Analogous causes of disorder may sometimes temporarily modify the intellectual and moral manifestations of the individual, add to the force of sensations and emotions, impair the power of the controlling judgement, and misdirect the will.'

In the whole compass of the subject of Insanity or deranged mental functions, there is nothing of more difficult exposition, or requiring, on all accounts, more careful investigation, than these momentary contrarieties. We shall on a future occasion advert more specifically to this very interesting and important topic. At present, we merely throw out the remark, that it will not appear very obvious to most persons, how Gall's system of pneumatology can be considered as explaining the irregularities alluded to more easily or satisfactorily than some other theories. At all events, it must be allowed, that that ingenious physiologist had in some measure been anticipated in his observations on parts of the brain being subject to excitation, while other portions remain comparatively at rest, and on this *location* of excitability, with all its varied consequences and accompaniments, constituting the essence of madness. Dr. Cullen, whom it is perhaps in the present day too fashionable to deride, employs expressions, in his *Theory of Delirious Wanderings*, precisely to the same point. 'In order', he remarks, 'to the proper exercise of our intellectual functions, the excitement must be complete and equal in *every part of the brain*. For, though we cannot say that the vestiges of ideas are laid up in different parts of the brain, or that they are in some measure diffused over the whole, it will follow, upon either supposition, that our intellectual operations always require the orderly and exact recollection or memory of associated ideas ; so that, if *any part of the brain* is not excited, or not excitable, that



‘recollection cannot properly take place, while at the same time other parts of the brain, more excited and excitable, may give false perceptions, associations, and judgements.’

Again, when alluding to the appearances of the brain after the death of lunatics, and its reported various conditions, Dr. Cullen says: ‘Whether these different states have been observed to be uniformly the same over the *whole* of the brain, I cannot certainly learn; and I suspect the dissectors have not always accurately inquired into this circumstance. But in several instances, it appears, that these states have been different in different parts of the brain; and *instances of this inequality will afford a confirmation of our general doctrine.*’

It would be interesting to enlarge on these curious points of mental pathology, but we must hasten briefly to notice those topics which are discussed in the last division of Dr. Conolly’s Treatise. In this part of his work, the Author manifests both benevolent feeling and ability; but his schemes for the detection and management of insanity, will, we are disposed to think, be much modified and moderated by a more intimate and practical acquaintance with the peculiarities of madness. We agree with him, that the whole duty of a medical man, when summoned to decide the question of lunacy, or the expediency of restraint, is ‘resolvable into two parts:—

‘1. To determine whether the individual in question be of sound mind.

‘2. To give an opinion concerning the treatment required, and especially concerning the necessity of restraint, *and the degree and nature of the restraint.*’

We must, however, decline to follow our Author through that part of his work in which these heads are enlarged on; as it would occupy more time and space than we can conveniently spare at present, to go into the several particulars which they comprehend; and we shall have occasion, at no distant period, to resume the topic which has been the subject of the present article. We may then take an opportunity again to advert to our Author’s performance, for the purpose of collating his observations with those of others; and it will be for Dr. C. then to say, whether our power of ‘comparing’ has been ‘impaired,’ either by prejudice or by disorder. For the present, we must take leave of him with thanking him for the entertainment that his treatise has afforded us, and with recommending him, at the same time, to revise his schemes and suggestions for detecting insanity, and for classifying the insane. Let him ask himself,—‘Have I not here strayed into the Utopian land of theory and speculation, from which I should be recalled by experience,

were practice of a more extended kind and specific character, to become the test of my lofty lucubrations ? ’

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**Art. V. *A Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature*, in a Chronological Arrangement of Authors and their Works, from the Invention of Alphabetical Characters, to the Year of our Lord 1445. Vol. I. Part I. By Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.A.S., &c. Part II. by J. B. B. Clarke, M.A. 8vo. pp. 502. Price 12s. 1830.**

**T**O many of our readers, the ‘*Concise View*,’ which was originally published in a 12mo volume, in 1807, must be well known. Of the utility of such a work, no reasonable doubt could be entertained. It appears, however, to have been much less patronised than could have been expected. We should not have surmised, that nearly a quarter of a century would have passed away without the circulation of many more copies than were included in the first edition. Such a circumstance may possibly be one of the indications by which the character of our own times is to be estimated. In its new form, the work may, perhaps, be more fortunate, and its circulation better answer to the wishes of the united Authors, and reflect more credit upon the religious part of the community.

The design of the ‘*Concise View*’ is, to trace from the first portion of the sacred writings, the successive communications, to the completion of the Hebrew canon, including notices of the principal Jewish writers who refer to and explain the books which it comprises; and to describe in like manner, the books of the New Testament, and the works of Christian authors who may be adduced as witnesses to their prior existence, up to the period of the invention of printing. A chain of evidence is thus formed, the links of which connect the earliest of all known writings, the Mosaic records, with the Biblical comments of the Christian expositors who witnessed the application of the beautiful and perfect art by which literary productions may be multiplied most extensively, to the preservation and enlarged diffusion of the Scriptures. In executing the latter part of his design, Dr. Clarke presents a view of ecclesiastical antiquity, containing a regular enumeration of the apostolical and primitive Fathers, and the succeeding writers of the Church, an account of their lives, and an analysis of their productions. The merits of the present publication are to be estimated by this part of it; and the variety of subjects which it comprises, and the able and skilful manner in which they are arranged and displayed, cannot fail of receiving the approbation of every intelligent and liberal critic. We should, perhaps, not be disposed to go so far with Dr. Clarke, as to maintain any necessary relation between the solid

attainments of Christian divines, in their vocation as ministers of religion, and the study of ecclesiastical antiquities not included in the New Testament; but we entirely concur with him in respect to the advantages which are to be derived from an intimate acquaintance with them; and add, with great pleasure, that we know not in what manner we could render a more valuable service to the student who is directing his attention to this branch of knowledge, than to recommend him to avail himself of the guidance which the interesting volume before us supplies.

The former volume concludes with a notice of Julius Firmicus Maternus, A.D. 345. In the one before us, the last article of the first part, which terminates the series by Dr. Clarke, is 'Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, A.D. 370.' Notices of Cyril of Jerusalem, Hilary of Poitiers, and Epiphanius, are the principal of the additions introduced by the Author of this part, who has enlarged the former notices of Cyprian and Methodius, and in other respects much improved the work.

Part the second, by the Rev. J. B. B. Clarke, commences with the '*divine*' Gregory of Nazianzum, A.D. 370, and concludes with Mark the Hermit, A.D. 395. The principal authors described within this period are, Gregory Nazianzen, Ephraem Syrus, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, and Jerom. No one who examines these articles, can doubt of the qualifications of the Continuator to complete his Father's design, 'with credit to himself, and profit to the reader;' and we shall be glad to receive the sequel of the work, executed in the manner we are authorized to expect from the specimens now before us.

In his account of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, Dr. Clarke asks, how such expressions as the assembled ecclesiastics inserted in the creed named after their place of meeting, can be admitted, and the *eternity* of Christ's Divine nature be credited. The particular expressions to which he thus refers, are the phrases—'*Begotten of the Father before all worlds—begotten, not made.*' A genuine Trinitarian, who believes the *infinite* and *eternal Godhead* of Christ, and who properly considers 'the import of the terms made use of by the Council,' could not, he thinks, subscribe the creed, 'either for peace or conscience sake.' This is an opinion which bears hard against the ministers of the Church of England, and, among them, on the Continuator, who has subscribed this denounced creed. Subscribing creeds, and declaring an unfeigned belief of their contents, is a most perilous proceeding. It is most strange and most offensive to reflect on the adoption of a set of expressions put together by some three hundred fallible, wrangling bishops, fifteen hundred years ago, as a standard of doctrine for tens of thousands of ministers, and to compare the tenets which many

of these are known to have asserted, with the terms of the Creed itself. What have men who live in these times to do with the Nicene ecclesiastics or their opinions? And what has the worship of Christians to do with the Nicene Creed or the Athanasian? But there they stand in the Book of Common Prayer; and the 'Priest' who ministers at the altar of the National Church, has solemnly declared that he believes all and every thing which they comprise. Arius was a heretic, and subscribed, it is said, the Nicene creed; and so, in Dr. Clarke's opinion, every abettor of Arianism might. The Council would therefore seem to have done their business in a very bungling manner\*. But, in fabricating a yoke of bondage for the conscience, they were at least successful; and whether the terms of the creed be properly considered or not, by genuine Trinitarians, the fact is undeniable, that thousands of them make no scruple to declare that they fully believe every one of its articles.

We have been so much gratified with a paragraph which closes Dr. Clarke's account of Epiphanius's *Treatise on the ancient Heresies*; and it is so honourable a testimony to the discriminating faculty of the Author, and so entirely in accordance with our own sense of the wrongs which have been inflicted on men of whom only a correct knowledge is wanted, in order that their true excellence might be appreciated; that we shall lay it before our readers, accompanying it with the request that they will use their reflections upon its contents.

' This book of Epiphanius is not at present in high estimation, as it is well known to abound with errors and misrepresentations. I have no doubt, many of those termed *Heretics*, were genuine orthodox Christians, whose reputation was blackened by those who were *supreme in power*, and thought themselves in consequence, *infallible in judgment*. In every age, the enemy of God and man, endeavoured to sow tares among the wheat; and when he could not adulterate the truth, he corrupted the morals of those who professed it. Hence, a laxity of discipline, induced or followed by earthly-mindedness and conformity to the customs and manners of the world, deluged and disgraced the Church. But in all those times of error, seduction, and profligacy, there were not wanting men of clean hands and pure hearts, who rose up, and bore a faithful testimony against such as held the truth in unrighteousness, boasting of an *orthodox creed*, while their practices were Antichristian and impure. These faithful witnesses were often termed *Heretics* by the reigning party; and by proscriptions or persecutions, were either driven into exile, or obliged to separate from the Church. We know how easy it is to brand those with the name of *Heretics*, who separate from a church too profligate in its manners, and too corrupt in its doctrines, even to deserve the name of *Christian*; but, be-

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\* If it was not, indeed, intended at the time as an *irenicum*.

has the secular power on its side, is authorized to do to the followers of God, whatever it pleases. Is not the whole sys-

PROTESTANTISM a *Heresy*, in the decrees of the Romish ; and as *Heretics*, have they (Protestants) not been proscribed, and burnt alive? Have they not had in the writings of diversaries the most absurd doctrines laid to their charge, which ever held and never believed? Let the Protestant Reader think these things; and then enquire how much credit he should attach to accounts he reads of *ancient Heretics*, whether in *Irenæus*, *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *Philaster*, or others, where the writings of the dead do not remain to speak for themselves. *Montanus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, were called *Heretics*;—much of their writings remains: who can prove them to be *Heretics*, from those writings?

The application of these sentiments requires to be very widely

Secular Protestantism is deeply stained with the guilt of species of injustice and cruelty. Opprobrious terms have unsparingly employed to designate parties and persons, whose convictions or scruples prevented their doing homage as vassals to the reigning powers; and burning alive has been added to the denunciations, and proscriptions, and banishments, with which lay and clerical Protestant rulers have visited humble and pious objects of their dislike and hatred. Heresy is a term from which nothing is to be learned in respect to truth or error; but we are generally right in interpreting it as a designation of the principles of the few and the weak, against many and the powerful. It is heresy, to refuse assent to prevailing opinions, and to decline compliance with established customs. *ÆRIUS*, who lived in the latter part of the fourth century, is set down by *Epiphanius* as a heretic; and there have been many readers of *Ecclesiastical History*, who, on his authority, would deny to *ÆRIUS* a place among true Christians. He objected to the celebration of Easter; and when we advert to very modern instances of the importance which has been attached to its observance, we need scarcely express our surprise that the objection was heretical in the eyes of the Bishop of *Salamis*. *ÆRIUS* denounced praying for the dead as an unwarrantable and unavailing practice;—it was, however, a growing superstition of the age, and *Epiphanius* was with the multitude. But the capital error of *ÆRIUS* was, his maintaining that bishops and presbyters are not to be distinguished from each other, being of equal authority and station, and in all respects only names of the same office. To *Epiphanius*, this was an unpardonable offence against truth; and either in his charity or his zeal, he classes *ÆRIUS* with the senseless; only *madmen* being, in his view of the matter, capable of asserting such an opinion. *Ex uno disce omnes*. As it was in the beginning, so it has continued to be. The *ÆRIUSES* of their times, in opposing the errors and superstitions countenanced by princes, and churches, and bishops,

were sure to offer some aggravated scandal to the patrons of the assumed orthodox creeds; and it was quite easy for the venerated dignitaries who raised the outcry against them, to obtain credence for the worst reports which they chose to make of their tenets and their practice. Hence, the calumnies which have been accumulated on the memories of not a few of the benefactors of their kind; and hence, too, the false estimates to which others, who impeded their exertions and obscured their fame, owe their elevation. Epiphanius obtained the honours of canonization. From the Second part of the "Concise View," we may support the truth of these remarks, by the evidence of the following article in the analysis of Jerom's works.

' *Treatise against Vigilantius*,—who was regarded and treated as a heretic for maintaining the following doctrines:—that it was wrong to pray for the dead;—it was idolatry to venerate relics;—it was useless the making pilgrimages;—it was much more prudent to distribute in charity the interest, than at once sell the principal for the poor;—monasteries were injurious, and fasts useless;—saints do not intercede;—and arguments are used against the pretended miracles at the shrines of saints: all these things St. Jerom defends, and intersperses his answer to these *heresies* of Vigilantius with abusive terms and *ruffianly* language. Vigilantius endeavours to stem the tide of corruption; Jerom drives forward the flood: *this*, with the dogmatizing pride of his church, overbears his adversary; *that* had fallen upon evil times, and was subjected to all the calumnies invariably heaped upon those who strove to bring back the professors of Christianity to the purity of discipline and doctrine which distinguished the Apostolic age. The intemperance of style, and grossness of language, in this short treatise, disgraces a Christian, and should shame even a heathen.'

We should be glad to copy an entire article from the second part of this interesting Volume, but more space than we can afford would be requisite for such notice of any one of the principal writers comprised in the Author's descriptions, as would be a fair specimen of the work. We shall, however, extract a passage or two, to shew how well qualified the Continuator, to whom the completion of the design has been entrusted, is to carry it forward.

' Gregory Nazianzen is allowed, by the most competent judges, to have borne away the palm of eloquence from all the writers of his time, for purity of diction, sublimity of expression, elegance of style, variety of metaphor, and propriety and correctness of his comparisons. His eloquence has been so greatly respected, that he has been denominated the Christian *Isocrates*: and his deep theological knowledge acquired him the surname of the Divine. St. Jerom, who was well acquainted with him, styles him *Vir eloquentissimus*—a most eloquent man; calls him his preceptor, and intimates that he had been a frequent attendant on his ministry—*à quo scripturas explanante didici*.' p. 362.

—' It is a mournful thing to see such errors as,—supplicating the



to Saints, in the 'creed and practice of a man like  
 ience was so great as to spread his example, whose  
 asive as to give a sanction to others' credulity; and  
 nguage, and reach of thought, served the more ef-  
 nd recommend errors an unbridled imagination had  
 currence of prayers to saints and martyrs, is too fre-  
 ted for by the momentary excitement of his feelings,  
 urnest to make doubt possible, whether the addresses  
 belief in a thoroughly digested creed: he calls saints  
 ents them as assisting; and every Reader must feel,  
 ns possess more of the heart than the imagination;  
 mere prosopopœias, &c., but that belief speaks in the  
 Even those who are inclined to treat him on this  
 niently, must confess that, whatever was the creed of  
 addresses were the means of introducing fatal errors  
 which at the first were, like the leprosy, only a white  
 spread to the destruction of its purity, and the ruin of  
 al health.' p. 378.

Ephraem Syrus, a writer of the fourth century,  
 bed —

*ms to Repentance.*—The number *seventy-six*.—The Di-  
 counsels contained in these Addresses, could proceed only  
 was well acquainted with the mazes of the human heart,  
 qualified to give the best advice, as having himself proved  
 of the plan he marks out for others; there is no vagueness  
 address, for the reader feels the words are spoken to *him*,  
 ble to *his* state; he does not lose himself in the crowd, but  
 re the bar of his own conscience, and roused by the words  
 m, his heart proves true to itself. For the support of the  
 e, God's boundless mercy is shewn in Scriptural examples  
 ed guilt, and in Scriptural examples of avoiding impending  
 e slothful are excited to renewed exertions for only *delayed*  
 the hesitating are confirmed by instances of assured triumph;  
 ncautions are warned of the flames of temptation ready again  
 out from the embers of their formerly imperfectly extin-  
 fires. When the soul is to commune with itself, Ephraem is  
 ul examiner on the part of God, and few have so completely laid  
 e sorrows that none but an all-merciful Being can assuage.  
 pp. 409, 410.

his account of the '*Life of Moses, or a Treatise concern-  
 a perfect Life*', by Gregory of Nyssa, p. 425, which is  
 allegorical interpretation of the History of the Jewish Legis-  
 t, the Continuator very forcibly animadverts on the 'sickly  
 ntimentalism' of allegorizing ministers, and concludes with a  
 yer for them, which would perhaps be somewhat amended  
 being allegorically explained:—'May God of his mercy  
 speedily take such injudicious teachers unto Himself!' The

Author, we should imagine, intends only, that religion should be freed from the mischievous methods of treating it, which some of its ministers delight to practise; and would it not be sufficient to pray for them in another manner,—that a sound mind might be given them?

To the accounts of the writers and the analysis of the works of each, the Authors subjoin notices of the *Editio PRINCIPALIS*, the most valuable edition, *Editio OPTIMA*, and the English translations. These notices are very useful, and are generally correct; but they might in some instances be amended, and in others enlarged. Two *Homelies* are the only parts of Origen which are described as existing in English; and one, a French version of the eight books against Celsus, is mentioned by Dr. Clarke, p. 171. There is an English translation of the work against Celsus, by James Bellamy, Gent., in 8vo. London. B. Mills, *no date*. In the account of the English Versions of Eusebius and the ecclesiastical Historians, p. 253, there are several errors, which we have not the means at hand of entirely correcting. The first translation, by Meredith Hanmer, could not be published so early as 1517. Hanmer died in 1604, and the Epistle Dedicatory of his translation to Robert, Earl of Leicester, is dated Dec. 15, 1584. The fourth edition of the book was published in 1619. The translation of the four books concerning the Life of Constantine, and the two orations, by Wye Saltonstall, added to the fifth edition of Hanmer's work, 1550, were published long before, and should have been noticed separately. The date of the Second translation is given by Dr. Clarke, 1696. A copy of it is now before us. It was printed at the Cambridge University press, by John Hayes, in 1688. We agree in opinion with Dr. C., that a new Translation of Eusebius's History, would be a valuable present to both the religious and the literary world; but, to render it so useful as it ought to be, it would be necessary to accompany it with such comments as would be but very imperfectly supplied by any existing annotations.

**Art. VI.—1.** *Military Events of the late French Revolution; or, an Account of the Conduct of the Royal Guard on that Occasion. By a Staff Officer of the Guards. From the French. 8vo pp. 123. London. 1831.*

**2.** *Narrative of the French Revolution in 1830; an authentic Detail of the Events which took place on the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July; with the Occurrences preceding and following those me-*

morable Days. Accompanied with State Papers and Documents. Small 8vo. pp. 407. Paris. 1830.

**WE** are anxious, at the very outset of the brief article which we are about to connect with these publications, to disavow any intention of involving our readers and ourselves in discussions relating to the events which, in July last, transferred the crown of France from a despot claiming fealty on the ground of divine right, to a king resting his title on the willing homage of his people, and the true interests of the state. The time is not yet fairly arrived for such an investigation: we are as yet in possession of only the general results; and it may be long before the antecedent and concurrent circumstances are so thoroughly sifted and admitted, as to justify their assumption as matters of history. In the mean time, every man is the hero of his own tale; and, without imputing intentional misrepresentation, there is quite enough in the average of human vanity to make us suspicious of every personal narrative. Whoever has heard the same story told by different agents, must have been startled by the marvellous discrepancies, occurring just at that particular crisis where the agency of the narrator becomes conspicuous. It has not unfrequently happened to us, to hear words and actions which, in our own certainty, belonged to ourselves, claimed in all honesty by others when conversing on the subject; and we are satisfied, that the clearest evidence, where self is concerned, is liable to large deduction, even in the entire absence of all misgiving as to motive and intention. It would be too much to expect, that we should suspend this wholesome scepticism in the present instance, where, to say nothing of national characteristics, all the energies of mind and body were on full stretch for the attainment of one object; rendering impossible that calm exercise of the understanding and the senses, which alone can qualify the observer for correct discrimination of circumstances, and for the comprehensive collection of facts.

In military transactions, the matter is considerably different. Every man has his set task and his appointed post; every movement is predefined, and has a distinct and specified object; each separate manœuvre has reference to a combination which regards the whole. Yet even here, amid the perfection of system, and the most anxious vigilance for the unbroken maintenance of order, we find confusion perpetually intruding. On the prescribed arrangement for simultaneous movement, accident and awkwardness are continually breaking in; and amid the uproar of battle, and the shiftings of actual conflict, how few are there who can sufficiently detach their attention from personal circumstances, to observe surrounding objects, and note the casualties of the strife! But if we turn from this scene

of array and combination, to fix our attention on the confusion of popular tumult, where every man acts for himself,—and even conceded command is little more than nominal,—on the strange distractions and incalculable intersections of the warfare streets, and lanes, and alleys,—on the fiery impulses which carry forth and sustain the spirit of insurrection,—on the doubts and apprehensions which visit the undisciplined brave, certain of themselves, but dubious of their companions,—on the social sympathies and anxieties of home;—whoever, we say, will make fair allowance for the working of all these discordant elements must acknowledge the hopelessness of obtaining clear and satisfactory statements, without a most patient comparison and induction, without an extensive examination of individual testimony, an impartial collation of varying details, and a large allowance for the infirmities of narrative.

The publications before us exemplify, in a very striking manner, the two kinds of statement—the military and the municipal. The ‘Narrative’ is a clever and spirited, though rather wordy digest of the various details supplied by individuals personally engaged, by lookers-on, and by that non-descript class of persons, the collectors of intelligence for the newspapers. It accordingly exhibits many of the faults, both of deficiency and excess, which might be expected in such a compilation; and while defective in precision, it is redundant in description and decoration. The Writer is evidently, heart and soul, with the people, and we cordially sympathize with his patriotic feelings; but we cannot forget that all such impulses are fatal to the calm, deliberate, and unprejudiced collation and comparison of conflicting statements, without which there can be but small chance of arriving at correct knowledge. He exhibits an anxiety to discard convictions which are so congenial to his partialities: the triumph of the people is his delightful theme, and he spurns at that balancing of probabilities which would certainly check his enthusiasm, and might possibly abate from the brilliancy of his picture. Still, it is a valuable document among the materials for history, though very far from possessing legitimate claims to be considered as an historical record. On the other hand, the detail of ‘Military Events’ has all the requisites in which the ‘Narrative’ is deficient, while it wants, of course, that ardent espousal of the popular cause, which gives interest to the latter. It is written with much ability, and with such professional distinctness and accuracy, as to enable even the unmilitary reader easily to comprehend, by reference to a common map of Paris, every movement and position connected with the memorable conflict of the three days. The Author is free in censure; sometimes, we think, beyond reasonable limit; but, in general, with sufficient justification from the

miserable mismanagement of the royal cause. He is evidently no bigot in politics, though, as evidently, little under the influence of any popular impulse. He clearly holds the people in slight estimation, and ascribes very little of the result to their efforts, of which he speaks in a very Coriolanus-like way. Still, his work is highly valuable, and comes, we doubt not, much nearer to the truth, than the glowing statements of the 'Narrative'. He spares neither the court nor the camp, but points out, with the frankness of a soldier, and the unhesitating precision of a man of knowledge and talent, the faults, both military and moral, which lost the day. He describes, with bitter scorn, the shameless facility with which the courtiers transferred their supple homage from a falling to the rising dynasty; and the following passage, referring to the state of feeling after the evacuation of the Hotel de Ville, will shew the impartiality with which he criticises error wherever he finds it.

'On the return of the troops to the Tuileries, it was reported, and every one naturally believed, that the King and the Dauphin had arrived in the course of the evening; but when morning came, and the absence of the white flag from the top of the Tuileries announced that the King was not there,—that he had not quitted St. Cloud,—perhaps not even Rambouillet (where it was known that he was on the 26th), the soldiers could not repress some feelings of anxiety and disgust, which they expressed in their own energetic language. The *instinct* of the soldier does not reason, but it is always sure. Even the officers could not conceive why the King and the Dauphin had so totally abandoned the fate of the capital to M. de Polignac; for no one in the Guards or the army partook of the extraordinary delusion in which that minister and his very few partizans at court, were plunged.

'The Duke of Raguse himself, though not altogether so unpopular with the Guards, did not enjoy their confidence. Some, the most favourable to him, recollected the constant ill-luck which had marked all his undertakings; others could not approve his political life. This latter opinion was that of the majority of the non-commissioned officers, and of many of the men: with the former, it was a military tradition; with the latter, it was a tale of their infancy;—in the cottages of their fathers they had heard (and, right or wrong, long will be heard) the name of *Raguse* connected with the Prussians and Cossacks. Finally, those who had known the Marshal with the army, at court, or in society, allowed him a considerable share both of talent and knowledge; but they also considered him as a man of theories, which he was never able to apply practically or usefully, either to the business of the state or his own private affairs, or to military operations in the field,—where he was really renowned only for his failures.'

The 'Narrative' sets out by describing the armed force which menaced Paris, as amounting to twenty thousand men, the 'flower of the chivalry of France,' with a 'numerous train of artillery.' It is very evident, that the Writer here takes credit

for the troops of the line, who were invariably neutral, and, if to be counted at all, should rather be set down on the popular side, since, while they gave it but little positive aid, they gave the encouragement of their evident partiality. The 'Story of the Officer,' who gives names and figures, and employs regular addition and subtraction, quotes the number of the Royal Guard actually effective and disposable on the morning of the 28th of July, at 4200 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Of the latter, only eight pieces were employed in the 'Three Days' and of the forty-five rounds of cartridge furnished to each gun four only were grape. Concerning the first event of decisive character which distinguished the series of conflicts, the evacuation of the Hotel-de-Ville by the royal troops, the 'Narrative' talks in magniloquent phrase; describes it as taken and retaken three several times, and as ultimately carried by the people.

'The successive capturing and recapturing of the Hotel-de-Ville awakened the sanguinary recollections of Hougoumont. But while every moment added to the confidence of the people, consternation began to be more and more visible even in the firmest battalions of France. It was in vain that discipline closed her serried files, or opened her chevaux-de-frise of bayonets, only to give scope and efficiency to discharges of grape still more murderous. The Place de la Grève, the Pont de la Grève, and the Pont Neuf, with the Quays were enveloped in one lurid cloud of sulphurous smoke, pierced by the flashes of the cannon, or the fusillade of the musket. The continuous tirailage of the citizens filled up the pauses that intervened between the platoon-firing of the troops, and the sullen roar of the artillery. The Seine might now be said without a metaphor to "flow purple to the sea." The dead bodies of horses and of soldiers were visible in its stream, carried down in a tumultuous mass to St. Cloud, shortly to announce to the royal tenants of its chateau, the discomfiture of their proudest hopes, by the dismal evidence of this floating wreck.'

This is not in the best possible taste; nor is it a mode of narration which tends to inspire confidence. The insinuation that the Guards were disheartened, is loftily repelled by the 'Officer;' but, in truth, if they had yielded to discouragement, it would have been nothing to their disgrace, since no arrangements whatever were made for supplying them even with the slightest refreshment, and they fought fainting with fatigue and inanition. They fought, too, reluctantly, and only in obedience to their military oath; they saw the troops of the line by their side, looking on them with menacing aspect, and they beheld in their front, their countrymen and kin. Yet, they fought bravely, if not ferociously, and the fault of their failure lay elsewhere. But the Guardsman denies the whole story of the thrice-stormed Guildhall, and his cool statement is in flat contradiction of the 'Narrative.'



‘As to the energy displayed by the people, it is undeniable: every account from individual officers, and every official report, concur in establishing the fact. But *truth* must, on the other hand, be also told: for instance, the kind of attack and defence which was most effective in the hands of the Parisians, was that which was attended with the least danger;—I mean—*war from the windows*. All the barricades, about which we have heard too much, were cleared by the troops. The open attacks made by the people in mass, *could* only be mere failures,—an idle waste of life. At the Hotel de Ville, where they made simultaneous efforts on every side, and where fresh assailants were ready to relieve those that were either wounded or wearied, they made no impression; for it is now indisputable, that this edifice was not, during the whole of the 23th, retaken by the people; and after it was evacuated at midnight by the Guards, it remained unoccupied and deserted till the morning of the 29th. It must be admitted, however, that in the efforts which were made to retake it, we recognize the military instinct and courage of the bravest nation in the world.’

In the grand struggle between the regulars and the people, the two leading events, in which the latter have been represented as triumphing by main force, were the attack of the Hotel-de-Ville, and the assault of the Louvre. We have seen how the ‘Staff Officer’ disposes of the first, and, concerning the latter, he wholly denies to the people the merit of dislodging the garrison. He affirms that the battalion of Swiss which was posted to defend the front of the Louvre, was withdrawn by the blunder of its commander, and that the assailants consequently effected their entrance without the slightest opposition. He attributes the failure of the Royalist force to various causes. 1st. To the strange improvidence which had neglected all efficient preparation, and, instead of having the whole body of the Guards and household troops, amounting to few less than 20,000 men, in readiness, suffered itself to be so completely taken *à l’improviste*, as to have only one-third of that number at hand, and to engage that slender force in desperate conflict, without food, during the greater part of three days. 2nd. To the unaccountable measures of Marshal Marmont, who seems to have manœuvred with a very unnecessary display of military science, and a very decided disregard of common sense. We have taken the trouble of comparing the idle parading of his moveable columns, with the admirable conduct of Bonaparte on the 13th Vendemiaire, in the rising of the armed sections against the Convention. He began by narrowing his line of defence as much as possible, occupying the strongest positions only, and awaiting the attack. When this had been repelled at all points, and not till then, he advanced with troops elated by the superiority they had proved of discipline over numbers, on the barricades of the Parisians, and, by steadily pressing forward, ultimately overcame all opposition. It is interesting to trace on the

map, the simple, yet beautiful manœuvres by which he effected his purpose. Every column, as it was pushed forward, found a *point d'appui*, and a supporting force upon its flanks, until the whole formed, even amid the labyrinth of streets and passages, a consistent and sustained front. Instead of this skilful order, the battalions of the Duke of Ragusa were moving without a definite object, manœuvring to no end but that of fatiguing the men, and fighting under circumstances which would have made it impossible to improve success, had success been attainable.

But the great cause of failure lay in the disaffection of the troops of the line. They evidently, from the commencement, sympathised with the popular feeling; and there was no possibility of mistaking the import of this *sign of the times*. Had the Parisians been defeated, the Pretorian Bands would have been compelled to defend their conquest against the Legions of the empire, and civil war would have raged. But in the war of the *Maison du Roi* against the whole population of France, there were no chances of success to calculate.

We have always felt a persuasion that Charles the Tenth was anxious to avail himself of some opportunity, fair or foul, of teaching his people 'a great moral lesson',—of coming to blows, in the full conviction that the easy victory on which he reckoned, would do more for the establishment of his power, than the subtlest and most successful course of intrigue. It was the firm belief of the Court, that the success of the former Revolution was owing to nothing so much as to the pusillanimity of Louis the Sixteenth; and it was eagerly desired, that opportunity might occur to prove the inevitable failure of insurrection when opposed by the strong hand. The success of Napoleon in 1795, supplied an additional motive, as completing the contrast between the disastrous effects of timidity, and the victorious results of energy and skill. The experiment was tried; and its signal failure offers to the autocrats of Europe a lesson which, impressive as it is, it appears, from issues still pending, that they refuse to learn.

Art. VII. *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution.* By the Rev. Robert Wodrow. With an original Memoir of the Author, Extracts from his Correspondence, a preliminary Dissertation, and Notes, by the Rev. Dr. Burn, of Paisley. 4 Vols. 8vo. Price 2l. 8s. Glasgow, 1830.

SOON after the Restoration, a treatise was published, which had been written in the time of the Long Parliament, at the special desire of Charles the First, to prove 'Episcopacy, as established by law in England, not prejudicial to regal power.' The Author, Bishop Sanderson, aptly designated 'that staid

‘and well-weighed man’, rests his argument on the admission of the supreme authority of the Crown in all matters ecclesiastical; avowing at the same time, that the Church of Rome encroached upon the royal prerogative, in the doctrines of the Pope’s supremacy and the exemption of churchmen. These positions are, indeed, incontrovertible, when an appeal is fairly made to the records of history. For, while the state of affairs since the Revolution attests, in a satisfactory manner, that prelatial claims and jurisdiction may be exercised without detriment to regal power, the history of the periods previous to the Reformation, furnishes ample evidence to shew, that the dignity of the Crown and the interests of the commonalty sustained great damage during the usurpations of the Papacy. But, that the supreme ecclesiastical authority transferred from the Pope, and lodged in the Sovereign by the laws of England, (which is, in a double sense, the safeguard of Episcopacy as the established form of Church polity,) has been prejudicial to the civil rights and religious privileges of the nation at large, may be abundantly shewn from the history of the Reformation, and may be especially seen in the policy pursued by the unfortunate House of Stuart. Hence, Protestants in these lands, not being episcopalians, have uniformly protested against the civil headship in the Church, not only as dishonouring to Christ, but as the source of manifold practical evils to the community.

It is as connected with this subject, that we would strongly recommend to the notice of our readers this republication of Wodrow’s *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. We know of no work which so fully exhibits the dangers resulting from the exercise of the supremacy when a subservient clergy are prepared to gratify the monarch by the extension of the prerogative. Happily, indeed, the same treachery and oppression could not be practised now. Nor is there a disposition in any party to take such undue advantage. The constitution is defined; the plenitude of the royal power is under salutary restrictions; all sects have a safeguard against the exercise of the supremacy, in the progress of knowledge and toleration. Nevertheless, it is important that this right of the Crown respecting all affairs and persons ecclesiastical, should appear in its true and native pretensions, free from those disguises and changes which a multitude of circumstances have forced upon those of the Episcopal communion.

There may likewise be a profitable use of this History, as it furnishes evidence of the concord existing between the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the early Nonconformists of England, who took common ground in disclaiming civil headship in Ecclesiastical matters, and also in separating from the Episcopal hierarchy; a procedure in respect to which they had

the sympathy as well as the example of foreign Protestants. Nay, at present, and in consequence of the vague and local causes which produce nonconformity on the one hand, and conformity on the other, it is even necessary to revert to the original principles which constrained our pious ancestors to decline the communion of the Establishment. Ignorance of these proper scriptural grounds of separation, or dissent on less valid grounds, has done much to disunite and secularize the Protestant Nonconformists of England; so that it is high time to return to the broad constitutional principles on which the business of Reformation may be renewed. Certain it is, at all events, that there are many claims and concessions which the influential Nonconformist divines would willingly have made, in order to promote the more general and permanent diffusion of saving knowledge, which are not likely to originate from the liberality of their present descendants. Yet, this spirit of the olden sages, who were more anxious for uniformity, than willing to divide the nation into religious sects, is essential to the success of any general movement for the better propagation and maintenance of our common faith.

The most general reason for dissent that can be assigned, we consider to be, that, contrary to Scripture warrant, and in dishonour of Christ's proper authority, the Episcopal Church of England acknowledges, as confirmed by law, the prerogative of the Crown to exercise supreme control over all persons and affairs ecclesiastical. The power thus claimed, had, indeed, been often challenged previously to the Reformation. Certain Sovereigns ventured to consider it to be as much their natural and inherent right, to appoint Bishops to the several sees within their dominions, as to create temporal Barons; and even fancied that it was in their power to confer upon them spiritual functions and jurisdiction. This, however, was always treated by the Court of Rome as an unscriptural assumption; and as such, it was uniformly resisted. But Henry VIII. succeeded in getting a transfer to himself of all the power usurped by the Pope. In a Convocation, and by consent of Parliament, his title was sanctioned, as the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England; and the claim of Supremacy thus ratified, continues to appertain to the Crown. As explained by divines, it ought, perhaps, to be admitted, that ecclesiastical obedience to the King's laws is limited, with a due regard to the law of God, and that ecclesiastical authority in the discharge of the pastoral office, is acknowledged to be derived from Christ. It is, nevertheless, certain, that the Supremacy was enacted in positive and comprehensive terms, and that, to the exercise of the prerogative, no limits were practically set.

In order to prove that, according to our English laws, the

King is really the only fountain of all ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction \*, and that the clergy, of whatever rank or degree, possess not any other power than that which they derive from him, it is only requisite to quote the enactment passed in the 37th year of the reign of Henry VIII. It is thereby declared, that Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but by and under the King's Majesty, the only undoubted Supreme Head of the Church of England, to whom, by Holy Scripture, power and authority is given to hear and determine all manner of causes whatsoever, and to correct all manner of sin and vice whatsoever.' This power of our Kings was confirmed in the reigns of Edward, James, Elizabeth, and Charles; except that, owing to some scruples on the part of the Queen, the title of Supreme Head was changed, in the time of Elizabeth, into that of Supreme Governor. Then, as to the spirit in which the prerogative of Supremacy was interpreted and put into execution, there can be no controversy, when the acts which flowed from this source are considered. Henry immediately vested the delegation of his whole ecclesiastical power in his viceroy Cromwell, who held precedence next to the royal family. He also proceeded by summary process to abolish monasteries, and to appropriate their revenues for the benefit of his treasury. Subsequently, he caused to be passed a law enacting the Six Articles, against the wish of the reforming party, to which he compelled submission under pain of death. No sooner had Edward succeeded, than the new Bishops took out a commission, by which they declared that they held office only during the King's pleasure, and were to exercise their functions as his delegates. When Elizabeth had taken order for the uniformity of religion, according to the Protestant changes, she not only deposed the Bishops who refused to take the oath of Supremacy, but persecuted many pious men who were sound in the faith, because they could not yield compliance to all her ecclesiastical injunctions. A commission was granted, for a general visitation of the whole kingdom, empowering certain noblemen and others in each province, only one of whom was a clergyman, to examine the true state of all the churches: to suspend or depose such of the clergy as were unworthy, and to proceed against such as were obstinate, by imprisonment, church censures, or any other legal way.

As might be expected, the Supremacy had an effect prejudicial to the progress of the Reformation. It gratified the

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\* See on this subject, our Review of Allen on the Royal Prerogative, at p. 455 of our last volume.

pride of Henry, who rejected or confirmed according to sovereign pleasure the points of faith and of ritual in dispute between the Reformed and Romish Clergy. The King, & Burnet, seemed to think that his subjects owed an entire resignation of their reason and consciences to him: and as he was highly offended by those who still adhered to the papal authority, so, he could not bear the haste that some were making to a further reformation before or beyond his allowance. It was all the while fluctuating; sometimes making steps to reformation, but then turning back to his old notions. Notwithstanding it is true, that the Supremacy was exercised beneficially during his reign, in procuring the translation of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, the disuse of various superstitious practices in worship, and the separation of the English Church from the Communion of Rome. It is true also, that the Articles set forth under Edward to promote concord and quietness in religion, the publication of which is not so advantageous to the true Protestant faith, had their original authority by virtue of the King's Supremacy. Yet, this very prerogative was made a handle of by those friendly to the old state of things, as they protested against all changes in religion till the Sovereign should be of age, and on the accession of Mary, had a plausible pretext for overturning whatever was contrary to her will. And even Elizabeth, along with the exercise of great authority in ecclesiastical affairs, retained a strong predilection for many of the tenets and usages of the Romish Church, there can be no doubt that much greater advances would have been made towards reformation during her reign, than actually took place.

It would, however, be unfair to bring forward these statements (although they consist merely of historical facts,) as connected with the Supremacy, without acknowledging at the same time, that the Reformers lamented the necessity under which they were constrained to act. Having formally consented to the absolute authority of the Crown, they could not consistently refuse to comply with any regal injunction in ecclesiastical affairs; and having to do with Sovereigns so obstinate and untractable as Henry and his daughter Elizabeth, who were also fond of pomp and full of superstitious partialities, it was extremely difficult for them to serve the cause of the Reformation, even when they were ready to take the hazard of encountering the royal displeasure. For example, to instance only in the case of the Liturgy. The greatest caution was necessary in producing the Book of Common Prayer, which remains in a state very different from that in which the true and hearty Protestant prelates were inclined to leave it. When first set forth by authority under Edward VI., it was deemed advisable to conform the prayers and ceremonies as much as possible to the ancient model;



ereby, if possible, to draw in some of the bishops, and reconcile the prepossessions of the people. In consequence, 'they so ordered the matter, as that they might seem to have translated the ancient forms into their mother tongue, rather than to have wholly laid them aside. After being used awhile as it was first published, the book was removed; when some additions were made to it, and such particulars changed, as had been retained only for a time. There is also reason to believe, that Cranmer had himself drawn up a much more perfect Liturgy than that furnished by the Second Edition of the Common Prayer, in the hope of finding an opportunity to get it sanctioned by authority. Indeed, we are informed in the preface to the original production, that they had gone as far as they could in reforming the Church, considering the time they lived in, and hoped that those that came after them would, as they could, do more. It is, therefore, gratifying to learn, that when Bullinger and some other learned foreign divines objected to the Bishops, that they had allowed some matters enjoined by the Common Prayer Book, they replied in their letters, that they had no choice in reference to the settling of such things. They declared that none of them were of the Parliament-house at the passing of the Book, and that therefore they had no voice in making the law; that, after it was passed, they being chosen to be bishops, must either content themselves to take their places as things were, or else leave them to Papists and Lutherans. But, in the mean space, they promised not to urge their brethren in these things, and when opportunity should serve, to seek reformation of them.' Unhappily, however, as regarded the consistency of their conduct and the uniformity of religious worship, they did not redeem his promise, but took measures which gave great trouble to conscientious ministers, and actually became more severe, the longer they were in office: so that, in consequence of the offence created by the rites of the Common Prayer Book, the act which enforced the use of the canonical habits, and the general laxity of discipline, thousands were constrained to leave the communion of the Church, and thus embrace all the hazards of persecution for conscience' sake.

It was, then, against this unscriptural assumption of supremacy on the part of the Crown, and subversion, in its tendency and effects, of the true interests of the Church of Christ, that the Puritans and Nonconformists, together with the Presbyterians of Scotland, have been united ever since the time of Elizabeth. But in the exercise of holy zeal in opposition to this claim, those who were called to suffer under a Protestant government, only adhered to the sentiments of the Fathers of the Reformation. This, indeed, is the broad foundation on which those who

are faithful to the sole prerogative of Christ, as the only head of his Church, should agree to erect their standard of unity and hostility. The present is a time which no longer admits of temporizing measures, when ancient principles should be revived, and the spirit of former days be awaked. Look to the character and consequences of the supremacy as so exhibited in these lands, well combined efforts to withstand would have been of incalculably greater advantage to the cause of undefiled religion, than all the party zeal which has been spent on the matters which divide the millions of the antipathetical Protestants of the British empire.

Art. VIII. *The Sacred Offering*, a Poetical Annual. MDCCCXXII  
32mo. pp. 191. Price 4s. 6d. in silk. Liverpool.

WE have been much pleased with this unpretending, but extremely neat and tasteful little volume, composed entirely of original poetry of a devotional character, or religious tendency, by anonymous contributors; varying, of course, in merit and interest, but averaging far above mediocrity, and bearing the unequivocal impress of genuine poetic feeling, and a highly cultivated mind. The following specimens will, we imagine, amply justify our encomium, and excite an interest in the volume.

‘ TO A DESERTED HOME.

‘ When morning blushes o’er these scarce-green fields,  
On their scant trees pouring its glory down,  
No burst of joy the brightening landscape yields,  
It marks the blighted verdure near a town.  
And when the purple evening fades away,  
No wave reflective shews its parting beam,  
But the last lingering hues of farewell day  
Here all unnoticed shed their softened beam.

‘ I had a home—ah me! a home no more,—  
Most calmly fair in its green loveliness,  
Shadowed with trees, and bound with sea-girt shore,  
With view all rich in its unboundedness;  
Far distant hills, most faintly, sweetly blue,  
Skirting the horizon with their peaks of snow,  
And valleys, meadows, bright as eye ere knew,  
Spreading their mingling beauty wide below.

‘ O prospect glorious! thou art in mine eye  
As when I stood with never-sated gaze,  
On our own terrace, watching to descry  
The little sail-boat ’midst thy pathless ways.

Yes, here thou livest ; memory has enshrined  
Thy quiet walks, thy boundless solitude,  
And each loved scene that I have left behind,  
Comes glowing on my heart with life imbued.

‘ Alas ! there only—days and years may pass,  
And I thy lonely walks no more shall tread,  
These feet shall press no more thy well-known grass,  
Or raise thy humble violets from their bed.  
No ; all the freshness, sweetness of thy flowers  
May wildly bloom, for no accustomed hand  
Shall kindly twine them round their moss-grown bowers,  
And taste must wave no more her magic wand.

‘ Though all unseen, still may thy dark woods wave,  
Thy flowers still glow in summer’s radiant breath ;  
May beauty shroud thee, silent as the grave,  
And be around thee in thy transient death.  
And when again to sound of human voice  
Thy far-hills echo, then may peaceful hours  
And rural pleasures bid their hearts rejoice,  
With purest happiness, as once did ours.’

‘ THE FIRE-SIDE.

‘ How many feet upon this fender placed,  
In other years, duly as evening came,  
Have crowded our fire-side, the feet of those  
Our childhood fondly loved : but scattered now,  
Perchance ‘midst all the toils of life to feel  
The fond regret, the deep and natural grief  
That flows upon the thought of broken ties,  
And sweet dreams buried in the far dark past.  
And some have left us for the brightening glow  
Of their own happy hearth, for days and hours  
Lighted with love’s own sunshine ; yet sometimes  
With changeless heart, as in the long, long days  
Now gone for ever, and with constant feet,  
That know the accustomed place, they turn to thee.  
Aye, and some feet have prest thee once that ne’er  
Shall touch thy bars again ; some feet that now  
Have run their weary race, and are stretched out  
In the calm silent grave. . . O how we loved them !  
Nor summer hour, when nature from her lap  
Pours forth her beauty ; nor in winter nights,  
When circling to thy blazing side we cling,  
As the wild tempest rages, and the moon  
Puts forth her pale, cold cheek to meet the blast,  
And the dark night-cloud rises ; never, never  
Shall we forget those who have left their place,

Their wonted place amidst our little band.  
 We speak not ; but the tear is in our eyes,  
 The throb is in our hearts, and as we crowd  
 More closely round thee in our loneliness,  
 Fond memories will arise and take us back  
 Amidst the scene of long-forgotten things.  
 Aye, and we hear again the merry laugh,  
 And the light-hearted peal of opening youth ;  
 Again we sit beside the forms we love,  
 And time and distance, vast, unmeasured days,  
 And wide estranging scenes, and death itself,  
 All vanish at our bidding ; and we turn  
 To answer smile with smile, and greet again  
 Our best and dearest, ours, a moment ours.  
 We rend oblivion's veil, we burst the band,  
 And on our ears the tones we loved are breathing  
 As they were wont to breathe. Is it a dream ?  
 A single cinder falls upon thy hearth,  
 And we start back to melancholy truth.  
 Oh and is life so brief ? And are its ties,  
 Its holiest ties so frail and vanishing ?  
 Pass but a few short years, and shall *we* too  
 Be missing in our places ? Gracious Heaven !  
 With noble purpose and eternal hope  
 Encompass thou our spirits, guide us on  
 From race to race, from light to purer light,  
 To the high source of being ; till our hearts  
 Thirsting for holiness and glory, rise  
 On wings of faith above this fading scene  
 Of mortal suffering, and expand in love  
 Which seeks communion with the realms of God.'

## ART. IX. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press, *On the Personality and Divinity of the Holy Spirit*  
 By J. Pye Smith, D.D. &c.

Col. Bouchette will publish during the present Month, a *Topographical and Statistical Description of the British Dominions in North America*, including Observations on Land-granting and Emigration &c. in 4to., with Views, Plans, &c.

In the press, a Third Edition of a *Manual of Surgery*, founded on the Lectures lately delivered by Sir A. Cooper, Bart., and J. E. Green, Esq., F.R.S., containing several additional Notes from the Works of other distinguished Surgeons. Edited by Thomas Castle, F.L.S., of Queen's College, Oxford, &c.

Also, an *Introduction to Medical Botany*, illustrative of the Science as connected with Medicine. An improved Edition. By Thomas Castle, F.L.S., of Queen's College, Oxford, &c.

Mr. Booth, the Author of the "Analytical Dictionary," has in the press, a Work on the Principles of English Composition.

In the press, Dedicated by permission to the King, and to be illustrated with beautiful Engravings, *Travels in the Holy Land*. By William Rae Wilson, Esq. F.S.A. With some interesting Letters from Foreign Sovereigns to the Author, on the Protestant Faith.

Nearly ready, in 1 Vol. 8vo., *Examples in Algebra*. By the Rev. W. Foster, M.A., late Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, Head Master of St. Paul's School, Southsea, Portsmouth.

Mrs. Lachlan has a Work nearly ready, Dedicated by Permission, to Her Majesty, entitled *Agapæ, or, the Sacred Love-Pledge*, in 1 Vol.

In a few days will be published, *A Help to Professing Christians in judging their Spiritual State and Growth in Grace*. By the Rev. John Barr, Author of "The Scripture Student's Assistant," &c.

In the press, 15th Edition, corrected and greatly improved, of an *Introduction to Mensuration and Practical Geometry*, with Notes containing the reason of every rule. By John Bonnycastle, Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

Mr. William Howitt has in the press, a series of Traditions of the most ancient times, containing *The Pilgrimage of Partika*; *Nichar*; *The Exile of Heaven*; *Istran the Demoniack*; *The Avenger of Blood*, and *Tidal King of Nations*.

In the press, *A Philosophical Estimate of the Controversy respecting the Divine Humanity*. By John Abraham Heraud, Esq. Author of "The Descent into Hell," a Poem.

In the press, *A Panorama of Constantinople and its Environs*, from Sketches taken on the Spot. By J. Pitman, Esq. The Panorama will be accompanied with a description of the Principal Buildings, and an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Turks, Greeks, Armenians, &c. The whole to be folded in a neat case of portable dimensions.

In the press, *Leigh's Guide for Travellers through Wales and Monmouthshire*, with a minute Description of the Wye. Illustrated with a correct Map, &c.

Mr. Roberts of Llwynrhudol, is preparing for publication, *The Welsh Interpreter*, containing a concise Vocabulary and Useful Phrases, on the plan of Blagdon's French Interpreter, to be comprised in a portable volume.

Mr. Conder's "Italy", in three volumes, may be expected to appear early in the month of March, the greater part having already passed through the press.

## ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

## BIOGRAPHY.

A Memoir of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of James Currie, M.D., F.R.S., of Liverpool, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, of the London Medical Society, &c. Edited by his Son, William Wallace Currie. 2 vols. 8vo. 17 8s.

The Annual Biography and Obituary for the year 1831, containing Memoirs of Celebrated Persons who have died in 1829-30. 8vo. 15s.

## EDUCATION.

An Abridgment of Zumpt's Latin Grammar, for the use of Schools. By the Rev. J. Kenrick. M.A. 8s. bound.

## HISTORY.

Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece; containing an Account of the Military and Political Events which occurred in 1823, and following years, with various Anecdotes of Lord Byron, and an Account of his last Illness and Death. By Dr. Julius Millingen, Surgeon to the Byron Brigade at Missolonghi, and to the Greek Army in Western Greece, Peloponnesus, &c. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

The Arguments advanced against the Enfranchisement of the Jews considered, in a Series of Letters. By Francis Henry Goldsmid.

Festivals, Games, and Amusements, Ancient and Modern. By Horace Smith, Esq., Author of "Brambletye House," &c., forming the fifth number of the National Library. Small 8vo. Neatly bound, with Plates. 6s.

Speech of Mr. William Collins at the first Public Meeting of the Edinburgh As-

sociation for the Suppression of Intemperance, June 8th, 1830. 8vo. 6d.

## THEOLOGY.

The true Nature of Christ's Person and Atonement stated, in reply to the doctrinal Views of the Rev. Edward Irving. "On the Human Nature of Christ." By William Urwick. 12mo. 5s.

Christian Patriotism; or the Duty of Christians towards their Country at the present Crisis: a Sermon delivered in the Congregational Chapel, Colchester. By Henry March. 12mo. 6d.

A Country Rector's Address to his Parishioners, at the close of the twenty-year of his Residence among them, with Reference to the disturbed State of the Times. 8vo. Second edition. 6d.

A Letter to his Parishioners on the Disturbances which have lately occurred. By a Country Pastor. 12mo. 2d. or 1s. 6d. per dozen.

A Sermon on the Duty of Civil Obedience, preached at Kettering. By Thomas Toller. 8vo. 1s.

A Letter to a Conscientious Advocate for Strict Communion. By William Gaver. 8d.

The Divine Authority and Perpetual Obligation of the Lord's Day, asserted in seven Sermons delivered in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Islington. By Daniel Wilson, M.A., Vicar. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

Hints illustrative of the Duty of Dissent. By a Congregational Nonconformist. 18mo. 1s.

## TRAVELS.

Journal of a Nobleman; comprising a Narrative of his Travels, and of his Residence at Vienna during the Congress, with numerous Anecdotes of Distinguished Characters. 2 vols. Post 8vo.



# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH, 1831.

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- Art. I. 1. *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated, as it exists both in Law and Practice, and compared with the Slavery of other Countries, ancient and modern.* By James Stephen, Esq. Vol. II. *Being a Delineation of the State in point of Practice.* 8vo. pp. 452. London. 1830.
2. *Four Years' Residence in the West Indies.* By F. W. N. Bayley. 8vo. pp. 694. London. 1830.

**A**T the present season of political difficulty and suspense, when so many subjects of domestic interest are urgently pressing upon the attention of the Legislature and the nation, why, it may be asked, should the question relating to the Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies, be put forward as one of primary claim and immediate importance? Why not postpone its consideration till other questions of more vital interest to the nation are disposed of? We can suppose this plea for delay to be honestly urged by persons not unfriendly to the cause of the abolition of slavery, but who, from timidity, policy, or a press of other business, would be in favour of suspending for a time the contest between the West India party and the people of England, which is now rapidly drawing to an issue. To such persons, our reply would be this. With every topic of national importance to which you would postpone the legislative consideration of the Slavery question, this question is essentially implicated; and from every such topic might an argument be drawn in favour of giving an immediate attention to this. Is it the question of retrenchment? How can that be separated from the consideration of the fiscal burdens entailed upon the people of England by the present colonial system, and more especially by the bounty upon slave labour, and the expense of garrisoning our slave islands? Is it parliamentary reform? By what party

is that reform the most dreaded, and the most violently opposed. What is the strongest antagonist influence? That of the West India party, with whom are naturally associated all who thrive on abuses, live by corruption, and dread any measure which should give greater weight to the popular voice. Is it the balance question? We would say to those who clamour for the right of suffrage, Come to the subject with clean hands. Shew that you respect the natural and inalienable rights of others, before you insist upon the possession of further political privileges. Recollect the words of the most eloquent champion of popular rights who ever pleaded in the House of Commons the cause of liberty. 'Political freedom is undoubtedly as great a blessing as any people, collectively considered, can seek to possess; but political freedom, when it comes to be compared with personal freedom, sinks to nothing, becomes no blessing in comparison.\*' While we, in England, are discussing the mode in which freemen shall exercise a certain constitutional privilege, Englishmen are holding eight hundred thousand of their fellow-creatures in iniquitous personal bondage. Surely, the first duty of every man is, to wash his hands of a participation in this national crime; and then let him ask for the equivocal boon of the right of suffrage; a right never intended to benefit the individual who exercises it, otherwise than as it is adapted to secure the general interests of the community.

But would not a reform in parliament greatly tend to promote the abolition of slavery in our colonies? We believe that it would. But before that tendency can have time to work, even suppose some measures of parliamentary reform to be adopted, the people of England have a duty to discharge, in the exercise of that constitutional influence which they already are competent to exert. And by standing up for the cause of the slave against his oppressor, they may, perhaps, best promote their own political interests. For, would they know in whose hands to trust those interests,—on whom, as legislators or statesmen, they may rely for honest purpose, sound principle, and enlightened philanthropy, let them apply this test to the characters of those who may appeal to their suffrages, or require their support. Namely, the part they have taken in this great national question. What Clarkson remarks of the twenty years' contest between the Abolitionists and the abettors of the Slave-trade in all its horrors, will most truly apply still. 'It has been useful,' he says, 'in the discrimination of moral character. It has unmasked the vicious in spite of his pretensions to virtue. It has afforded us the same knowledge in public life. It has separated the moral statesman from the wicked politician. It has shewn

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\* The language of ——— See E. R., vol. iii., (3d Series,) p. 357.

us *who, in the legislative and executive offices of our country, are fit to save, and who to destroy a nation.* Some, indeed, opposed the Abolition, who *seemed to be so respectable*, that it was difficult to account for their conduct; but it invariably turned out in a course of time, either that they had been influenced by interested motives, or that they were not men of steady moral principle.\* By this test, we do not scruple to say, the claims of the present Administration to the confidence of the country, will mainly be determined.

There is yet another reason why every man who believes that there is a God who judgeth in the earth, should 'seek first' the accomplishment of this great act of righteousness, the total abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. If there is such a thing as a national crime, this 'hideous abuse of the power of European knowledge and wealth over the miserable African,' as Mr. Croly justly characterizes it, is one of the deepest die.

'Were our merchants,' remarks Mr. Stephen, 'to send agents to buy captives from the bandits in the forests of Italy, or from the pirates on the Barbary coast, and sell them here as slaves, to work for our farmers or manufacturers; and were the purchasers to claim, in consequence, a right to hold these victims of rapine and avarice, with their children, in bondage for ever, and to take their work, without wages; what would it be but the same identical case we are contemplating, except that the captives were of a different complexion? Yet, the bandits and pirates are hanged; and their vendees, in the case supposed, would have less to apprehend from actions or indictments for false imprisonment, than from the vengeance of indignant multitudes. It certainly, at least, would not be necessary, for the purpose of their deliverance, to prove to the British Parliament or people, that the poor captives were over-worked, under-fed, driven with whips to their work, punished in a brutal way for every real or imputed fault, and, by such complicated oppressions, brought in great numbers prematurely to their graves.' p. 388.

With those men who maintain that such treatment of their fellow-men is not a crime, all argument drawn from moral considerations would be futile. Controversy is useless, where the parties have no common ground. And had we no common responsibility and no common social interests with these persons, the fear to irritate those whom we cannot hope to convince, might lead us to desist from further contest, and to leave them to the fearful consequences of their guilt. But unhappily, as members of the same community, we have the concern of partners in all those acts, and the consequences of them, which, by being tolerated by the State, commit the national character. It

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\* Clarkson's History, vol. ii., p. 581.

is only by refusing to partake of other men's sins, that we can escape receiving of their plagues. If, then, the toleration of slavery is a national crime, as surely as there is a God in heaven, will that crime, if persisted in, entail national punishment. The profane will scoff, deaf alike to the monitory lessons of history and the threatenings of Inspiration. But the Christian patriot has but one course to pursue; and that is, to assist in rescuing his country from the dire effects of the impending displeasure of Him who 'executeth judgement for the oppressed, who looseth the prisoners, but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down.' We transcribed, in our December Number, some eloquent remarks from the pen of Mr. Croly, on the evident punishment which the Slave-trade has entailed on all the nations of Europe who have persisted in the traffic. The following reflections by the venerable Philanthropist whose volume is now before us, will excite the derision of the foolish, and the serious consideration of every pious reader.

'It was shewn in two publications, one twenty-three, the other fifteen years ago, how many strong coincidences seemed to indicate the chastisement of kings and nations for the impious crimes of the slave-trade; and among them, the sad destiny of the sixteenth Louis, whose edicts, immediately before the Revolution, had given a new birth and vast extension to the French slave-trade. The fate of the Bourbon kings, in this view, should be particularly impressive on all by whom the government of a righteous Providence is not doubted. The dethronement of Louis XVIII., immediately after his final refusal at Vienna to concur in our reformation; Napoleon's return, to ordain, with crafty insincerity, that act of justice in his stead; and Louis's restoration, humbly to make *amende honorable* by ratifying the Usurper's edict, have been followed by a new indication, precisely of the same kind, in the recent case of France. Charles X. reigned just long enough to evince his broad, though disavowed toleration of that disclaimed iniquity, as the latest diplomatic correspondence of his minister Polignac with Lord Aberdeen, printed by Parliament, will shew; and his dethronement and exile have ensued\*. The same crime, followed by the same extraordinary penalties, was pointed out by me in the cases of five other sovereigns of slave-trading countries; namely, two successive kings of Spain, two of Portugal, and the Prince of Orange; all of which had been preceded by recent new defiances of Almighty justice in solemn adherences to, and extensions of, that flagitious traffic. Nor have the guilty senates, or guilty realms been spared. The States-General, the Cortes of Spain, the short-lived popular assembly of Portugal, all adhered expressly to the crime; and all soon after shared the vengeance; and in a way too the most appropriate. In their case, also, the subsequent progress of events

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\* 'A captured French slave-ship dropped anchor at Spithead, nearly at the same time with the ship that convoyed him to our shores.'

has tended to confirm those views. Where are now the colonies of Portugal? Where are those of Spain and Holland? Cuba, indeed, is left to the one, and Surinam to the other; and serve, as remaining theatres, to exhibit their still relentless riot in African misery and blood. Where also are those inconsistent votaries of Spanish freedom, those patriot representatives, who rejected in their Cortes the demands of justice and humanity, when urged by a few enlightened tongues? They solemnly adhered to the slave-trade, just before their beloved Ferdinand returned to scourge them; and they themselves were, by a righteous retribution, exiled or enslaved.' pp. 395, 6.

But England, by persisting in holding slaves, is assuredly involving herself in deeper, because more aggravated guilt, than that of other nations who still carry on the slave-trade. Such conduct must give even to her abolition of the trade, the character of insincerity or hypocrisy, depriving her high example of all its moral force, and stultifying her remonstrances with other nations on the score of criminality. How can we hope to be listened to with respect, when soliciting the discontinuance of a traffic in one shape, which we are countenancing in another; denouncing the transportation of slaves from Africa as piracy, on the one hand, and sanctioning the breeding and sale of slaves in the West Indies on the other? We know not that the slave-trade is the greater crime; but if it be, the continued commission of the minor offence, in the teeth of all our professions, and under the full light of the superior political and religious knowledge which constitutes our national pre-eminence, must be considered as the greater sin. But this is not the full extent of our guilt.

'To this hour,' remarks Mr. Stephen, 'hundreds of thousands of helpless fellow-creatures who owe to our crimes, by our own confession, all the miseries of a cruel bondage, have obtained from us no relief; and we still entail the same wretched lot upon their unborn posterity. We have even, by a most criminal neglect of legislative duties, suffered the execrable slave-trade itself to pour new victims by multitudes into a colony which, by the victories accorded to our penitence, we were enabled to acquire from our enemies. We have not only retained the spoils of African iniquity in our former colonies, but, in the Mauritius, have relapsed, permissively at least, into that foul repudiated guilt. We have excited it by our fiscal regulations, and not restrained it by our laws.' p. 397.

And has not England been punished? The slave-trade must at least be reckoned one of the causes which lost America to England; for it was put forward, in the Declaration of Independence drawn up by President Jefferson and his compeers, among the wrongs inflicted upon their country, that our rulers had 'negatived every attempt to prohibit or to restrain that execrable commerce.' It is also a fact, that from the era of the legislative abolition of the slave-trade by this country, dates

that most remarkable turn in the tide of political affairs, which issued in the overthrow of the French empire, and the transfer of the sovereignty of Europe to Great Britain. So long as we acted up in any degree to the principles on which the slave trade was renounced, Mr. Stephen remarks, the favor of Divine Providence continued manifestly to be with us. We have progressively receded from these principles, and our prosperity has been rapidly declining. It is the fashion to resolve coincidences into accident, and to explain even miraculous interpositions by the doctrine of chances. It is certainly, according to our usual mode of speaking, a *chance*, that a man committing a crime, should be detected, convicted, and punished. It is a chance upon which every rogue practically calculates. Supposing it to be, in the same sense, a chance, that the form of a nation should correspond to its conduct as a nation, it is a very unwise and awful chance to run. Be it so, that the toleration of slavery is only one feature of our national policy, and one of the crimes which go to make up the sum of our national guilt, and therefore one only of the circumstances by which the Divine proceedings towards us may be possibly influenced still, it may be that specific offence which, either as filling the measure of a nation's crimes, or as more directly insulting the justice of the Supreme Governor, He may see fit to visit with exemplary chastisement. 'He that despiseth the poor it is said, 'reproacheth his Maker.' He who holds his fellow-creature in the condition of a beast, does more: he *defies* his Maker, and is a practical blasphemer of His justice.

It might, perhaps, be shewn, that the toleration of this accursed system has entailed upon this country a specific punishment, such as is, in fact, inseparable from all evil doing. The wealth produced by the West India trade, has not merely been of a factitious kind, created by injurious commercial restrictions, draining the real sources of colonial prosperity, and impoverishing the planter himself, and burdening this country with a load of taxation,—but that very individual wealth,—the property of the West India party, has been an element of political and moral corruption, poisoning the fountains of legislative justice, allying itself to every abuse in the social system, and creating a powerful influence adverse to truth, freedom, and religion in every shape. The effect of that wealth upon our parliamentary representation has been scarcely less pernicious, than was the notorious and disgraceful result of the equally nefarious wealth pillaged by our East India nabobs in former times; a source of corruption not yet dried up. Its effect upon the press has been equally degrading and mischievous. To support such a system as that of the West India slavery, it has been absolutely necessary to have recourse to



by means of concealment and imposture. Thousands of pounds have therefore been annually expended for the express purpose of procuring and rewarding advocates whose contempt for veracity has stamped the English character with a new feature of vice. Journals, the disgrace of the age, conducted by men bankrupt in fortune and character, and distinguished by nothing so much as the effrontery of their calumnies, have been chiefly indebted for existence or support to the patronage of the West India party. That party, we readily admit, includes many highly respected and honourable individuals. The greater the pity, that men of truth and honour should have been forsaken for their advocates, and rogues for their servants. That members are the dupes of imposture, who would not knowingly mislead others, is also certain; but the proofs of deliberate falsification and pertinacious mendacity are too broad and palpable to admit of charitable mistake. We shall have occasion to adduce a few specimens presently. But we wish now to point out the demoralizing effect of this corruption of the press, by which means not merely falsehood, but calumny, and not only calumny, but irreligion and the most pernicious sentiments, are being diffused through the community. The calumniators of Granville Sharp and Wilberforce in former times, the defamers of Mr. Stephen, Mr. Buxton, and their friends now, of whom do they consist? On what side are they found in any question of national interest? Is it no part of the bitter fruit of our crime, that the West India property has largely endowed venality and fraud, and given power to these scorpions of the press; a power used not only in the cause of their masters, but in every other bad cause that may be allied to it? The benefit which accrued from the passing of the act for abolishing the trade, in depriving the advocates of that accursed traffic of their mischievous occupation, was not inconsiderable; but the spawn survived, and the destruction of slavery itself can alone deliver us from the domestic pest blown over to us from the unwholesome exhalations of our sugar-colonies.

Every week's delay in determining for ever this grand controversy, is fraught with evil and danger to the country. Argument has been exhausted: the simple question now to be brought to issue, is, whether an end shall be put to slavery within the British colonies. Upon this question, we hope that Mr. Stephen is right when he says, that 'all who fear God among us, the self-interested and their grossly deluded partisans excepted, are agreed.' The abolition of slavery, whatever be the cost or the consequence,—this, and neither more nor less than this, should be required by the people of England;—its abolition, not as a simple evil, but a crime, and as such, a thing not to be mitigated or regulated, but to be repented of

and exterminated. 'The prayer of every petition,' remarks Mr. Stephen, 'should be as simple as the demand of Jehovah's messenger to the Egyptian monarch, "LET THE PEOPLE GO."'

We say, whatever be the consequence: trusting in an overruling Providence, it were wise to risk it, even although it were a hundred times more alarming than any with which the advocates for the system could venture to menace us. Suppose it the revolt or defection of the West India islands,—a chimerical alarm; but we would meet it as Mr. Fox did the same stale and hollow argument when employed against abolishing the trade:—If there be no other remedy, let them go. 'If,' said that great Orator, 'the West India planters should present the alternative, "Either we will separate from Great Britain, or continue the slave trade," I should have no hesitation. I would say, "Separate, go to America, or, if you think proper, go to France." When I threaten them thus, I mean to convey, that the separation would be infinitely more inconvenient to them, than to Great Britain, and that they are but little prepared for such a step.'\* It is possible that we might indemnify ourselves as a nation for the loss: *they* could not.

And whatever be the cost. Something might seem to be gained, when the only difficulty is made to hinge upon the question of compensation;—when those who stand up for the colonists seem to admit, that the abolition of slavery would be just, expedient, and practicable, could the colonists be ensured against loss, or indemnified for being deprived of their illegitimate property. But this is merely one of the many manœuvres by which an attempt is made to draw the Abolitionists from the vantage-ground, and to place them in a dilemma. The children of this world are wise in their generation; and at a moment when retrenchment is the cry, they think that by putting forward *in terrorem* the demand for compensation, they shall thin the ranks of their opponents. But why has this become with them a favourite topic? Purely because they would have us believe compensation to be impossible. It is the supposed impracticability of indemnifying the slave-owner, which makes them so boldly insist upon it. They ask for justice, because what they would deem justice, they know could never be granted. It is an old stratagem, which was adopted in the former campaign by the abettors of the trade with similar intentions. Seventy millions sterling was the lowest sum at which, in 1792, the planters rated the injury about to be inflicted upon them by the abolition of the slave-trade; and they insisted on having the indemnity secured, before one step was taken towards carrying that measure into effect.

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\* Fox's Speeches, Vol. VI. p. 126.

But what was the language at that time held towards the claimants by His Majesty's Government? On the 3rd of April, 1792, when the resolution was first adopted of abolishing the slave trade, Mr. Pitt, in reply to the clamourers of that day for indemnity, observed, that he was very far from meaning to exclude the question of indemnification, on the supposition of possible disadvantages affecting the West Indians through the abolition of the slave trade. "But when gentlemen," he added, "set up a claim of compensation merely on general allegations, which is all I have yet heard, I can only answer, let them produce their case, and if, upon any reasonable grounds, it shall claim consideration, it will then be the time for Parliament to decide upon it."

Again, in 1807, when a bill for abolishing the slave trade had already passed the House of Lords, and was actually brought into the House of Commons by Earl Grey, then Lord Howick, the West Indians came forward as now to claim compensation. Utter ruin to all their interests—the total loss of their income and their property—they said, would be the inevitable consequences of the measure. Not only would there be insurrection and massacre throughout the whole of our slave colonies (the very language now employed to frighten the public out of their wits) but indemnity would be required to the extent of at least one hundred millions. They requested to be heard by counsel, and counsel were heard at the bar of the House of Commons, as they had also been at the House of Lords, in support of their extravagant claims; and their cause was ably pleaded by Mr. Dallas, the late Chief Justice, Mr. Alexander, the late Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Mr. Scarlett, the late Attorney-General, now Sir James Scarlett. But what on that occasion was the language of Viscount Howick? It was to this effect: He did not deny that the apprehended loss which this measure might eventually cause, might become a fair question of future consideration. Let those who may conceive themselves entitled to demand compensation submit their case to the House, and if that case should be established, the House would never be backward in listening to the claims of justice: He stated this as a general principle. The West Indians, however, were not satisfied with this assurance; and Mr. Manning, in giving notice that he should proceed to move for a Committee to consider of the compensation to be granted, in the event of the Bill passing, to those whose interests would be affected by it, begged to know from Lord Howick, whether His Majesty's ministers were authorised to assent to such a proceeding. Lord Howick's reply was, that it was contrary to the practice of Parliament to declare *beforehand* what might be the amount of compensation to be granted for possible losses by any general measures of political regulation or national policy which Parliament might adopt, and that therefore he was not authorized to consent to such a Committee. The bill accordingly passed without any express provision being made, beyond this general verbal assurance, for compensating the eventual sufferers. The doors of Parliament, however, were left completely open to their representations. And what has been the result? To this hour, after a lapse of twenty-four years, not only has not a single claim for compensation been established by any one of those then noisy claimants; but not one has even been preferred. And yet the

West Indians were quite as loud in their clamour, as confident in their statements in 1792 and 1807, as they are now.

‘ Now if the misrepresentations and exaggerations on every occasion, must be admitted to have been very gross, and without any real foundation, and chiefly for the purpose of deluding the public justice; is it not just barely possible, that as the opposing parties are the same, and their motives the same, and the end the same, the fears and alarms they are at this time excited as to the danger of insurrection, and as to the extent of the sacrifice to which the country must necessarily be subjected, are as vain and as valueless as those of 1807? We are confident they will be found to be so; and that the attempted delusions of that period are only now renewed in the hope, which, we trust, is a vain one, of a more successful result.’ *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Sir Robert Peel—alas! for Sir Robert Peel!—has raised the claim of the West Indians to 140 millions, instead of that of 1792! Is it by such means the fallen minister seeks to regain the confidence of the old Tory faction, and to regain again the idol of his party? With what good faith can such a statement be put forward, the ridiculous exaggeration of which is intended to destroy all hope of meeting it? How unworthy is the conduct of a great statesman or of an honest man! But Mr. Grey will know how to deal with the bug-bear. He will remember how his illustrious friend, on one occasion, rebutted the remarks of General Smith, elicited by a general exclamation from Mr. Fox on the other side of the house,—that ‘it was very well for gentlemen to do so on the question, without thinking of the claims of those in the West Indies, and then retire to their luxury or repose; but we rather suppose,’ said Mr. Fox, ‘that exclamation proceeds from those who were thinking of the claims of persons in the West Indies, though not of the description intended by the honourable General—from those who were thinking of the claims of the poor negroes. Good God! are we placed in those circumstances of comfort and ease which he has described, and can we hesitate a moment to decide whether we shall leave the African in possession of the common blessings of nature; of the enjoyment of his freedom and the privilege of his industry; or whether we shall doom him to be the dupe of avarice and the victim of tyranny!—Can a Government continue respected or respectable, which places humanity and justice in one hand, and policy and gain in the other?’

In this same speech (Mar. 15, 1796), Mr. Fox made a memorable declaration, which will shew how far it is from being the fact, that those who pleaded for the abolition of the trade.

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\* Fox's Speeches, Vol. VI. pp. 130, 131.

contemplated the perpetuation of slavery. 'I must remind gentlemen, that at *present* the question is not emancipation, but abolition. How far the argument of my honourable friend (Mr. Serjeant Adair) might go to the point of emancipation, it cannot now be necessary to discuss. The confusion in this instance has arisen from the idea, that if the abolition takes place, it must necessarily be followed by the emancipation. I HOPE AND TRUST THAT IT WILL; but this point I leave for the decision of the proper legislature. But we are told, that we ought not to "join with the negroes against their masters." Undoubtedly it would to us be matter of great satisfaction, if we could in this business obtain the concurrence of all the planters.' This observation was thrown out in answer to those who contended, jesuitically, that the emancipation ought to precede the abolition; otherwise it might be urged, said the West India partizan, 'the French Convention liberates slaves; the British Parliament takes no care of them: it abolishes, indeed, the traffic in slaves, but leaves to their fate, those who are already in bondage.' 'I do not see,' added Mr. Fox, 'how this argument can possibly apply, except I were to conceive that the right honourable gentleman was arguing for the emancipation.' But such was not the right honourable gentleman's meaning: he only wished the Parliament of 1796 to wait for the concurrence of the planters of that day, as the same party would have the British Legislature trust to the Colonial Assemblies now; he only asked them to defer the abolition of the trade till the West Indians should of their own accord, and in the plenitude of their justice and humanity, liberate their slaves! To such paltry subterfuges and tricks of argument could right honourable gentlemen condescend then. Wait for the planters! Undoubtedly, to repeat the words of Mr. Fox, it would to us be matter of great satisfaction, if we could in this business obtain the concurrence of all the planters. But the experience of forty years has shewn this to be hopeless. The abolition of the slave-trade, which they resisted to the last, they have ever since struggled to render, so far as possible, ineffectual for the mitigation or diminution of slavery. That which, their partizans then pretended, ought to be the precursor of the abolition, they will not suffer to be, five and twenty years after, proposed as the legitimate sequel. The patience of the people of England is, however, pretty well nigh exhausted; and the time is come, when 'to join with the negroes against their masters', has become the duty of every man who fears God, and hates fraud, injustice, and oppression.

But to return to the question of compensation. The only real difficulty in the case arises from attempting to negotiate

with the colonies in their present attitude. Their claim to an indemnity beforehand for a hypothetical loss, ought not to be listened to: it is urged merely for the purpose of intimidation. This country will be well able to afford any reasonable compensation to the planters for the loss they may sustain by the conversion of their slaves into free labourers,—to afford it out of the very savings which will accrue from an abolition of the present costly system. We may refer our readers, for full satisfaction on this point, to the estimates and financial details contained in No. 75 of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, already cited. The means will be found; nor will there be any indisposition on the part of Parliament to do justice to the claimants, provided they can establish their case as having sustained a positive injury. All great changes are likely to produce individual loss or injury. The parties who have suffered so severely by the establishment of the Liverpool and Manchester rail-road,—the coach-masters, the waggoners, the bargemen, &c., have undoubtedly, it has been remarked, the right, if they choose, to prefer a claim to Parliament for indemnity, and to establish, if they can, the justice of that claim. It would, however, have been deemed a somewhat unreasonable demand, if they had required Parliament, before it permitted the experiment of the rail-road to be tried, to compensate them by purchasing all their horses at the market price. But the case, it may be said, is not a parallel one: these parties are not deprived of their property, although that property may become depreciated; whereas, by abolishing slavery, you deprive the planter of his hereditary freehold—the flesh and blood of his slaves. Admitted. The fact is, that there is a flaw in his title, which deprives him of all claim to proprietorship; but, while annulling his claim as an owner, we leave him the undiminished *usufruct*. The planters have told us, again and again, that slave husbandry differs from free labour, only as it is a payment by maintenance, instead of by wages. Well, then; it is proposed to make the transition—a very trifling one, according to their own shewing—from the former mode of paying their labourers, to the latter. For the loss they may sustain in the transition, they may claim compensation, but for that only. Were this country to *purchase* the slaves, it would of course acquire the right to remove them from the soil, to transport them to Africa, and set them at liberty there. In what condition would the planters be then? But we propose to leave them in the employ of their present masters, as dependent on them as ever for support, bound to them still by every lawful tie than can attach the servant to his master, the labourer to his employer, the subject to his ruler:—the only change that is proposed, is to reverse the hellish spell



transformed so many human beings into beasts of the  
 to destroy the foul magician, Slavery, in his noisome  
 this must be done.  
 nit the claims of the West India planters to compen-  
 t not *their* claims exclusively. Here are eight hun-  
 sand other claimants, putting forth a counter-claim.  
 try is as deeply bound to compensate the slave as his  
 The slaves might as reasonably call upon us to pur-  
 soil of Jamaica for their use, as the Jamaica slave-  
 all upon us to purchase their human live stock, before  
 il their illegal and unrighteous tenure. We have no  
 get rid of the subject of compensation, except as a pre-  
 question, as a mere bug-bear. At the proper time,  
 ms of the planters to indemnity will command a due  
 of attention. They are quite powerful enough to secure  
 hearing, and can be under no apprehension that their  
 ill suffer in this country for the want of zealous and in-  
 al advocates. But so often as the stalking-horse of Com-  
 ion is put forward for the purpose of frightening us from  
 ity, let the answer be, We cannot hear you—your voices  
 owned in the louder demands of eight hundred thousand  
 ants for compensation, who must first be satisfied. Nay,  
 r still is that cry which is ever ascending to heaven from  
 e polluted soil of those guilty islands,—“the cry of blood out  
 the ground.” And there is One who hath said, “Venge-  
 belongeth unto me: I will compensate, saith the Lord.”  
 ut the whole truth is not yet told. The planters stand in  
 of large compensation, not merely for the impending loss  
 their slaves, but for their present exigencies,—for the state  
 which the system of slave-husbandry, with all its protecting  
 asies, has already brought them,—for the natural consequences  
 to their own fatuity and criminality. The slave-owners are  
 en now, according to their own confessions, reduced to a  
 ate of extreme distress, to the verge of absolute ruin. They  
 eal to our pity, and are compelled to come to Parliament  
 ith pressing calls for prompt and effectual relief. The time  
 ould seem to be not far distant, when they will themselves be  
 ed to solicit Parliament to take their slaves off their hands, as  
 eing no longer able to afford to maintain them. They do not,  
 in fact, maintain them now: the slave, in a great measure,  
 maintains himself. He would, with little difficulty, with less exer-  
 tion, maintain himself entirely. But the slaves cannot, even now,  
 support their master. The sugar-planter is brought into a con-  
 dition to which he could not have been reduced had he em-  
 ployed free labour. Slave-labour is so much more costly\*, that

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\* This position may seem at variance with the facts and reasonings adduced by Mr. Stephen, who contends, and with truth, that the

it must have been long since abandoned, but for commercial restrictions, bounties, and protecting duties. Repeal these, and slave labour cannot compete with free labour in any market in the world. But for these, long before now, the worn-out soils would have been abandoned, other descriptions of cultivation would have been had recourse to, improvements in husbandry would have been introduced, by which labour might be economized; and if the West Indies had grown less sugar, it would have been because other produce was found to yield larger profits. Under these circumstances, Great Britain might at this time have had flourishing and prosperous colonies, in the place of a body of needy and turbulent slave-owners, defying the British Legislature on one side of the Atlantic, and, on this side, clamouring for indemnity, and appealing to our justice and compassion.

If the planters cannot afford to emancipate their slaves, still less can they afford to retain them. If emancipation would rob them, melioration would clearly ruin them. Any improvement in the condition of their slaves, that would diminish the quantity of work exacted, or augment the quantity of food allowed, would throw upon their owners an increase of expense which would still further reduce their profits. And what is to be done then? Is this country to bribe them, at every step of melioration, by higher and higher protecting duties? Even Mr. Wilmot Horton has admitted, that no compensation can be justly claimed for mere meliorations. But if so, what other mode of escaping the ruin they have provoked and prepared for themselves, is left to these infatuated men, but that of agreeing at once to emancipate their slaves? This is their best, their only remedy. They have had forty years' notice that it would come to this.

We have supposed ourselves to be addressing the planters. We are aware, however, that our voice cannot reach them; for, superadded to the distance that parts us, there is the incurable deafness of those who will not hear, to be overcome by any one who would think of gaining their attention. As little hope have we of making any impression on their self-interested advocates in this country; but we wish to put our readers on their guard against their specious misrepresentations. It is well too

actual amount of slave labour cannot be regarded as a standard up to which, or in any sustainable competition with which, free men will or ought to work. He freely admits, however, 'that sugar-planting by slave-labour is, on the whole, a losing game.' (p. 383.) Whereas sugar is grown, by free labour, in other countries, not only without loss, but to the profit of the planter; and the sugar which is the produce of free labour, would, but for the protecting duties, drive the West India sugar out of the market.

they should be aware, who are the persons with whom we chiefly to deal. We transcribe the following remarks the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, as giving a clear insight into matter; although we might, perhaps, content ourselves a simple reference to the pages of a publication which, we are, is in the hands of all our readers. They will, however, and deserve to be read more than once.

The great and efficient, though less obtrusive parties, in the dealings practised and the clamours raised on this subject, are not the planters, but the consignees and mortgagees of their produce,—the merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow; who, while they have themselves been aggravating the distress of the planters, and living on their spoil, have been urging them to raise high the cry of poverty, and the demand of further eleemosynary aid, as well as to urge vehemently their unqualified claims for compensation. In this way, whatever the planters' fate may be, the merchants at least will continue to gain by the protraction of the present system. The net proceeds of their estates reverting to the planters, may be reduced lower and lower. Still, the merchants will have their interest at 6 per cent. and their commissions, double commissions, and their high freights, and their other advantages, which may be enriching them, while the planters starve. In other lines of trade, the consignee is content with his commission on the sale price of the article consigned to him, exclusive of the duty charged upon it by the Government. In the West India trade, the unusual course is pursued, of charging commissions, not only on the sale price of the article, but on that price with the duty superadded. Suppose a cwt. of sugar to be worth 24s. If sold like other goods, the purchaser would pay the duty, and the merchant's commission of 2½ per cent. would be charged only on the sale price. But this will not content the West India merchant. He claims a right to pay the duty upon it, which is 24s. more, and he therefore charges his commission, not on 24s. but on 48s. And this course is pursued even with respect to sugar refined for exportation, instead of pursuing the simple and obvious course of refining it in bond. But this would be incompatible both with the double commission of the merchant, and with the further advantage arising from the mystery in which this unusual mode of proceeding involves the matter of drawback, and hides from the public view the large bounty which is thus secured to the sugar grower.

'The consignees, in this way, acquire, on the one hand, enormous gains from their dependent borrowers, the planters; while on the other, by the mystifying process of the refining for exportation, to which we have alluded, they aid the planter to obtain from the public the means of paying them. They are therefore in truth the great opponents of reform; and what is more, almost the only parties who have any real interest in opposing it. But the planters are in their power, and must move and act at their bidding.

'Now with respect to this class of persons, who, as we have said, are really the persons who would chiefly suffer by the desired and contemplated change of system, what have they to compensation? We believe that they have speculated, with

a perfect knowledge of all the circumstances of the case, in this colonial trade ; and they must be considered as standing on precisely the same footing with speculators in every other branch of commerce, and as bound to abide the result of their speculations, whatever it may be. If such a claim were allowed in their case, a similar claim might be urged in the case of every improvident speculator. The uncertainty of the continuance of the slave system, and the probability that Parliament and the public would deal with it and eventually abolish it, has long been a matter of perfect notoriety. The merchant therefore who has embarked in Colonial speculations during the last thirty or forty years, has done so with a perfect knowledge of all his risks. Those risks were well known to be so great as to have become almost proverbial. Let any man read the statement of "The Case of the West India Planters," inserted in the Supplement to the Reporter, No. 61, p. 272, giving an authentic view of their perennial distress and insolvency, from the year 1750 to the present hour. Let him also read the Reports of the Parliamentary Committees on the commercial distress of the West Indies in 1807 and 1808, proving beyond all question, the miserably losing nature of West Indian investments ; and say whether any man who should embark his property in such investments, without taking an ample guarantee against eventual loss, could have expected that he was ultimately to be indemnified, for his improvidence in not doing so, by a vote of the House of Commons? No man can believe it.

‘ What then was the motive of merchants for embarking in West India speculation? Was it their opinion of the permanence of the slave system, or any assurance given them on that point? No; it was simply the large annual return which they stipulated to receive for their advances, and which was considered by them, justly or not, as equivalent to their risks. They have no more right, therefore, to claim indemnity for their losses, in this instance, than an Insurance Company would have a right to urge a like claim, if, after having accepted the stipulated premium, they were called upon to pay the loss against which they had insured.

‘ The ordinary advantages accruing to the consignee from an advance of capital on a sugar estate, may be estimated at from 12 to 20 per cent. per annum, including interest at 6 per cent. gains by insurance, freight, &c., and commissions on the sugar sent home and the supplies sent abroad, and in the case of sugar, as we have shewn, (by a dexterous contrivance operating largely to the public detriment,) double commissions. If we suppose him to retain the consignments of such an estate for from eight to twelve years, his capital would be replaced, and all beyond would be the bonus for the sake of which he was content to encounter the risk of loss.

‘ But would it be just that a speculator of this description should come with a claim for indemnity in case slavery should be abolished? If his speculation has benefited him, the demand would be perfectly monstrous. If it has injured him, what claim can he have to compensation beyond the thousands of unfortunate speculators, in other lines of trade, who have been hurt by their speculations?

‘ We believe that a very large proportion of the property now vested

British slave colonies, has been vested in them by speculators of description, who have been proceeding in their speculations with chiefly to their own profit and security, rather than with any the permanent interests of either the planters or the slaves, and which their own too often appear to be incompatible. In most it would have been obviously the interest of the proprietors of the have introduced the many improvements in Colonial husbandry which we have already adverted. But this would not have suited the merchant. His commissions both on the sugar imported and the sugar exported, would thus be abridged. Instead of 12 to 20 per cent on his capital, he must be content with 10 or 8. If the sugar crops are diminished, in order to increase the provision crops, or to devote the rearing of cattle with a view to the use of the plough, he threatens to foreclose, and the planter has no option but to submit.' *Anti-Slavery Reporter. No. 75.*

Against this gigantic influence\*, hostile alike to the true interests of the planter and to the genuine commercial interests of this country, hostile to every improvement in the condition of the slave, to every beneficial reform at home, we once more appeal upon every one who loves his country to rise up in the name of the Lord, and to say with a voice that shall be heard across the broad Atlantic, 'Slavery shall be no longer.'

What is Slavery? For the best answer to this question, we most earnestly recommend our readers to consult Mr. Stephen's present volume, containing a delineation of the actual state in point of practice. His former volume was occupied in the delineation of what it is in point of law. The Colonial Slave Law was unanswerably shewn to be barbarous and iniquitous, beyond all palliation or defence; and the only way of evading the force of the damning representation, was, first to assume that the existing practice is so totally opposed to the spirit of the law, as to form an antidote to its barbarous severity, and then to charge the venerable Author with deliberate misrepresentation. Such was the plan adopted by a certain Mr. Alexander Barclay, in a work got up as an answer to Mr. Stephen's volume, and which produced, in many instances, by this plausible artifice, on the minds of those readers who had not perused the work of Mr. Stephen, an impression unfavourable to his fairness or accuracy†. The inaccuracies of which Mr. Barclay affected to

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\* 'The truth must be told. West Indian influence has always been irresistibly predominant, not only in parliament, but in the councils of the crown, and in all the departments of the state; and it has governed, with rare exceptions, the appointment to all offices, ecclesiastical or civil, in the sugar colonies, whether the patronage of them is delegated to the governors, or retained in the offices at home.'

*Stephen, p. 411.*

† We were particularly grieved at the time to notice, in the Con-

complain, respected the inferences drawn as to the effect of various statutes on the condition of the slaves. In many instances, it was said, the practice was better than the law. What were the very title and specific object of Mr. Stephen's volume? What has been the subject of dispute? Has it respected the law? Have not the colonial assemblies persistently refused to repeal those very statutes which they profess to be so much harsher than the practice? But even if they had been repealed, they might very justifiably have been cited to prove what that system was, which had found its defenders and panegyrists in this country.

‘It was highly important’, remarks Mr. Stephen, ‘to shew by authentic records, what barbarous laws, some of the worst of which of very recent dates, these migrated Englishmen and gentlemen, well-inured to the government of slaves, had been capable of framing; still more so, as they were for the most part undeniably in full force at the very time when such favourable but false accounts were given of their slave codes, by the colonial agents and witnesses, before the Privy Council and Parliament. Moreover, I was able to shew, that almost every pretended mitigation or improvement subsequently made by the meliorating acts, was illusory or practically useless; that the sole object of those ostensible reformatory measures was to prevent the intervention of Parliament; and that the former spirit of legislation, which could not exhibit without citing those barbarous laws, still, in some of those colonies, openly and avowedly prevailed. But it is not true that even under these circumstances, I cited knowingly any law that had been repealed or disused in practice when I wrote, without apprising my readers of the fact.’—pp. 18, 19.

In his present volume, Mr. Stephen meets his opposer upon the point of the practice; and ‘tearing from the social monster the screen which distance and falsehood had cast before him’, he has exhibited slavery to the eyes of the British people, for the first time, in its true and hideous forms. Mr. Barclay affected to consider it as doubtful, whether a second volume was really intended, or whether the announcement of it by Mr. Stephen was not a mere artifice, designed to convey the idea that he had told only half the crimes of the colonists. This idea would not have been an erroneous one; and Mr. Barclay and his employers may now be taught that their defiance has

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gregational Magazine (Sup. 1828), an article most courteous to Mr. Barclay, and most unfair towards Mr. Stephen, who is charged by the Reviewer with being ‘betrayed into representations at variance with facts.’ We should not now refer to the article, but for the purpose of reminding the respected Editors, that they have now an opportunity, of which, we doubt not, they will gladly avail themselves, of repairing this wrong.



ter withheld. Mr. Stephen has here fully explained, and long been known, but never adequately accounted for the decline of the slave population in our West India colonies—in other words, the lamentable waste of life; by shewn details furnished by his opponents themselves, that the exacted is cruelly excessive, in point of time, and in point of quantity; that this excessive labour is forced by means alike hard and pernicious; that the maintenance of the plantations is shamefully scanty and inadequate; that they are badly clothed and treated, when sick, with inhumanity and neglect. It is proved, on the one hand, that the slaves on sugar-plantations are forced to work, at times, from sixteen to eighteen hours a-day; and on the other, that the total annual expense of the maintenance of a slave to his owner and employer, is under £5 sterling! ‘It is the unjust and cruel parsimony with which the slaves are maintained’, Mr. Stephen remarks, ‘and the excessive amount of their forced work, that induces the planter to prefer their labour, in most cases, to that of cattle, and to the use of the plough and other machinery by which human hands might be spared’. (p. 383.) The majority of slave-owners, he says, ‘it may be truly affirmed, that they are not enabled, by the returns of their estates, more liberally to maintain their slaves’. But this is owing to ‘the enormous amount of human labour expended on sugar-estates. The English farmer does not employ a twentieth part of the number of hands on a like quantity of arable land in culture.’

We cannot, upon the present occasion, enter into the question of the comparative value of slave and free labour. No one will pretend that free labour could be substituted for slave labour on the sugar-plantations, upon the present system. Upon this point, the evidence of Mr. Mitchell of Trinidad, superintendent of the free negroes called American refugees, is decisive:—

“I feel called on to explain more fully than I did, the opinion I have as to whether sugar-estates could be carried on entirely by free labour. I do not think that they could, *in the manner the work is carried on at present*,—making large quantities of sugar in a given time; in many instances, *working eighteen hours out of twenty-four*; which constant labour the free settler will not submit to. But . . . . . as the free population greater than it is in the colony, I have no doubt sugar-estates, *carrying on labour from sun-rise to sun-set*, might be worked by them, whilst the planter would receive a moderate indemnification for his outlay.” \* \* \*

It is one revolting feature of the present system, that the destruction of human life would seem to be in proportion to the

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\* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. ii. p. 157.

productiveness of the soil and the profits of the planter. This same colony of Trinidad, containing only 23,000 slaves, makes annually nearly as much sugar as Barbadoes with 80,000 slaves. Now if it were true, that the greater prosperity and the higher profits of the planters tended to promote the greater comfort and consequent increase of their slaves, the slaves of Trinidad, it has been justly argued, would increase faster than those who cultivate the inferior soil of Barbadoes, and still more as compared with those who cultivate the Bahamas. But *the fact is directly the reverse.*

‘ The decrease of the population in Trinidad, yielding 12 *cwt.* of sugar for each slave, is  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. per annum; while in Barbadoes, yielding only  $3\frac{1}{4}$  *cwt.* of sugar for each slave, there is a small increase of from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and in the Bahamas, *where no sugar at all is grown*, there is an *increase* of from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. And while the negro slave population in Trinidad is thus rapidly wasting away, though the sexes are nearly equal, it appears that a body of free negroes brought thither, in 1816, from the United States of America and the shores of Africa, with a much greater disproportion of the sexes, have, since that time, increased at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, so as to form a singular and instructive contrast with the rapid decrease of the negro slaves around them.’ \*

Under such circumstances, it were the height of folly to expect, that the planters could be induced voluntarily to employ either free labour, or any method of economizing slave labour; and still more improbable and impracticable would be any great melioration of the condition of the slaves. The abolition of slavery can alone put a stop to this profligate waste of human life. But how abolish slavery, it may be asked, if free labour cannot be substituted for it without ruin to the planter? Could no other answer be given, we should say without hesitation, Although the planter should be utterly ruined by being stopped in his career of crime, slavery must be abolished. If sugar cannot be grown otherwise than by slave labour in Jamaica, it can be grown by free labour elsewhere†. If the same quantity

\* Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. ii. p. 211. We find from recent returns made to Parliament, of the average increase and decrease of slaves for the five years preceding 1828, that, on one sugar-estate in Jamaica, with 663 slaves, there had been an average annual decrease of ten; on another, with 242 slaves, a decrease of fifteen; and on a third, with 314 slaves, a decrease of seventeen. The estates of the heirs of John Thorp, of Trelauney, shew a diminution, in five years, of 200 out of 2809. On the coffee-plantations, where night-work is unknown, the average *increase* is not less than 3 per cent. per annum.

† In Hindostan, Java, Siam, Mexico, and Colombia.

free labour cannot be beneficially substituted for slave labour the West India colonies, a smaller quantity of free labour might, by means of an improved system of husbandry, be rendered equally productive. Free labour, even in the West Indies, has been found to answer. If the *immediate* profits of free labour under certain circumstances be greater,—that is to say, the circumstances of a fertile soil, as yet unimpoverished, producing large crops of an article protected by an injurious monopoly,—it might be easily shewn, that the eventual profits and permanent interests of the planter would be promoted by a total change of the system. Nothing can be more precarious than his present situation. Every year, the soil is becoming less productive, while his human live stock is diminishing, and the monopoly upon which his profits absolutely depend, is becoming more injurious and insupportable to the country by which he has too long been indulged with it. Suppose the West India islands to become independent, they could have no staple of sugar, for no country would pay the extra price which they require for their produce. As it is, they can only afford to produce and sell it, under the artificial aid of bounties and protecting duties. As it is, the slaves are diminishing, the planters are on the verge of insolvency, and the people of England are heavily taxed to secure to the slave-holders their pernicious monopoly. Truly, then, may it be said, that the West India slavery is ‘a system that devours all who are engaged in it.’ Who are the only gainers by it, has already been shewn; and if it were possible to make them disgorge some of their ill-gotten wealth, it would be but an act of justice. We invoke, however, no measure of vengeance, but simply that henceforth slave-labour shall cease. Whether it be more costly or not to the planter, it is the more costly to the consumer of the produce. If it enriches the merchant, it is ruining the colonies. And if it were not so, we have no hesitation in saying, in the language with which Mr. Barclay himself has supplied us, (although his admission is meant to point a malignant calumny,) ‘that if (only) one twentieth part of the charges against the colonists be true, scarcely could any sacrifice be too great to wipe from the earth so iniquitous, so dreadful an oppression.’

Mr. Barclay of course means to intimate, that not a twentieth part of the charges are true. He goes further; he unblushingly asserts, that Mr. Stephen’s delineation of the slavery in our colonies, every part of which is substantiated by official documents and the concessions of the colonists themselves,—is ‘as mere a fiction as malice ever forged, or a diseased state of mind brooding over a creation of its own, even in dotage, mistaken for a reality.’ This is a fair specimen of the unbridled

effrontery of the mercenary advocates for slavery. Another instance is supplied in a recent Number of *Fraser's Magazine*—a publication which apes the audacity and license of *Black* with all the awkwardness and feebleness of imitation, and which is kept afloat by West India patronage. We shall transcribe the passage.

‘As to the labour—food—and punishment established by laws, no case has ever been made out, (*hear, hear, hear, ye fools of Aldermanbury!*) that the first is too hard!—the second too *—*—or the third too severe!!! And any attempt to violate them in any respect, is readily cognizable, and the slaves *invariably* ready and certain redress.’ *Fraser's Magazine*, No. XIII. p. 12.

This same clumsy venter of falsehood asserts, moreover, ‘females are never subjected to flogging’,—that cruelty is known,—that ‘an industrious negro makes, on an average, fifteen to twenty pounds per annum’, (i. e. for himself),—that ‘instances are not rare where thirty pounds have been saved’;—and that this fact,—the accumulation of property by the industrious negroes to an extent unknown among the lower classes of the unhappy community of Great Britain,—is ‘well established for even the most hardened impudence of a most violent twaddler to attempt to deny, or even indirectly to controvert.’ In proof of this, the Writer refers to the authority of ‘the most conscientious and able defender that ever stood forward for the protection of the rights and immunities of the Colonists,’ whose testimony, we are told, ‘no one has ever ventured to impugn’,—the veracious, disinterested, and excellent Mr. M’Queen. If he had not been named, we should have known who must be meant; and that our readers may be fully apprised of the value of his testimony, we shall transcribe without comment, the following note from Mr. Stephen’s volume.

‘Having mentioned this writer (M’Queen) more than once as a mercenary antagonist employed by the Assemblies and Planters, and largely paid by them for his pre-eminent zeal in their service, it may be right to apprise my readers, that the fact of his liberal retainers is far from being matter of secrecy or reserve in the sugar colonies. His rewards have been repeatedly announced in strains of eulogy by various newspapers there; and I have now before me, the *Jamaica Courant* of April 28, 1828, in which the fact of his having received in one instance £3000 sterling, is noticed in a different style. “You Master M’Queen have received £3000 sterling money”; and again, “You Master M’Queen are the hired advocate of slavery”. That this should be cast in his teeth in the West Indies, where no printer dares commonly insert a single line in opposition to the common cause, may seem somewhat strange. The explanation is, that Mr. M’Queen is thus contemptuously treated for having censured the alleged communication to

anica printer of the Duke of Manchester's private letter to Lord  
erst, and for his opposition to Mr. Beaumont and his pamphlet,  
ed "*Compensation to Slave Owners*"; a work which, it is added,  
obtained the sanction of all liberal men in Jamaica", and "their  
flattering testimonials of their approval, *not by a sum of money,*  
*or M<sup>c</sup>Queen, for endeavouring to persuade the people of Great*  
*ain, that slavery is a choice blessing of humanity; an attempt as*  
*ess as it is disgraceful, and which every reasoning man must*  
*t at."*

The dupes of this Writer's incessant misrepresentations and rail-  
will here see what is thought of their understandings where the  
case is known; and may, perhaps, lose some of their confidence  
in the Glasgow Courier, Blackwood's Magazine, the Morning Journal,  
other ordinary vehicles of his mercenary labours.'

Stephen, p. 197.

This person is supposed to have received £15,000 in all from  
West Indies, partly in votes of money by Assemblies, and  
tly in public subscriptions, and is now become a great West  
lia planter himself!

We must now say a few words respecting Mr. Bayley's 'Four  
'ears' Residence in the West Indies', in which the Writer  
ossesses to have 'thrown a *new* light upon the question' of  
avery. As he seems more especially to plume himself upon  
is feature of the publication, it will be but justice to let a  
tle of this new light in upon our readers by means of a few  
tracts.

' Oh ye whose hearts are bent upon doing good, ye whose motives  
e pure and unsophisticated, ye who would relieve real misery, ye  
ho would pour a balm to close the wounds of hearts that have been  
rushed, and spirits broken by the curse of poverty and want, ye who  
ould have mothers bless and children pray for you; turn not your  
earts to the emancipation of negroes, but look rather to emancipate  
rom their woes such of your own countrymen as are oppressed with  
he horrors of poverty or the miseries of disease; of those who know  
what it is to be poor in the midst of wealth, and famishing in the  
midst of plenty. The slaves, although in a degraded state, are *not yet*  
sufficiently capable of feeling their degradation; as they are well  
treated, they are for the most part happy and contented; at any rate,  
their wants are supplied; they have food for their bodies and covering  
for their heads. But there are Englishmen, free-born Englishmen,  
who have starving wives and starving families, *with no food but their*  
*misery, no bed but the cold earth, no covering but the canopy of heaven.*  
First then, look to such as these, and extend to them humanity and  
relief: for what think ye of the charity of that man who would snatch  
their last morsel from the mouths of his own children, to bestow it on  
the offspring of a stranger? I am no friend to slavery; *Heaven for-*  
*bid!* I am its unalterable and *unbending* enemy: nevertheless, I  
know that there is a time for all things; and I know too, that the time  
for slave emancipation is *not yet come* ' pp. 11 11

Not yet come, because the slaves are 'not yet sufficiently capable of feeling their degradation'! It seems not to have occurred to Mr. Bayley, that when that time arrives to which he would have us defer the abolition of slavery, the slaves will not *ask us* to emancipate them. Our readers will probably be startled at this fearful picture of the misery of free-born Englishmen. Surely the most philanthropic course that our West India advocates could have adopted, would have been to suggest to Mr. Wilmot Horton, the expediency of a bill to permit our starving population to sell themselves and their families to the Jamaica planters, that they might be admitted to a participation of the plenty, ease, and happy *nonchalance* of the field negroes. Even before the Slave-trade was abolished, before the vast improvements had been introduced, which are said to have taken place of late years in the treatment of the slaves, so happy, so enviable was their condition, that no melioration would seem to have been possible. Mr. Stephen has given a few specimens of the evidence tendered by officers of high public character, in 1790, to support the petitions of the planters against the abolition of the *slave-trade*. Admiral Sir Peter Parker said, that the slaves were, in his opinion, 'in a more comfortable situation than the lower class of people in any part of Europe, Great Britain not excepted.' Admiral Barrington said: 'They seemed so happy that he had *wished himself a negro*'. Governor Parry, after characterizing the behaviour of masters towards their slaves, as marked by 'every possible kindness, care, and attention', affirmed, that 'the common labour of the negro there would be play to any peasant in this country'. And Governor Payne, afterwards Lord Lavington, thought, that he hazarded nothing in saying, that there was no slave at this period, none at least that he ever saw, 'the severity of whose labour was by any means comparable to that of a day-labourer in England'. Yet, since the period at which this evidence was given, when the improvement in the condition of the slaves seemed to have reached its *ne plus ultra*, for which reason the planters petitioned to be allowed to continue the importation of fresh negroes from Africa, to share in the advantages of their beneficence and humanity,—since then, the present advocates of the planters tell us, the whole mode of treatment has been changed. 'Immediately subsequent to the years 1807 and 1808', says Mr. M'Donnel, 'care and attention on the part of the master *commenced*'. And Mr. Barclay tells us, that 'no person who saw the situation of slaves in Jamaica twenty years ago, could have believed it possible that so great a change for the better could have taken place in so short a period.' (Stephen, pp. 21—26.) What remains then but to transport our redundant population to the happy shores



of the Antilles, where, if they can put up with the name of slavery, they will be made so comfortable, as to realize the ideal happiness for which Admiral Barrington panted when he wished himself a negro. We fear that a day is coming, when many a white tyrant will wish that he had been a slave.

In order, however, to escape degradation, it will be absolutely necessary, that our white emigrants should become slaves; for, while the negroes 'are not yet sufficiently capable of feeling 'their degradation', the whites, who are so unhappy as to be freemen, are almost as badly off, and feel their degradation as much, as our starving peasantry at home. So says Mr. Bayley.

'Of all the classes of people who inhabit Bridge-town (Barbados), the poor whites are the lowest and the most degraded. Residing in the meanest hovels, they pay no attention either to neatness in their dwellings or cleanliness in their persons; and they subsist too often, to their shame be it spoken, on the kindness and the charity of slaves. I have never seen a more sallow, dirty, ill-looking, and unhappy race; the men lazy, the women disgusting, and the children neglected: all without any notion of principle, morality, or religion; forming a melancholy picture of living misery, and a strong contrast with the general appearance of happiness depicted on the countenances of the *free black and coloured people* of the same class.' p. 62.

Happy, however, as are these free blacks, and superior in all respects to the poor whites, they are to be pitied in comparison with the happy, happy slave.

'In the first place, the slave has a comfortable furnished dwelling, for which he pays no rent, and, what is still better, no taxes; and this, I believe, is a blessing which Englishmen, high or low, have seldom enjoyed. Secondly, the slave is under no apprehension of being separated from his family. Thirdly, slaves, if attacked by bodily illness and disease, experience no uneasiness beyond that caused by personal pain. They have the opinions of a *skilful physician* and the attendance of a *careful nurse*; and every medicine, cordial, or even luxury which the former may prescribe, the latter scrupulously administers. On their death-bed, they are never troubled with the painful knowledge that they are leaving behind them a starving wife or helpless children; they know that the same master who has protected them, will protect their offspring, and feed them to their heart's content, even though it be with the bread of slavery. Fourthly, they are provided with clothing suited to the climate; they have a regular allowance of provisions dealt out to them; and in their reception of these, but of the clothing more especially, they shew an independence and a scrutiny that could hardly be expected in a slave. Scrupulous of obtaining their full measure, and extremely tenacious of partiality, they will refuse any thing that is either damaged or worse in texture and appearance than that which is dealt out to their fellow slaves. Fifthly, their labour is *very moderate*, and well proportioned to their

powers. *It is considerably less than that of a British peasant.* Sixthly, they have the sabbath day to themselves,' &c.—pp. 369-371.

'Honourable members make long speeches on the matter, and session after session, the question of emancipation is discussed in the House, while the slave, the object of so much dispute, the injured being whose wrongs are numbered, and whose sufferings are described with such a pathetic appeal to the feelings and the hearts of Englishmen, is singing in the houses of rum, sugar, and molasses, or smoking his pipe under the shade of a plantain-bush,—happier than a prince, and more contented than a peasant, too ignorant to care for freedom, and therefore not in a fit state to enjoy it.'—pp. 380, 381.

'Where ignorance is bliss', says the poet, 'tis folly to be 'wise.' Those negroes who are not too ignorant to care for freedom,—or rather, who are so much worse than ignorant as to care for it,—superior as they are to the poor whites, (as we have already seen,) are yet far below the slaves.

'The bodies of these unfortunate persons' (the emancipated blacks) 'cannot be in a more lean, wasted, and emaciated condition, than their minds are in a state of low, immoral, and uncultivated degradation. *As slaves, they might have improved;* but, as free men, they have little opportunity, and still less inclination, to receive or benefit by instruction of any kind.....They revel in drunkenness and sin.'

pp. 403, 404.

They are then reduced to a level, in point of misery and degradation, with the poor starving peasantry of England! Such are the blessings of slavery! Now will it be believed that, after giving this delightful view of the state of things in the happy isles of the West, our Author can be guilty of the inhumanity, the wanton, heartless, unparalleled barbarity, of wishing this system put an end to, this fair fabric of happiness destroyed? He speaks of slavery as a thing to be regarded with detestation (p. 445); he professes to 'desire, *as much as any man*, the 'emancipation of the slaves'; he sincerely hopes 'that liberty 'may be given to the slaves, but not *now*.' (p. 375.)

'I have not said', remarks Mr. Bayley, 'that the slaves must be emancipated immediately; but I have said (*and what Englishman would not?*) that they must be emancipated. I have not said, that it would be an injustice to the planters, but a cruelty to the slaves, to give them freedom now.' p. 445.

We shall not attempt to reconcile or to explain these contradictions. The most natural explanation that suggests itself is, that the volume is the production of two or three different hands,—possibly of Mr. Bayley himself, assisted by Mr. M'Queen and Mr. Coleridge. It is, indeed, made up of contradictions, and is altogether one of the strangest medleys that

er had the fortune to peruse. The prevailing style is bly flippant, frivolous, coarse, and rattling,—very that which a ‘pleasant sort of fellow’ might be supposed to indulge in when half-seas-over. Yet, here and there, some of native good sense and better feeling gleam out; a large proportion of absolute trash and egregious is the reader will find much that is entertaining, and some valuable information. Now and then, too, as our readers know, hints are incautiously dropped, which reveal but too the real state of society in the West Indies. For in-

When we entered the hall, we were somewhat astonished at being introduced by the worthy manager to his wife and daughter; I say astonished, because there are few worthy managers in the West Indies, who boast the possession of such *legitimate* gems.’ p. 45.

Let the world know (and it would be well if they did not) that for the sake of charity and chastity, I will not say all) of the managers on estates, and residents in the towns of the tropics, have sacrificed all their national morality at the shrine of a deceased philosophy, and formed a very improper *liaison d’amour* with various olive-eyed divinities. . . . . While the practice exists, there will be little chance of reforming the worthy inhabitants of the Antilles. The vice which I have alluded to, arises, first and principally, from *slavery*, and *has a bias upon every thing connected with it.*’ p. 495.

It is thus that *profligacy* and *immorality*, beginning in the dwelling of the proprietor, DESCEND to the hovel of the slaves, and are everywhere practised, though they are every where condemned.’ p. 496.

condemned by whom?

The grants to the coloured people of Grenada have already produced good effects. In that island, the class to which I allude, are a most respectable and estimable body of men, and eminently deserving all they have obtained.’ p. 499.

‘A Barbadian hates a methodist from his soul; and if perchance an unfortunate parson or two attempt a landing, their reception is one of the kindest. These indefatigable and zealous sectarians, however, succeeded in building a chapel; but their reign was of short duration; for the enraged Barbadians levelled it with the ground, and heaped some injurious epithets, and still more injurious blows, upon the head and shoulders of its founder. This was a mean and dirty act; and those engaged in the affair are deserving of any thing but credit. During my residence in the colony, two clergymen of this sect arrived from one of the other islands, and landed in disguise. They were, however, discovered, and as soon as their occupation was known, they were speedily forced to take refuge from the popular fury, in the house of a charitable individual, until they could succeed in re-embarking on board the little vessel that had brought them thither. . . . . I am not a methodist myself, Heaven forbid! yet I can see no reason why the missionaries should be excluded from Barbados, more than from the other islands, where, it must be confessed, even if they

have mingled with it a slight portion of harm, they have nevertheless done much good.' pp. 78, 9.

' Like the rest of my countrymen, I vote for (the slave's) emancipation, not because I pity his condition, for I know that he will often be worse in a state of liberty, but *because no man has a right to make a slave of another*. Still, I repeat that it must be gradual, and that, since we have done that which we ought not to have done, by injuring and depriving him of his rights, and as we have left undone that which we ought to have done, by leaving him too long without education and religious instruction, we must leave these to perform their work, before we can repay him for those injuries, and restore him to those rights.' p. 381.

Wishing to part with Mr. Bayley on good terms, we give him the benefit of this redeeming paragraph. Not that we agree with him, of course, as to the necessity or expediency of what is termed gradual emancipation, and which is usually advocated as a mere pretext for gaining time. For, as to the present generation, either they must be emancipated at once, or only by death: the life of a slave is too short to admit of another twenty years' gradual process of pretended melioration. As to the unborn generation, there can be no reason that *they* should be gradually emancipated, except as they will gradually come into existence. To look for any essential improvement in the condition of the slave, while the present system is upheld, is chimerical in the extreme. The advocates of slavery say, that it is unsusceptible of improvement; the colonists themselves say, they will not improve it; and Mr. Stephen says, that unless they over work and half starve the slaves, the sugar-plantations will not pay. All parties agree, that no further melioration in their condition is practicable. A complete change of the entire system of cultivation can alone save the colonies from ruin, and rescue the victims of a short-sighted and unprincipled avarice from degradation and suffering; such a change we mean, as would convert the slave-owner into a land-owner, and transfer to the land itself the value of the slaves. In this way, the emancipated labourer might be made himself to yield a just and sufficient compensation to his employer. But nothing short of the annihilation of slave labour will ever compel the planters to risk the transition. Every improvement even in husbandry, they have hitherto resisted or neglected. In the nineteenth century, 'the miserable hoe, raised by the feeble hands of men and women driven forward by the cart-whip,' is still, in these colonies, the main instrument in turning up the soil, to the neglect of cattle and machinery. The consequence is, that the soil itself is cursed with progressive barrenness. And to uphold this system, a disgrace to civilization, the people of Great Britain are heavily taxed, and eight hundred thousand human beings are

their natural rights, and held in degrading and cruel bondage so long have the people of this country been de-  
 planters and their agents; while year after year  
 ed away in fruitless controversy, and in feeble and  
 ications on the part of our Legislature. Should  
 Administration shrink from its duty, and betray the  
 anity and justice by any pusillanimous compromise,  
 do not, will not anticipate,—their own downfall will  
 instant. Should they be defeated in the attempt,  
 have mercy upon our fallen and guilty country!

*The Life of Sir Humphrey Davy, Bart* By John Ayrton  
 M.D. 4to., pp. xv. 547. Price 3l. 3s. London, 1831.

It would be as inexpedient altogether to pass by a book like  
 present, as it is impossible to give anything approaching  
 analysis of that which is itself closely and ably analytical.  
 progress of discovery may be traced in few words, but its  
 are to be made intelligible only by distinct and con-  
 description. Brief phrase may suffice for the state-  
 what Davy effected; but, for a satisfactory explanation  
 means by which his high aims were realized, Dr. Paris  
 the wide range of this interesting quarto quite in-  
 te. He has, indeed, done all that was practicable to-  
 so desirable a result: he has not only preserved entire  
 ries and connection, but he has been very remarkably  
 sful in bringing out the main points both of the *modus*  
*endi* and the minor illustrations. For us, however, all  
 quite out of the question, and we must adopt the pre-  
 le, and, after all, the more interesting plan of making Davy  
 elf the hero of our tale; giving only so much of scientific  
 l as may serve to complete the fair exhibition of his per-  
 l and philosophic character.

Humphrey Davy was of respectable family, and his parents  
 e resident at Penzance, where he was born, December 17,  
 178. His infancy was remarkable, and the master of the pre-  
 ratory school where he was first placed, speedily intimated  
 expediency of giving him, even at that early period, a more  
 vanced and effective training. He seized, with extraordinary  
 apidity, the import of such books as struck his fancy; and this  
 mental mobility was retained by him through life, enabling him  
 o pass quickly through all the stages of argumentative and ex-  
 perimental processes, while men of slower, though not surer  
 of investigation, were struggling with difficulties, or  
 light. His bent was decidedly oratorical: when  
 of age, could collect a juvenile audience,

and hold forth to them on such subjects as might have struck his eager feelings. He was, moreover, a ready *improvisatore*, and dealt largely in wild inventions of chivalry and romance. Verse, too, did he abundantly indite; and he was a manufacturer of detonating powder, and a melter of ores in a lamp made, after his own fashion, from a large turnip. The angling-rod, which formed his favourite amusement in riper years, was taken up at an early age. Meanwhile his education was proceeding; and, after leaving the slashing master of the Penzance Grammar-school, he finished his education under the Rev. Dr. Cardew, a tutor of distinguished merit, at Truro.

Young Davy was intended for the medical profession; but, although regularly articled to Mr. Borlase, a respectable surgeon, his pursuits were decidedly those of experimental philosophy.

‘Instead of preparing medicines in the surgery, he was experimenting in Mr. Tonkin’s garret, which had now become the scene of his chemical operations; and upon more than one occasion, it is said that he produced an explosion which put the Doctor, and all his glass bottles, in jeopardy. “This boy Humphrey is incorrigible!”—“Was there ever so idle a dog!”—“He will blow us all into the air!” Such were the constant exclamations of Mr. Tonkin; and then, in a jocular strain, he would speak of him as the “Philosopher,” and sometimes call him “Sir Humphrey,” as if prophetic of his future renown.’

But Davy was also poetical; and, thus beset by two urgent propensities, it required but a slender portion of the gift of pre-science, to give assurance that he would never sit quietly down to the lancet and pestle. Of his ‘poetry,’ we cannot say much. It displays considerable dexterity in the management of words and the regulation of rhythm; but we cannot go the length of the ‘great poetic genius’ who said, that, ‘If Davy had not been ‘the first Chemist, he would have been the first Poet of his ‘age.’ Nor can we ask with Dr. Paris,—‘Where is the modern ‘Esau who would exchange his Bakerian Lecture for a Poem, ‘though it should equal in design and execution the PARADISE ‘Lost?’

Davy’s introduction to Mr. Davies Gilbert, recently President of the Royal Society, was the first event that gave a decided turn to his fortunes. Mr. G. was struck with the appearance of a lad swinging idly over the half-door of Mr. Borlase’s house, and throwing his strong features into a variety of humorous contortions. At this time, Davy’s exterior was by no means particularly ‘comely:’ round shoulders, ‘inharmonious voice, ‘and insignificant manner,’ are the terms in which his youthful aspect is described by his Biographer. In after years, he became ‘good-looking,’ though he always retained somewhat of a ‘bucolic character.’ The maker of grotesque faces was pointed



out to Mr. Gilbert as remarkable for his attachment to chemical pursuits; and, an interview having excited an interest in the youth, he was not only invited to Mr. G.'s house, but introduced to a gentleman who possessed a 'well-appointed laboratory.' Our readers may imagine Davy's rapture at actually coming in contact with the apparatus itself, after having so long been conversant with engravings only, or with his own imperfect substitutes for the originals. He had, however, exhibited uncommon ingenuity in the construction of machinery for his experiments, out of such awkward materials as lay within his reach; and there is great probability in the suggestion of his Biographer, that to these difficulties thus victoriously encountered, he might be indebted for much of that unrivalled dexterity of manipulation, and inexhaustible fertility in expedients and contrivances, which distinguished him in after days. The friendship of Mr. Gilbert at length obtained for his young *protégé* the means of carrying on his researches in a more complete and effective way. Dr. Beddoes, of Bristol, had established, partly with a view to scientific discovery, but chiefly for purposes connected with his own Hygeian theories, a Pneumatic Institution, and he was anxiously looking out for an able assistant in the laboratory. Davy had been previously made known to him by some speculations on the subject of Heat and Light, which were transmitted by a common friend; and he promptly closed with Mr. Gilbert's proposal, that he should engage the Cornish youth; who, in October 1798, having cancelled his indentures, left Penzance for a wider sphere of enterprise. It should not be omitted, that he had no sooner thus obtained a situation which secured him a maintenance, than he gave up, in favour of his mother and sisters, all claim on his paternal inheritance.

In the enumeration of friendships and connexions formed by Davy at this period, Dr. Paris mentions the name of Mr. Edgeworth in a way which will not permit us to pass over the circumstances alluded to. The Dr., anxious to obtain information, addressed a letter of inquiry to Mr. E.'s justly celebrated daughter, and received for answer, that her 'father possessed 'much influence over Davy's mind;' and that 'when he was a 'very young man at Clifton, unknown to fame, Mr. Edgeworth 'early distinguished and warmly admired his talents, and gave 'him much counsel, which sunk deep into his mind.' We are sorry for this. That Mr. Edgeworth's vanity, no unobtrusive feature of his character, might induce him to fancy that all he said was listened to as the dictates of 'Sir Oracle,' we can easily believe; and quite as readily, that he would take credit with the world for the discovery and direction of the genius of Davy; but that such absurdities should be affirmed and made public

by Miss Edgeworth, might excite our surprise, had we not been in some degree prepared for it, by a similar failure of discretion in other of her writings.

‘ Those who had become acquainted with Davy, in early life, and were enabled to watch the whole progress of his career from obscurity to the highest pinnacle of fame, have declared that his extraordinary talents never at any period excited greater astonishment and admiration than during his short residence at Bristol. His simplicity of mind and manner was also at this time truly delightful. He scarcely knew the names of our best authors, and had much less read any of their works ; and yet, upon topics of moral philosophy and metaphysics, he would enter into discussion with acknowledged scholars, and not only delight them with the native energy of his mind, but instruct them by the novelty and truth of his conceptions. Mr. Coleridge lately expressed to me the astonishment he felt, very shortly after his introduction to him, on hearing him maintain an argument upon some abstruse subject with a gentleman equally distinguished for the extent of his erudition, and for the talent of rendering it available for illustration ;—the contrast was most striking ; it was the fresh and native wild flower, opposed to the elaborate exotic of the *Hortus Siccus* !’

We do not very clearly understand what is meant by an ‘ elaborate exotic’ ; and we are somewhat slow to believe that Mr. Coleridge ever in his life *listened* to a discussion. We have not forgotten the unrivalled excellence of his ‘ *monologue*’. We cite, however, the paragraph, less on account of any information which it may contain, than for the contrast which it presents to circumstances which will hereafter pass under our notice. While we are on this subject, we shall quote at once, from Davy’s correspondence of a later period, the following well-drawn character of Coleridge,—in our view the greatest genius of his time, but who will die without leaving to posterity the means of forming a just estimate of his powers.

‘ Coleridge has left London for Keswick. During his stay in town, I saw him seldomer than usual ; when I did see him, it was generally in the midst of large companies, where he is the image of power and activity. His eloquence is unimpaired ; perhaps it is softer and stronger. His will is probably less than ever commensurate with his ability. Brilliant images of greatness float upon his mind ; like the images of the morning clouds upon the waters, their forms are changed by the motion of the waves, they are agitated by every breeze, and modified by every sunbeam. He talked, in the course of one hour, of beginning three works, and he recited the poem of *Christabel* unfinished, and as I had before heard it. What talent does he not waste in forming visions, sublime, but unconnected with the real world ! I have looked to his efforts, as to the efforts of a creating being ; but as yet, he has not even laid the foundation for the new world of intellectual forms.’

Davy's first contributions to experimental and theoretic philosophy, appeared in a work edited by Dr. Beddoes. They were the productions of a mind as yet undisciplined, but of the highest order, and able not only to grapple with difficulties at which inferior spirits would have blenched, but to invest the boldest abstractions and the most sterile details with powerful interest. Dr. Paris gives a slight but sufficient sketch of the 'wild hypotheses' contained in the essays in question; and after adverting to their 'extravagance', mentions the bitter regret and 'painful irritation' which their recollection occasioned to Davy in later years. He observes, however, and justly, that 'if blame is to fall on any one', it is due to Dr. Beddoes, and not to the youth of nineteen who published under his sanction. But the older philosopher was the wilder speculator; and it is shrewdly hinted, that he was as fit for a Mentor, as a weather-cock for a compass. In his medical practice, he appears to have been equally rash. A friend consulted him concerning the indisposition of his wife, and Dr. Beddoes hastened to make trial of a new and powerful remedy. A timely scruple happily occurred, and he hastened to arrest the administration of the first dose, by a request that its effect might previously *be tried on a dog!*

'As soon as the powers of nitrous oxide were discovered, Dr. Beddoes at once concluded that it must necessarily be a specific for paralysis. A patient was selected for the trial, and the management of it was entrusted to Davy. Previous to the administration of the gas, he inserted a small pocket thermometer under the tongue of the patient, as he was accustomed to do upon such occasions, to ascertain the degree of animal temperature, with a view to future comparison. The paralytic man, wholly ignorant of the nature of the process to which he was to submit, but deeply impressed, from the representations of Dr. Beddoes, with the certainty of its success, no sooner felt the thermometer between his teeth, than he concluded that the *talisman* was in full operation, and in a burst of enthusiasm declared, that he already experienced the effects of its benign influence throughout his whole body:—the opportunity was too tempting to be lost:—Davy cast an intelligent glance at Mr. Coleridge, (on whose authority the anecdote is inserted,) and desired the patient to renew his visit on the following day; when the same ceremony was again performed, and repeated every succeeding day for a fortnight, the patient gradually improving during that period, when he was dismissed as cured, no other application having been used, than that of the thermometer. Dr. Beddoes, from whom the circumstances of the case had been intentionally concealed, saw in the restoration of the patient the confirmation of his opinion, and the fulfilment of his most ardent hope:—Nitrous Oxide was a specific remedy for Paralysis! "It were criminal to retard the general promulgation of so important a discovery; . . . the periodical magazines were too slow in their rate of travelling; a flying pamphlet would be more expeditious; paragraphs in the newspapers; circulars to the

hospitals:"—such were the reflections and plans which successively agitated the physician's mind, when his eyes were opened to the unwelcome truth, by Davy's confessing the delusion that had been practised.'

It was the special object of Davy, in his present situation, to obtain an intimate knowledge of the nature and combinations of the gases; and his experiments were of the boldest and most decisive kind. He made personal trials at the risk of life; inhaling *nitrous gas*, at the hazard of filling his lungs with the vapour of *aqua fortis*. The effects of this, though neutralized by incidental circumstances, were menacing enough to induce a salutary resolution 'never again to attempt so rash an 'experiment'. His next essay in this dangerous and indefensible course, was the inspiration of *carburetted hydrogen gas*. The first draught affected the chest and the pectoral muscles with numbness and loss of feeling; the second destroyed all perception of external objects, and all sensation except that of dreadful oppression in the pectoral region; the third left him 'sinking into annihilation', and with strength only sufficient to enable him to drop the mouth-piece from his lips. A few respirations of common air, so far restored him to recollection as to call from him the faintly uttered words, '*I do not think I shall die*'. Placing his finger on his pulse, he found it rapid and thread-like; and the severe oppression on the chest still continuing, he walked into the open air, where giddiness came on, with debility, and left him only power to throw himself on the grass. He gradually recovered, but, after a brief interval, the vertiginous affection returned with aggravated symptoms, and the constitutional equilibrium was not restored until after a good night's rest. Nothing intimidated by these fearful hazards, he shortly afterwards endeavoured to respire *carbonic acid gas*; but so much local irritation was produced, as to keep the epiglottis spasmodically closed, and he was unable to take the smallest portion into the lungs until considerably diluted with atmospheric air. All these deleterious exposures, however, together with his incessant application, made severe demands upon his constitutional vigour. Ill health compelled him to remit, during a season, the exertions of the laboratory, and to seek the renovation of his bodily energies in the pure and bracing air of his native county.

In 1801, Count Rumford was anxiously seeking a suitable person to preside over the laboratory of the then newly formed Royal Institution; and the rising fame of Davy, happily recommended him to that highly eligible office. His manner seems, at that time, to have been at once awkward and forward; nor was it improved by an habitual smirk, which, probably, in some degree, resulted from the anatomical structure of the lower part

of his face. Count Rumford was so unfavourably impressed at the first interview, that he would not allow him to appear in the public theatre, until he had given a specimen of his abilities in the smaller lecture-room. That exhibition was, however, quite sufficient. 'Let him', said the Count, 'command any arrangements which the Institution can afford'. Within six weeks, he was promoted from the subordinate post of *Assistant-Lecturer*, to the independent rank of 'Lecturer in Chemistry'. But the spring-tide of his popularity did not fairly commence till the following year, when, on the 21st of January, he delivered his Introductory Lecture, which electrified his audience, and 'covered him with glory'. There are few instances on record, of so sudden, and at the same time so merited a transition from comparative obscurity to the highest popularity. Peers and philosophers, ladies of fashion and ladies of the *bas-bleu*, the knowing and the vain, the old and the young, crowded the lecture-room, and vied with each other in public admiration and personal attention. He was complimented, feasted, exhibited; poetry and presents were laid at his feet; and he found himself, in a moment, not only on the ascent to fame, but on the very point of the pyramid,—an elevation which he nobly and lastingly maintained. If all this had produced no intoxicating effect on the feelings and habits of the young hero of the day, he must have been somewhat more than man: but this matter is set in so clear a point of view by Dr. Paris, and the whole passage is so comprehensively expressive of character and circumstance, that we shall place his paragraphs before our readers, in preference to any comment of our own.

'I should not redeem the pledge given to my readers, nor fulfil the duties of an impartial biographer, were I to omit acknowledging that the manners and habits of Davy very shortly underwent a considerable change. Let those who have vainly sought to disparage his excellence, enjoy the triumph of knowing that he was not perfect; but it may be asked in candour, where is the man of twenty-two years of age, unless the temperature of his blood were below zero, and his temperament as dull and passionless as the fabled god of the Brahmins, who could remain uninfluenced by such an elevation? Look at Davy in the laboratory at Bristol, pursuing with eager industry various abstract points of research; mixing only with a few philosophers, sanguine like himself in the investigation of chemical phenomena, but whose sphere of observation must have been confined to themselves, and whose worldly knowledge could scarcely have extended beyond the precincts of the Institution in which they were engaged. Shift the scene—behold him in the Theatre of the Royal Institution, surrounded by an aristocracy of intellect as well as of rank; by the flowers of genius, the *élite* of fashion, and the beauty of England, whose very respirations were suspended in eager expectation to catch his novel and satisfactory elucidations of the mysteries of Nature. . . . . It is admitted that

his vanity was excited, and his ambition raised, by such extraordinary demonstrations of devotion; that the bloom of his simplicity was dulled by the breath of adulation; and that, losing much of the native frankness which constituted the great charm of his character, he unfortunately assumed the garb and airs of a man of fashion; let us wonder if, under such circumstances, the inappropriate robe should not always have fallen in graceful draperies. At length, so popular did he become, under the auspices of the Dutchess of Gordon and other leaders of high fashion, that even their *soirées* were considered incomplete without his presence; and yet, these fascinations, strong as they must have been, never tempted him from his allegiance to Science: never did the charms of the saloon allure him from the pursuits of the laboratory, or distract him from the duties of the lecture-room. The crowds that repaired to the Institution in the morning, were, day after day, gratified by newly devised and highly illustrative experiments conducted with the utmost address, and explained in language at once perspicuous and eloquent. He brought down Science from those heights which were before accessible only to a few, and placed her within the reach of all. . . . It is perhaps not possible to convey a better idea of the fascination of his style, than by the relation of the following anecdote. A person having observed the constancy with which Mr. Coleridge attended these lectures, was induced to ask the Poet, what attractions he could find in a study so unconnected with his known pursuits. "I attend Davy's lectures", he replied, "to increase my stock of metaphors."

Of course, there were dissentient voices. Cavillers railed at his imaginative style; subtler critics censured a something which savoured of affectation and misplaced sensibility; and others who sincerely admired, were perhaps disposed to assign some portion of his popularity to his youth, his lively manner, and the 'sparkling intelligence of his eye'. It was obviously hypercritical to quarrel with a popular lecturer for a reasonable accommodation to popular apprehension, especially when it affected only the dress and garniture of that which was essentially and practically scientific. If it be possible to convey profound truths, without injury to their intrinsic simplicity, through a medium which shall make them familiar and attractive, though by some sacrifice of sterile technicalities, we can discover no rational pretext for persisting in the old and repulsive style of communication. What an interest in the study of mineralogy was excited by the brilliant eloquence of Dr. Clarke! Nor has an inferior effect been produced by the animated geological discourses of Dr. Buckland. These examples are appositely cited by Dr. Paris, who also shrewdly refers to the necessary dismissal of Dr. Young from the service of the Royal Institution, not for ignorance or incapacity, since he was profoundly versed in natural science, but because his 'severe and didactic' manner emptied the lecture-room.



Davy, in the laboratory, was a fierce and fiery experimenter, and his apparatus fared but ill under his rapid and ready hand. If the exigency of the moment could not be met by any of the instruments immediately under his hand, he would without hesitation break down any portion of his machinery that might either stand in his way, or promise to answer his purpose. With him, says Dr. Paris, 'rapidity was power'; and so quick were his movements and transitions, that while a mere spectator might suppose the experiment scarcely begun, Davy had reached his conclusions. In perfect contrast with these apparently careless and slovenly methods of manipulation, were the elegance and precision with which he conducted his processes in the theatre. He never forgot the distinction between obtaining and communicating knowledge: in the former case, he was free to consult his own feelings; in the latter, he was bound to consider the probable requirements of his audience. Dr. Paris digresses for a moment, (if, indeed, it can be called digression,) to institute an interesting parallel between Davy and an eminent contemporary chemist, Dr. Wollaston. We must, however, think that there is eminent injustice in contrasting them as, respectively, the Teniers and Michael Angelo of experimental science. Every thing with Davy was on a grand scale. He procured the most powerful instruments; called in the most effectual aids from all quarters, at whatever cost; worked out, as we have already stated, his experiments with 'turbulence and apparent confusion'; and appealed to the most remote analogies in illustration of his views. Dr. Wollaston, on the other hand, was remarkable for the scrupulous neatness of his manipulations, the marvellous accuracy with which he observed and analysed the minutest objects, and the skill with which he made means apparently inferior and inadequate, applicable to the most important objects.

'To this faculty of minute observation, which Dr. Wollaston applied with so much advantage, the chemical world is indebted for the introduction of more simple methods of experimenting,—for the substitution of a few glass tubes and plates of glass, for capacious retorts and receivers, and for the art of making grains give the results which previously required pounds. A foreign philosopher once called upon Dr. Wollaston with letters of introduction, and expressed an anxious desire to see his laboratory. "Certainly," he replied; and immediately produced a small tray containing some glass tubes, a blow-pipe, two or three watch-glasses, a slip of platinum, and a few test-bottles. Wollaston appeared to take great delight in shewing by what small means he could produce great results. Shortly after he had inspected the grand galvanic battery constructed by Mr. Children, and had witnessed some of those brilliant phenomena of combustion which its powers produced, he accidentally met a brother chemist in the street;

and seizing his button, (his constant habit when speaking on any subject of interest,) he led him into a secluded corner; when taking from his waistcoat pocket a tailor's thimble, which contained a galvanic arrangement, and pouring into it the contents of a small phial, he instantly heated a platinum wire to a white heat. There was another peculiarity connected with Wollaston's habit of minute observation; it enabled him to press into his service, at the moment, such ordinary and familiar materials as would never have occurred to less observing chemists. Mr. Brande relates an anecdote admirably calculated to exemplify this habit. He had called upon Dr. Wollaston, to consult him upon the subject of a calculus. It will be remembered that neither phosphate of lime, constituting the "*bone earth*" species, nor the ammoniaco-magnesian phosphate, commonly called the "*triple phosphate*," is *per se* fusible; but that, when mixed, these constitute the "*fusible calculus*," which readily melts before the blow-pipe. Dr. Wollaston, on finding the substance under examination refractory, took up his paper-folder, and scraping off a fragment of the ivory, placed it on the specimen, when it instantly fused.'

Having closed his first session amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of his admirers, Davy sought relaxation in a Welsh tour. His delight in the scenery and phenomena of nature was unbounded; and that he was able to employ the magic of science in questioning her concerning the marvels of her secret reign, gave a higher relish to his feelings as a man of poetical imagination. At *Tan y Bwlch*, he was amused with a whimsical adventure. The inn was small, and its accommodations limited, necessitating a sort of community which sometimes changed the private apartment into a room of indiscriminate reception, and the secluded meal into a *table d'hôte*. Davy and his friend Purkis had reached this comfortable shelter, after exposure to a drenching shower, and were drying their clothes by the fire, when the landlord introduced another dripping traveller; a young man of gentlemanly appearance and manners, who soon made himself perfectly at home, taking the lead in conversation, and exhibiting, with the evident marks of education and acquirement, a disposition to take credit for somewhat more than the full extent of his real knowledge. He touched on every subject 'from 'a ribbon to a Raphael,' flourished away on poetry, gave forth sententious criticism on the sublime and beautiful, lectured on painting, and 'talked of oxygen and hydrogen, of hornblende, 'and the *Grawacké* of Werner, and geologists, in the most familiar tone of self-complacency.' Meanwhile, Davy held back, looked ignorant and modest, listened deferentially, humoured the scene, and fooled the retailer of small wares to the top of his bent.

'When,' writes Mr. Purkis, 'Davy had retired to rest, and I was left alone with our companion, I inquired how he liked my friend, and

whether he considered him a proficient in science, and versed in chemistry and geology? He answered coolly, that "he appeared to be rather a clever young man, with some general scientific knowledge." He then asked his name; and when I announced "Davy, of the Royal Institution," the stranger seemed thunderstruck, and exclaimed, "G—G—! was that really Davy? How have I exposed my ignorance and presumption!" It is scarcely necessary to add, that at the breakfast-table the next morning, he talked on subjects of science with less volubility than on the preceding evening.'

We heartily wish that each and every of the numerous class of gentlemen thus prone to cut capers, might receive as effectual a lesson. Some of them, however, would be found proof; for we have met with worthies of this genus, who could stand the hottest fire with the coolest intrepidity, and at the breakfast-table the next morning, would have bearded Davy with the utmost nonchalance.

Davy now engaged in a series of experiments connected with agricultural chemistry, in which his exertions were encouraged by the late Sir Thomas Bernard,—an excellent man and most active philanthropist, one of the first founders of the Royal Institution, and either the originator or promoter of some of our most important associations for beneficent objects. He was a kind of universal referee in cases of this sort; and it is related of the late Sir Robert Peel, that he called on him one morning, and, after some general conversation, while taking leave, placed a folded paper in the hands of Sir Thomas, requesting that its enclosure might be applied to any benevolent purpose he might have in view. It contained a bank-note of a thousand pounds. The eager and indefatigable activity of the worthy Baronet gave point to the following jest.

'One of those modern travellers who delight in astonishing their auditors by incredible tales and marvellous anecdotes, happening to be in company with a noble lord as much distinguished for the playfulness of his wit, as for the profundity of his learning, told the following improbable story: that, in a sequestered part of Italy, when pressed by hunger and fatigue, he sought refreshment and repose in a wild dwelling in the mountains, and was agreeably surprised at being offered a pie; but, horror of horrors! on examining its contents, he found—a human finger!—"Nothing more probable, sir," interrupted his Lordship, "and I well know the person to whom that finger belonged—to Sir Thomas Bernard, sir, for he had a finger in every pie."'

In 1805, he took a journey into Ireland, apparently for the purpose of examining the 'Giants' Causeway'; and he came to the conclusion, that the geological phenomena of the Northern Cape presented facts completely at variance with both the Neptunian and the Plutonian theories. But all these minor

circumstances of Davy's life, sink into insignificance before the grand scene of discovery on which he was about to enter,—the development of the laws of Voltaic Electricity. The 'Bakerian Lecture', read before the Royal Society in November, 1806, 'unfolded the mysteries of general voltaic action', and exhibited in the brightest point of view, the extraordinary power of combination and induction which distinguished this eminent man. Dr. Paris, with evident allusion to the malicious attempts which were made to depreciate the value of his discoveries, and to diminish the admiration due to the originality of his researches, challenges the detection of a 'single instance in which 'accident, so mainly contributory to former discoveries in Electricity, had any share in conducting to truth', the author of this splendid memoir. He traced, step by step, the successive particulars of his subject; and then, taking his stand on the foundation thus firmly laid, expounded, as the interpreter of Nature, the economy of her agencies. 'Natural electricity', he observes in the concluding sentences of his lecture, 'has hitherto been little investigated, except in the case of its evident and powerful concentration in the atmosphere. Its slow and silent operations in every part of the surface, will probably be found more immediately and importantly connected with the order and economy of nature; and investigations on this subject can hardly fail to enlighten our philosophical systems of the earth, and may possibly place new powers within our reach.' It is almost appalling to look back, from the majestic elevation to which the mind of Davy had raised this branch of scientific research, upon the trifling casualties in which the most brilliant discoveries originate. Surrounded by mysterious powers and destructive elements, man remains in ignorance, until the awakening impulse be given by some slight and accidental contact—a woman's weapon or an infant's toy.

'On witnessing the powerful contraction of a muscular fibre by the mere contact of certain metals, it was rational to conclude, that the nature and operation of the mysterious power of vital irritability might, at length, be discovered by a new train of scientific research. It is a curious fact, that an experiment so full of promise to the physiologist, should have hitherto failed in affording him any assistance in his investigation; while the chemist, to whom it did not, at first, appear to offer any one single point of interest, has derived from it a new and highly important instrument of research, which has already, under the guidance of Davy, multiplied discoveries with such rapidity, and to such an extent, that it is not even possible to anticipate the limits of its power.

'We have here, then, another striking instance of a great effect produced by means apparently insignificant. Who could have imagined it possible, that the spasmodic action occasioned in the limb of a frog, by the accidental contact of a pair of scissors, should have become the

means of changing the whole theory of chemistry,—of discovering substances whose very existence was never suspected,—of explaining the anomalous associations of mineral bodies in the veins of the earth,—of protecting surfaces of metal from the corrosive action of the elements,—of elucidating the theories of volcanoes and earthquakes,—and, may we not add ? of leading the way to a knowledge of the laws of terrestrial magnetism.'

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' The conic sections of Apollonius Pergæus remained useless for two thousand years ; who would have supposed that, after the lapse of twenty centuries, they would have formed the basis of astronomy ?—a science giving to navigation safety, guiding the pilot through unknown seas, and tracing for him in the heavens an unerring path to his native shores.'

For the discoveries thus effected, The French Institute, with exemplary liberality, notwithstanding the fierce hostility then raging between the two countries, awarded to Davy the annual prize of three thousand francs.

Having thus ascended, by bold but profoundly argued experiment, to the establishment of a splendid scientific legislation, he continued to urge forward the application of the principles thus ascertained. The attempt even to indicate the series of his illustrations, would be altogether idle ; but a moment must be given to the decomposition of the fixed alkalies, and the discovery of their metallic bases. Dr. Paris has been successful in obtaining a brief but interesting document in Davy's handwriting, of which a *fac-simile* is given, which throws light upon the means by which he obtained these important results. His success had, however, nearly proved fatal to him ; for the intense curiosity which was awakened by the new discovery, led to a most inexcusable system of intrusion. He was compelled to spend nearly his whole time in the laboratory ; and the unrelaxed excitement in which he was thus kept, sent him at last to his bed in a most dangerous condition of fever. His medical attendants ascribed the affection to its right cause, but he himself attributed it to contagion, encountered while directing the fumigation of an infected gaol ; while others believed that it was occasioned by the deleterious fumes of Baryta,—an opinion of which some wag availed himself in the composition of the following epigram :

' Says Davy to Baryt—" I've a strong inclination  
To try to effect your deoxidation."  
But Baryt replies—" Have a care of your mirth,  
Lest I should retaliate and change *you* to earth.''

So severe was the attack, that his physicians visited him, during many weeks, four times in the day ; and in its latter stages, his mind shared in the weakness of his bodily frame.

His youthful feelings seemed to come afresh upon him : he was restless and impatient until he obtained apples from a tree planted by himself in boyhood ; and he expressed intense longing for other articles,—an ancient tea-pot in particular, associated with his early recollections. This recurrence to circumstances unconnected with his scientific life, reminds us of his strong passion for angling. Whatever might be the business of the moment, the master-feeling was always near the surface, and betrayed itself on all occasions. Whenever Dr. Paris dined at his table, the conversation always found its way, how circuitous soever the road, to fishing ; and nothing could more torment him than, when he had recounted some marvellous exploit with hook and line, to cap his narrative by some still more wondrous feat of your own. Of his especial science, he generally disliked to talk ; but of trout, he would discourse for ever. His Biographer gives an amusing sketch of the Philosopher in his costume of flood and field.

‘ His whole suit consisted of green cloth ; the coat having sundry pockets for holding the necessary tackle : his boots were made of caoutchouc, and, for the convenience of wading through the water, reached above the knees. His hat, originally intended for a coal-heaver, had been purchased from the manufacturer in its raw state, and dyed green by some pigment of his own composition ; it was, moreover studded with every variety of artificial fly which he could require for his diversion. Thus equipped, he thought, from the colour of his dress, that he was more likely to elude the observation of the fish. He looked not like an inhabitant o’ the earth, and yet was on’t . . . . His shooting attire was equally whimsical ; if, as an angler, he adopted a dress for concealing his person, as a sportsman in woods and plantations, it was his object to devise means for exposing it ; for he always entertained a singular dread lest he might be accidentally shot upon these occasions. When upon a visit to Mr. Dillwyn of Swansea, he accompanied his friend on a shooting excursion, in a broad-brimmed hat, the whole of which, with the exception of the brim, was covered with scarlet cloth.’

The illness of Davy shewed of how much importance he was to the Institution : the subscriptions fell off ; the lecture-room was nearly deserted ; and it was not until his re-appearance that the tide of success returned. His Electro-chemical prelections were delivered to overflowing audiences, and his evening lectures on Geology were equally attractive. In the latter instance, he adopted the new and highly popular plan of exhibiting well executed transparencies, representing the structure of mountains, the stratification of rocks, and the distribution of mineral veins.

‘ I remember with delight the beautiful illustration of his theory (of burning mountains) as exhibited in an artificial volcano constructed in the theatre of the Royal Institution.—A mountain had been mo-



lled in clay, and a quantity of the metallic bases introduced into its interior: on water being poured upon it, the metals were soon thrown into violent action—successive explosions followed—red-hot lava was seen flowing down its sides, from a crater in miniature—mimic lightnings played around; and in the instant of dramatic illusion, the tumultuous applause and continued cheering of the audience might almost have been regarded as the shouts of the alarmed fugitives of Herculaneum or Pompeii.’

The full tide of discovery still ran on. He had exhausted, by incessant fire, the Voltaic artillery originally supplied for his use; and a new battery on a magnificent scale had been constructed by subscription, and under his own immediate direction. To the agency of this powerful apparatus, he submitted the various substances which excited his curiosity; and a long train of successful experiments, after eliciting new facts at every step, terminated in the ascertainment of the true nature of the oxymuriatic acid, and the establishment of the Chloridic theory. In 1810 and 1811, he delivered lectures in Dublin, and in the following year, was knighted by the Prince Regent. On the day immediately following that event, Sir Humphrey Davy gave his farewell lecture at the Institution; and on the 11th of April 1812, he was married to Mrs. Apreece, a lady of considerable fortune.

Having thus brought down the biography of this eminent man, through the more eventful periods of his life, and the more splendid successes of his philosophical progress, our narrowing limits make it necessary for us to touch the remaining portion of the volume with a lighter hand. His marriage did not induce him to abandon his favourite pursuits, and, as in an earlier season, he was still heedless of danger in following them up. Ampere had written to him concerning an explosive combination of chlorine and azote; intimating at the same time, that the discovery had cost the experimenter an eye and a finger. Davy forthwith set about the investigation, and triumphantly completed it, in the midst of an explosion which shivered to dust the glass tube in which the materials were enclosed, and inflicted on him a severe wound in the transparent cornea, followed by inflammation, but, happily, not ultimately affecting the sight. Towards the close of 1813, Napoleon liberally conceded to him permission to visit France, for the purpose of exploring the volcanic districts of Auvergne; and with Lady Davy, he landed at Morlaix. He took with him, as his secretary, Mr. Faraday, whom he had kindly patronized, and whose successful career has proved that Davy possessed the faculty of estimating character and talent, in no mean degree. Sir Humphrey's residence at Paris was attended by some rather whimsical circumstances. When he visited, in company with

Mr. Underwood, a *détenu*, the splendid gallery of the Louvre, then crowded with the noblest specimens of art, he passed along with a hasty step, and with the emphatic exclamation—‘What an extraordinary collection of fine frames!’ When Mr. U. directed, with much eagerness and energy, his attention to Raffaele’s Transfiguration, as the ‘*chef d’œuvre* of the collection,’—‘Indeed,’ was the brief reply, ‘I am glad I have seen it.’ It was the same with the marbles,—the Apollo, the Venus, the Laocoon: nothing arrested him till he reached an Antinous, in the Egyptian style, and wrought in alabaster. ‘Gracious powers, what a beautiful stalactyte!’ The case was very different when he was introduced to the colossal elephant, placed on the site of the Bastile;—he was in raptures with the monster, and cultivated an intimacy with the artist. Nothing could exceed the courtesy and kindness with which he was treated by the Parisian *savans*, excepting the weakness which tempted him to assume an air of superciliousness and *hauteur* in return. Dr. Paris attempts to extenuate this ill-mannered deportment, by an ingenious explanation and a characteristic anecdote.

‘From my personal knowledge of his character, I am inclined to refer much of that unfortunate manner which has been considered as the expression of a haughty consciousness of superiority, to the desire of concealing a *mauvaise honte* and *gaucherie*, an ungraceful timidity which he could never conquer. The bashful man, if he possess strong passions, will frequently force himself into a state of effrontery, by a violence of effort which passes amongst ordinary observers for the sallies of pride, or the ebullitions of temper; whereas if, on the contrary, his temperament be cold and passionless, he will exhibit traits of the most painful reserve. This proposition cannot, perhaps, be more forcibly illustrated, than by a comparison of the manners of Davy and Cavendish, whose temperaments were certainly as much opposed to each other as fire is to ice: the latter, however, was shy and bashful, to a degree bordering upon disease; and nothing so much distressed him as an introduction to strangers, or as his being pointed out as a person distinguished in science. On one of the Sunday evening *soirées* of Sir Joseph Banks, he happened to be conversing with his friend Mr. Hatchett, when Dr. Ingenhouz, who was rather remarkable for pomposity of manner, approached him with an Austrian gentleman in his hand, and introduced him formally to Mr. Cavendish. He recounted the titles and qualifications of his foreign friend at great length, and concluded by saying, that he had been particularly anxious to be introduced to a philosopher so universally celebrated throughout Europe as Mr. Cavendish. As soon as Dr. Ingenhouz had finished, the Austrian gentleman began; he assured Mr. Cavendish, that one of his principal inducements in coming to London, was to see and converse with one whom he considered the most distinguished chemist of the age. To all these high-flown addresses, Mr. Cavendish answered not a single word, but stood with his eyes cast down upon the floor, in a

ate of the most painful confusion. At length, espying an opening in the crowd, he darted through it with all the speed he could command, and never stopped until he reached his carriage, which immediately drove him home.'

Sir Humphrey was not introduced to the Emperor, but, with Lady Davy, he visited Malmaison, and met with a courteous reception from the Empress.

In the progress of his journey, he visited Florence, where he seems to have frightened the professors of the *Accademia* out of their wits, by the recklessness of his manipulations; especially in the combustion of the diamond by means of their great lens, which they had been accustomed to handle with the most fearful delicacy, and which he treated with as little ceremony as he had been wont to use with the apparatus of the Institution. By his experiments here, he established the fact, that 'the diamond affords no other substance by its combustion, than pure carbonic acid gas; and that the process is merely a solution of diamond in oxygen, without any change in the volume of the gas.' In the prosecution of his route, he explored Vesuvius and Pompeii, and, in connection with the latter visit, made his celebrated and satisfactory experiments on the colours of the ancients. Dr Paris describes his introduction to Volta, as follows.

'Davy had sent a letter to Pavia, to announce his intended visit; and on the appointed day and hour, Volta, in full dress, anxiously awaited his arrival. On the entrance of the great English philosopher into the apartment, not only in *déshabille*, but in a dress of which an English artisan would have been ashamed, Volta started back in astonishment; and such was the effect of his surprise, that he was for some time unable to address him.'

This anecdote reminds us of a whimsical peculiarity which we omitted to notice in its place. While Davy was in the full career of his labours at the Royal Institution, he was incessantly engaged in dinner parties among the higher circles; and it frequently happened, that his business in the laboratory detained him until after the appointed hour. Although this pressed upon that of which he already found his supply too small,—*his time*, he had not resolution to forego the gratifications of good living and brilliant society; and some of his expedients for economizing 'time and the hour,' were of a somewhat anomalous description. When closely driven, he would put on clean linen, without waiting to remove the previous *layers*; and, as he no sooner quitted company, than he resumed his investigations, scarcely allowing himself the smallest respite even for sleep, it would, says Dr. Paris, happen to him to have on no fewer than five shirts, and as many pairs of stockings (?). His

friends, it should seem, were sometimes amazingly puzzled to account for this oscillation between Falstaff and Master Slender.

Shortly after the return of Davy to England, in 1815, he was engaged in that extensive and important series of experiments which led to the construction of the Safety Lamp; an invention which is, alone, sufficient to immortalize his name. We regret the impossibility of compressing the clear and able elucidations of Dr. Paris, on this subject; but it would be unjust to omit the observation, that throughout the whole proceedings, the genius of Davy was not more conspicuous than his high-toned liberality.

In 1818, he again visited the Continent, with the special object of suggesting methods for giving legibility to the *papyri* of Herculaneum. In the same year, he was created a baronet. In 1820, he was elected President of the Royal Society; an elevation which did not contribute to his happiness, from causes which we are happy in not feeling ourselves concerned in investigating. Cabals of any kind are disgusting, but scientific cabals are not only annoying, but injurious. Not that Davy was altogether blameless: Dr. Paris admits, that a weak and 'inordinate admiration of hereditary rank was the cardinal deformity of Davy's character: it was the centre from which all his defects radiated, and continually placed him in false positions.'

We cannot spare room for the details connected with his experiments on the protection of copper sheathing from the destructive action of sea-water. So far as his reasoning and conclusions went, he was completely successful; but his inventions were found inapplicable, since, though they supplied a complete defence against the specific injury in question, other causes of mischief were found to render their application unadvisable.

But the last scenes were now approaching: disease, in an undefinable form, was evidently invading the sources of life. Towards the close of 1826, an apoplectic attack rendered active measures necessary, and, although removed for the time, left paralytic affections behind. In 1827, he tried the effect of an Italian journey, but returned without experiencing material benefit. In 1829, he again sought relief in continental travel, but found it not. He died at Geneva, in the morning of the 29th of May. His epitaph has the 28th, but, if we have rightly understood the narrative, erroneously.

We have not mentioned Davy's latest work, "Consolations in Travel, or the last Days of a Philosopher,"—though it might seem to claim at our hands some indication of its general character. We have, however, exhausted our limits; and if we notice the book, it must be in a separate article.

The portrait of Davy prefixed to this volume, is from Law-

ence's admirable picture. It might have been more richly and expressively engraved.

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Art. III. 1. *Modern Fanaticism unveiled.* 12mo. pp. vi, 247. Price 5s. London. Holdsworth and Ball. 1831.

2. *The true Nature of Christ's Person and Atonement stated ; in Reply to the unscriptural Views of the Rev. Edward Irving " On the Human Nature of Christ."* By William Urwick. 12mo. pp. 322. Price 5s. Dublin, 1831.

**I**T is not our intention to make these volumes the text of an extended comment. The topics embraced by the first, have already fallen under our notice, and some of them have been discussed at length in recent articles. We are not the less pleased to find them treated with much ability, judgement, and sound discrimination by the present Writer. Who the Author is, we have no suspicion. Should he even turn out to be an Eclectic Reviewer, we beg to say that we are not parties to the secret. The only suspicious circumstance is, that, while evidently one of our readers, he scrupulously refrains from referring to us as coadjutors. We must not, however, be restrained from saying, that the book, by whomsoever written, is a good book, and one that cannot fail to be extensively useful. 'A word spoken in season, how good is it!' And a book published in season is not less enhanced in value by its fitness to the times. The Contents of the volume will sufficiently explain the Author's title and object. The subjects of the five chapters are: 'Assurance. Miracles. Pardon. Prophecy. Profane and Vain Babblings.'

The Introduction is not the best written part of the volume, and we are not sure that we should not recommend the reader to pass it over, or at least to reserve the perusal till he has gone through the succeeding chapters. Its somewhat obscure phraseology may perplex a plain reader at the outset; and he may be startled, as we were, at finding it assumed to be necessary to go back fifty or a hundred years, to select a subject for the portraiture which the Writer would contrast with the convert of modern times. It is only to a comparatively narrow circle, that the Author's representation can be considered as fairly applicable. Living, perhaps, near the centre of this circle, he has, by a natural mistake, over-rated very greatly its geographical circumference. We do not say this with any view to depreciate the importance of his labours. The fanaticism which he has delineated, seems, indeed, to have put on the alarming form of an epidemic opinion, which, by discovering itself simultaneously at various points, appears to have become

more prevalent than it really is. A certain predisposition, however, is requisite to induce the disease; and that is to be found in the combination of newly awakened religious ardour and great religious ignorance. It is, as the Writer justly remarks, 'the untaught, unskilled, unfortified *novice*,' who falls a victim to these floating crudities of opinion.

'We have seen,' says the Author, 'the loveliest emotions checked, the loftiest energies wasted, the holiest principles perverted. We have seen men of the most attractive accomplishments, and of the choicest spirit—the brightest ornaments of our army and navy—snatched from vortices of worldly dissipation, and, by their decided abandonment of the world, inspiring the pleasing hope of future usefulness in the important spheres in which they moved; and with deep-felt interest have we followed them, and waited for the realization of this flattering prospect. But, though these men have passed year after year in professed attachment to the Saviour, in the enjoyment of religious privileges, and the cultivation of what are deemed pious associations, we are bold to ask, Where is their accurate knowledge of Divine truth? where their solid attainments in experimental religion? where their hallowed influence in the church of Christ? Are they not (with some honourable exceptions) weak and wavering as a reed shaken with the wind? We do not ask, whether they are able to solve mysteries which have cost their wise and learned forefathers much patient labour of investigation, and often yielded them no other result than a more moderate estimate of their own powers. We do not ask whether they can take the book out of the hand of the Lamb, and "open the seals thereof." Neither do we inquire, whether they are as confident that they are not deceiving themselves as if they were already in heaven. These are points which, if it took them *six days*, yet certainly not *six weeks*, to settle definitively. But such are not the features that constitute the image of a humble and consistent follower of the Lord Jesus.' pp. 5—7.

'How disgusting it is, to see new converts stepping forth from the rank of learners, and dictating to those far more advanced in piety, with a forwardness and pertinacity alike unbecoming the humility of the Gospel, and the very limited measure of their acquirements in the school of Christ! No zeal for the propagation of faith,—even though it be faith in the miracles of Gairloch,—can justify a violation of the modesty that should characterise a novitiate in the science of religion; and when young ladies go from house to house, with their Bibles in their hands, teaching their elders in the faith, what they have just learned—not from the humble, prayerful reading of those Bibles—but from some "goodly creature," \* the inventor of some modern nostrum for the cure of all manner of mental sobriety: and when, as we have witnessed, they account the very individuals who successfully prayed and laboured for their conversion, blind and unbelieving, because they expect a heaven above, and not a heaven on earth—these incongruities

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\* Morning Watch, No. vii. p. 546.



excite a conflict of feeling between the ridiculous and the solemn, the indignant and the sad, which finds no relief but in commending those whose folly has occasioned it, to the care and conduct of an all-powerful and unerring Guide, by whose agency alone they can be restrained from following one, or other, or all, of these *ignes fatui*, which are seen dancing over the putrescent corse of heresies long ago inhumed, but now brought up again to the surface of the earth, and beguiling many an unwary traveller from the "old paths," which will ever be found the "good way" of safety and of peace.'

"Not a novice," says St. Paul, "lest, being lifted up with pride, he fall," &c. There is, perhaps, scarcely an admonition in the Apostolic writings, that has been less attended to. It could not be intended to refer to the youth of the individual, for Timothy was himself in youth; nor did the Apostle mean by a novice, what the gloss of some commentators would make him to intend,—a 'raw, illiterate, ignorant person,' for such individuals were not very likely to be chosen to the episcopal or pastoral office;—but a *neophyte*, one 'recently planted' in the Church, a new convert to the faith, who, it is intimated, would require to be proved (*δοκιμαζεσθωσαν πρῶτον*) before he was entrusted with the office. A person may be the reverse of illiterate, and yet be in religion a novice, his views having undergone a sudden change, the result of a spiritual illumination which is apt to puff up with pride those who measure their new knowledge only by their former ignorance. The only preservative against this danger is, a sound religious education, and such an hereditary faith as had descended to the Son of Eunice, and Grandson of Lois. The want of this early initiation into scriptural knowledge, no sudden conversion, no pre-eminence in gifts, nothing short of rare pains and docility of spirit will ever make up for; and to a neglected religious education, the rise and spread of fanaticism are, we think, chiefly attributable.

There is something peculiarly winning and interesting, we had almost said enviable, in the fresh feelings, the untaught zeal, and untamed energy of a neophyte recently gained over to decision in religion from the ranks of the dissipated and worldly; and if such individuals bring with them attractive accomplishments, we hail their accession with the greater pleasure. But it is not from among such persons, that the guides and public instructors of the Church can be selected without peril to the interests of the truth. Let us be permitted to add, that much as may be said, and said with truth, against the practice of sending forth half-educated ministers and beardless teachers, which has prevailed too much among Dissenters, the danger to the cause of religion is far more serious, which arises from the assumption of the ministerial office by individuals of higher standing in age, rank, and secular attainments, but

who, in point of theological knowledge, could not compete with many a Homerton or Highbury student of the first year. The young men in our Academies have, for the most part, enjoyed religious advantages in early life, which have laid the foundations of theological knowledge too deep to be easily shaken by the varying winds of doctrine; and they are in more danger of becoming sceptics than heretics, formalists than fanatics. There are, on the contrary, many clergymen of the present day,—some who have attained popularity,—the warmth of whose piety, together with their respectable attainments in polite literature, serves but to conceal the shallowness of their theological furniture and the crudeness of their religious opinions. Such individuals too generally become dogmatical from the very cause that should make them cautious; and plausible heresies have ever found the readiest reception with such full-grown novices.

We have been much pleased with the whole chapter on Assurance, in which our Author has shewn himself well able to treat with equal tenderness and wisdom the morbid varieties of religious experience. Some truly pastoral counsel is addressed to those ‘comfort-hunters’, who ‘take their stand on the lowest ground of Christianity, and there, with scarcely an effort to gain the higher regions of experience, sigh for comfort, and sigh in vain’. The following remarks deserve the serious attention of those who have been misled by M. Malan’s unscriptural and fantastic theology.

‘The man of spurious pretensions to religion hates to have his views, motives, dispositions, and conduct tried by a standard that would prove him utterly wanting in intrinsic holiness; and if his inward reluctance to judge according to evidence be hid under the cloak of zeal for the uncorrupted, unclogged faith of the Gospel, he, the more easily, imposes on himself. But the true disciple of the cross, who takes the Holy Scriptures as he finds them, unshackled by system, and unperverted by sophistry, soon perceives that there is a danger, or, to say the least, a possibility of whispering to himself, “Peace, Peace, when there is no peace.” And in his anxiety to avoid a false estimate, where all is at stake, he not only looks within, to ascertain whether his heart be right with God, but invites, by supplication, the unerring scrutiny of Omniscience: “Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me, and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.”

‘The important interrogation, “Am I His, or am I not?” does not necessarily disturb the settled persuasion of the mind. It is a question which tends to confirm, rather than shake our confidence, if that confidence be such as will bear examination. In order, however, to solve the inquiry, we must have the testimony of two witnesses to our sonship; our own spirit, and the Spirit of God: “The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.” By our own spirit, we are obviously to understand the mind, as conscious of its own state. This is what the Apostle John calls “our heart:”

"If our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God," 1 John iii. 20, 21. It is also called conscience, as taking cognizance of the lawfulness, or unlawfulness of our actions: "their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts, the meanwhile, accusing or else excusing one another," Rom. ii. 15; 1 Cor. ii. 11.—There is, then, such a thing as a consciousness that we do believe, John ix. 38; that we do love, John xxi. 17; that we do obey, 1 Thes. ii. 10: and this consciousness is, to a certain extent, though, not alone, an evidence of our faith. Those who are fond of insisting on such consciousness, as the apostolic criterion of judgement, and consequently as in itself decisive, and who quote, in support of their opinion, the verses we have already cited from the Epistles of John, seem strangely to overlook the connexion of those passages with the significant dissyllables "*hereby*" and "*because*;" words which really seem to have been inserted by the inspired Apostle, for the express purpose of erecting a barrier against licentiousness in creed as well as in practice. Thus we read: 1 John ii. 3. "*Hereby* we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments." iii. 14. "We know that we have passed from death unto life, *because* we love the brethren." iii. 24. "He that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him: and *hereby* we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us." It were easy to multiply similar instances, in which the writers of the New Testament argue from mental consciousness, to some substantial evidence of its validity; but we stop here, because the last proof brings us at once to the consideration of the other and much greater witness of our adoption, namely, the Spirit of God: "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father."

' There are three modes in which the Holy Spirit bears witness with our spirits that we are born of God: *First*, by the light which he sheds on the great facts of the gospel, whereby we apprehend them with greater perspicuity. *Secondly*, by the intensive character which he imparts to the work of grace within us, whereby the consciousness of our own faith becomes more sensible. And *Thirdly*, by the seal of moral likeness which he affixes to our character, whereby we ascertain that we are Christ's. Rom. viii. 9. Accordingly, the witness of the Spirit is always borne to the truth, and the truth alone: never to any dreams, fancies, or imaginations of our own. In fact, it is to His own work that He testifies, either as it is revealed in the Bible, experienced in the soul, or embodied in the life; and such is the pervading harmony and oneness in these several parts of His work, that there can be no collision or contrariety between them. Hence, whatever we are made to know, or feel, or do, by His influence on our spirits, must have its counterpart in the inspired word; otherwise we may rest assured, that the communication, or excitement, does not proceed from the Spirit of Truth, neither is according to "the mind of the Spirit." pp. 53-59.

In the chapter on Miracles, the hallucinations of Mr. Erskine,

Mary Campbell's miraculous pretensions, and Miss Fancourt's case, are brought to the test of argument and Scripture; and without acrimony, without any indignant invective, the Author exposes the marks of spuriousness and fanaticism by which they are broadly characterized. Assuming the credibility of miracles, which the Deist alone calls into question, the Writer sets out with the remark, that the Holy Scriptures are the only authentic records of genuine miracles which we possess; and that 'unless it can be proved from Holy Scripture, that miracles were to be perpetuated to the end of time, the belief of their prolonged duration is nothing better than an approximation towards Romish credulity and boundless superstition.' It is the general conviction of the Protestant Church, that miracles ceased seventeen hundred years ago; and the difficulty of fixing the precise point of time at which they absolutely ceased, in no respect shakes the grounds upon which that conviction rests.

'Until the New Testament Scriptures were *entire*, and brought into such a form as to furnish a universal and unerring standard of judgement and appeal, sustained by its own cumulative and *complete* evidence, it was wisely and graciously appointed, that miracles should still be wrought, whenever the exigency of the case required it, either for the substantiating of apostolic doctrine, or the silencing of infidel objections. . . . They were not suddenly withdrawn, leaving the Church to mourn an unsupplied deficiency, an uncompensated bereavement. No; they ceased gradually, as the gifted saints passed one after another into the world of spirits; and when they wholly disappeared, the Church was in possession of that written treasure, *the Bible*, which, by its continuance unimpaired and uncorrupted during so many centuries, amid the fire of persecution, the malice of infidelity, and the rage of hell, presents to the world a *standing miracle* of daily obviousness, in comparison of which the thaumaturgical pretensions of Rome and Russia, France and Britain, appear like the puny efforts of the magicians in the presence of the divinely constituted legislator of the Jews.' pp. 76—79.

The coincidence in point of time between the collection of the books of the New Testament as a complete canon, and the cessation of all miracles of an unquestionable character, is an important and instructive historical fact; and that miracles should cease when their end had been thus fully accomplished,—as the manna was discontinued when the necessity for the miraculous supply had terminated,—is conformable and strictly analogous to the Divine proceedings towards the Church on other occasions. But there is another important consideration, tending strongly to confirm this view of the subject, which has, we believe, been overlooked; namely, that while Miracles originally constituted the visible demonstration, to those who witnessed them, of the truth of Christianity, the fact that such miracles were wrought,

becomes evidence to us, only by means of testimony; and the validity and certainty of that testimony depend not merely upon the integrity of the witnesses, but also upon the security we have that they could not mistake the facts, and upon the authenticity and genuineness of the historic records. These requisites we find united in the inspired documents which are the basis of our faith; and such marks of infallible certainty can attach to no uninspired testimony. With regard, therefore, to any miracles not recorded in the Scriptures, as their credibility cannot have this seal of inspiration, and as our information respecting them rests upon no such authority as commands our religious belief, whatever might be their original efficacy and value as evidence, *to us*, they can be of no avail. The perpetuation of miracles, therefore, to be of benefit to the Church, would have required the continuance also of prophetic inspiration, and a series of infallible historians. The Church of Rome consistently lays claim at once to the gift of working miracles, and to an infallible living oracle. But, to those who acknowledge the canon of Scripture as the only and sufficient rule of faith, Miracles, true or false, which do not come down to us attested by the authoritative record of Inspiration, cannot possess the character of evidence. In this view of the subject, we have an additional reason, why the cessation of miracles and the completion of the canon, should be nearly coincident.

The following remarks are also much to the purpose, in which the Writer combats Mr. Erskine's position, that the absence of these gifts arises from want of faith in the Church.

‘It is sometimes argued, indeed, (and very plausibly, because the position is partly true,) that the absence of grace and gifts does not necessarily imply a purpose of God that it should be so, but is attributable to want of faith on the part of the church. The fact cannot be too much insisted on, that if supineness, indifference, and formality abound in the church, the prevalent cause of these evils is to be found in the want, or weakness of faith; but, as faith is the belief of a testimony, and cannot exist in the mind abstractedly, that is to say, without an object, it is manifestly wrong to cast censure on the church, for not believing that which never was presented to it as matter of faith. Thus, when called upon to believe, that many of the first converts to Christianity cast out demons; spake with tongues; survived the deadly draught, administered by the hand of treachery and malice; we need not hesitate. There is well sustained testimony respecting these things, on which faith can rest with confidence. But, when we are told, that “if the period be not actually arrived, it is, at least, fast approaching, when it will be as necessary for the Holy Ghost to make himself manifest to God's children by visible signs, as it was in the first ages of Christianity;” the mind refuses its assent to an assertion to which Divine authority gives no countenance.’ pp. 88, 89.

The Writer next proceeds to point out more specifically

‘ the marks of spuriousness which characterise modern miracles, ‘ and render them unworthy of our credence.’ As to the fanatical extravagancies of the Gairloch folk and the pretences of the Maid of Fernicarry, we can scarcely deem them worthy of being brought to the test of serious argumentation; but the following observations, suggested apparently by Miss Fancourt’s case, seem to us deserving of transcription.

‘ Much of the astonishment excited by hearing of sudden and miraculous cures, “ done in a corner,” arises from not duly considering the intimate connexion and reciprocal actings of mind and matter in the constitution of human nature. The powerful operations of thoughts, feelings, wishes, purposes, and resolves, in rousing, stimulating, and strengthening the frame, are lost sight of. Is it not a fact, however, that a man, under suitable and sufficient excitement, can overcome difficulties which, in the absence of such excitement, he would deem insurmountable? And does not the energy elicited by peculiar circumstances and forcible motives, enable persons very far to outstrip their ordinary powers of action? Observation alone is sufficient to confirm this general proposition, which might easily be carried into detail, and exhibited in its more transcendental modes and influences. The subject of the cure is, not a cold, calculating genius, with a frame naturally athletic, though, it may be, debilitated by disease,—but a young, delicate female, reclining on the couch, and nursed with all the tenderness of maternal or sisterly attention. “ The breath of heaven ” is not allowed “ to visit her face,” lest its salutation should hail her “ too roughly.” Not an ache or pain is complained of, but sympathy hastens to relieve, if possible, by some medical application. The slightest attempt to put her feet to the ground is found impracticable, even though aided by the encircling arm of a kind father, and the assisting hand of devoted friendship. The pensive invalid still droops; and month after month rolls on, without any mitigation of her ailment. At length a pious stranger is introduced to the domestic circle, and the interest which every Christian feels, or ought to feel, in a pious stranger, is kindled in their minds. In grave and solemn accents, he asks the interesting patient, “ Do you believe that God is able to heal you?” She replies in the affirmative. He prays with her. The pointed interrogation, the prayer, the thought of Divine omnipotence and goodness, rush conjointly into her heart, and thrill through every fibre of her frame. Emotions are excited, of a character perfectly pure, and, at the same time, as perfectly influential as passions of a less unequivocal kind are known to be in numberless daily instances. “ Believe,” he says, “ only believe ”—and again he bends his knees in prayer for her restoration. “ Did you not feel,” he asks, “ a strange sensation while I was praying, as if strength were diffused over you?” “ I think I did,” is her reply. “ Then,” he adds, “ in the name of Jesus Christ, arise and walk.” Excitement is now at its climax; and, by one powerful effort, she rises, stands, walks! This resolute plunging into active locomotion, is the very remedy prescribed by Dugald Stewart, in his “ *Philosophy of the Human Mind*,” when pointing out the best correctives of a disordered



agination; and though the phrase "a disordered imagination," may seem too strong to be applicable to some instances we have in view, yet there has doubtless existed, even in those instances, a degree, though in milder form, of the same complaint—a morbidity of the system, diffusing its enervating influence through the system, and which required nothing more as a counteractive, than some sufficiently powerful stimulant to revive and energize the latent powers of action.

'The disease, however, may be real, and not in the slightest degree imaginary; and its sudden removal may, nevertheless, have nothing in it of the marvellous, except in appearance. We have recently heard of an individual who languished for a considerable time, under some mortal and debilitating sickness, which baffled all the efforts of professional skill, till at length the beloved patient sunk in exhaustion, and her happy spirit winged its flight to that region where suffering and death are no more. On a *post mortem* examination, it was found, that all the vital parts were free from disease, and that the cause of death originated in a deranged state of one of the cartilages of the larynx; "which cause," it was observed by a medical friend of the family, "might have been removed, if there had been a possibility of ascertaining the precise nature of the case;" and he further added, "a strong cough, or sudden and violent emotion, might have proved a cure, by restoring the cartilaginous membrane to its wonted state and proper action." Here, then, is an instance in which, if it had pleased God to interpose the requisite local excitement, and if it had been possible for us to judge of the case according to its true nature, we should have seen the folly and credulity of believing that every sudden cure must, of necessity, be miraculous. To regard such an event as a signal answer to prayer, where intercessions have been made, is, we are persuaded, neither credulous nor fanatical:—but then, let it not be simply imagined that the Almighty has stepped out of the course of his ordinary procedure, by the employment of a new and extraordinary cause, to produce an effect within the reach of common means—which would make the thing a miracle, or supernatural operation. Let it not be deemed either unbelieving or unbecoming to trace the cure, as far as possible, to that natural cause which it has pleased the Lord to employ:—and for this end, let medical practitioners be consulted, which may tend to further the healing art, and render the benefit available in future cases of the kind. The investigation cannot remove any barrier to the direct and fervent thanksgivings of the recovered patient to that divine and gracious Being "who healeth all our infirmities;" and it will have this further advantage, that it will stop the idle boasting of those who would fain use such a fact as a prop to their false notions of miraculous intervention.' \*

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\* We have great satisfaction in referring those of our readers who have any doubts as to the true nature of the facts, to the "Case of Miss Fancourt: the Documents and Correspondence in the Christian Register." 8vo. Price 2s. The Editor of this pamphlet has rendered an important service to the religious world at a moment of unusual excitement.

'Reader, it is possible that your fancy may be dazzled with the religious novelties of the day, and that you may be gazing on them with mingled awe and interest. "Here," you say, "is something sublime, worthy of the Gospel, worthy of God. This commends itself to our senses: it is *tangible*." Allow us to ask you, "Are ye not carnal," when your judgement is swayed by what is *sensible*, in connection with a religion that is *spiritual*, and that has to do with unseen realities far transcending, in true sublimity and interest, any class of objects which our senses are capable of embracing? Be persuaded to examine the principles upon which you are proceeding. If the supposed intimations of the Spirit within you, and the exercise of what are called miraculous gifts, lift you above the Scriptures,—which are the only inspired record of the Divine will, the only unerring standard to which judgement, conscience, and feeling may appeal, and the sole law by which those who live under the Gospel are to be judged at the last day,—then, depend upon it, you are in danger of a ruinous beguilement.' pp. 106—113; 134, 5.

We must pass over the chapters on Pardon and on Prophecy, in which Mr. Erskine's new theory of justification, and the notions of the modern Millenarians, are briefly, but sensibly animadverted upon. Throughout these chapters and the preceding ones, the Author maintains, as our extracts will shew, the tone of mild and affectionate expostulation, and exhibits an excellent spirit. In the last chapter, Mr. Irving's 'profane and 'vain babblings' seem to have roused a warmth of indignation which we cannot regard as excessive. After citing several passages in which his 'most hideous sentiments' respecting the human nature of Christ are broadly exposed in all their pompous folly and profaneness, the Writer adds:—

'It might surely suffice, if the monstrous forms of opinion to which we have already referred, were the only instances of *phantasmata* occurring in the day-dreams of modern professors of Christianity. But it is grievous to hear, in various quarters, the most wild, incoherent, and ridiculous babblings in connection with divine subjects. We would fain put upon them the most favourable construction of which they are susceptible, and regard them as indicative of the mind's ordinary devotement to themes of highest consideration, when not under the influence of that physical derangement which occasions the utterance or inditing of such partial, distorted, and frenzied fragments of thought. Whoever has been accustomed to watch by the bed-side of devout individuals afflicted with a violent phrenetic affection, will be able to judge whether the following words and phrases, copied from a modern religious journal, (the Morning Watch,) do not give a precise idea of the wanderings of a mind unstrung by external influence, and disabled from uniting syllables, words, and phrases in their just and natural connection: "Satan's fatherhood;"—"Israel the mediatrix of the nations;"—"other God-Persons;"—"Adam-hood;"—"plural Adam;"—"ceonial dignity;"—"ceonial condition;"—"söopoient;"—"Melchisedec rank;"—"Melchisedec royalty;"—"head-liar;"—

“super-creation-head ;”—“holder up ;”—“holder-together ;”—“resurrection humanity ;”—“the ovary of the elect church ;”—“typical and antitypical modes of one and the same aggregate of energies ;”—&c. &c. &c.’

It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, that such notions should have provided for themselves this Tom-o-Bedlam phraseology. Mr. Irving professes to pity from his heart, ‘those who are wrapped up in the poisonous garment of the popular ‘theology,’—‘the stock-jobbing theology of the religious world,’—the theology ‘with which the evangelical part of the church are nourished, or rather poisoned.’ His pity and his invective are alike adapted to move our tears, rather than our spleen or laughter. And yet, there is something that one can hardly refrain from smiling at, in the idea of a writer who has strangely bedizened himself in such a patchwork garb of fantastic phrases, esteeming himself the pink of orthodoxy, and ridiculing the sober-minded fashion of evangelical theology. It reminds us of a poor fellow lodged in a building which once occupied the site of the Scotch church at Moorgate, who, on perceiving a crowd collected below, asked through the bars, what they were looking at ; ‘the *mad people*,’ he said, ‘were all outside.’

Mr. Urwick has, in his present volume, undertaken and achieved a task from which, we confess, we should have shrunk, not in dismay, but in disgust. If what he states be correct, that Mr. Irving’s ‘Essay on the Human Nature of Christ,’ has obtained a wide circulation, we cannot regard his volume as uncalled for or superfluous. As far as we have examined it, it appears to be in all respects a competent and satisfactory refutation of Mr. Irving’s repulsive heresy, unexceptionable in point of spirit and temper, and in every respect creditable to the Author as a theologian. It is one of those few volumes which we risk nothing by commending, on the strength of a partial perusal ; for we will honestly confess, that nothing but an imperative necessity could induce us to accompany the Writer through the whole process of his painful and sickening task. As to Mr. Irving, out of consideration both for our readers and for ourselves, we have taken leave of him. We have no time to waste on pure absurdity. That we may not seem to slight Mr. Urwick, we shall make room in our pages for part of his concluding reflections.

‘Having now finished my comments on Mr. Irving’s publication, I would suggest to the Christian public the importance of cultivating a habit of cautious, close, and connected thinking upon religious subjects. We want more *heart*, and certainly we want more *mind*, brought into play in connexion with the profession of the gospel. The prayer of the Apostle to the Philippians, needs being brought to general remembrance—“this I pray, that your love may abound, yet more and more, in

KNOWLEDGE and in ALL JUDGEMENT; that ye may APPROVE things that are EXCELLENT." I would stand at the remotest possible remove from that petty, carping criticism, by which some persons imagine they shew their sense, while in reality they only shew their pride, and declare themselves to be as wanting in intellect as they are in love; yet it is much to be regretted, that we have not amongst us a greater degree of enlightened and discriminating piety. Can the faithful followers of our Lord need to be reminded, that fatal errors may come before them bearing the name of orthodoxy, and clothed in the phraseology usually associated with truth? Zeal for peculiar dogmas, with self-complacent, arrogant, and contemptuous anathemas on those who have believed and taught the contrary, may please the carnal mind, by encouraging the supposition that we are, or may soon become, wiser than our predecessors and neighbours; but such modes of sustaining opinions are surely no proofs that the opinions are true. What is plausible is not always correct. There may be piety, where there is not inspiration; honesty, where there is not circumspection; confidence, where there is not infallibility. The Church is the Pillar and Ground of the Truth; and the utmost care is requisite lest, though with pure intentions, by altering a letter or a point in the Inscription, we pervert its meaning—lest, by modifying a feature or a line, we mar the beauty, proportions, and perfection of that heavenly Form which is exhibited to captivate the homage of the world.

'There is abroad a fondness for novelty—a desire after luxurious excitement of the imagination, the passions, or the taste—which indicates a diseased appetite, and which, if not counteracted, will soon altogether exclude "godly edifying," as an object of our endeavours and prayers. Some expressions, employed to describe the progress of the great Apostacy, are instructive and admonitory: "whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, *because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved.*" To be loved, the evangelical doctrine must be understood. It is not believed where it is not loved. If it be not loved, it cannot operate to transform. Wherever loved, it will not be easily relinquished; and there is surely little sincere and settled affection to it, where the thoughts are ever open to be fascinated with something new. Truth has no hold upon the soul, and the soul has no hold upon truth. The person is at the mercy of every deceiver who addresses his fancy or his feelings. Unstable as water, he shall not excel. Not "holding faith AND a good conscience," you shall see him "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine," till ere long his orthodoxy itself founders and he is lost beyond recovery.'

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Art. IV. *Military Memoirs of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington.*  
By Captain Moyle Sherer. Vol. I. pp. 302. Foolscep 8vo. Price 5s. London. 1830.

THIS is the first volume of a new periodical—the Cabinet Library—under the superintendence of Dr. Lardner; and

it will, we take it for granted, be considered as an exceedingly fair cast for popularity. It is, we imagine, hardly within the limits of possibility, that Captain Sherer should write an uninteresting book; and it will accordingly be found that he has produced an instructive and attractive volume. There is, however, another to come; and since we are 'nothing if not critical,' we shall, instead of inconveniencing our readers by making extracts from a work which they are not unlikely to have the opportunity of reading entire, point out two or three weak points for the Author's emendatory attention. In the first place, he is too fond of fine writing, and his turn for the descriptive betrays him into touches of the picturesque, in places where there is not only 'no need of such vanity,' but where the effect is inexpressibly mawkish. The following passage is in the worst possible taste: the elaborate variation of common-place rushes on in a magnificent *crescendo*, till it goes off in the overwhelming crash of a 'victory-and-glory' finale.

'Short, however, as was this campaign in Flanders, though there was no battle, and but little fighting, it had shewn to Wellesley a something of war upon the grand scale . . . . . He had seen troops of various nations, differing in their discipline, their habits, their costume, and their aspect. He had heard those grand sounds with which he was to have so long and so glorious a familiarity in after life: the distant boom of the hostile gun; the high thunder of batteries of cannon; the rolling of musketry; the tread of columns; the trampling of squadrons; and the voice of the trumpet. There was yet another sound he had heard,—the dauntless cheers, the loud hurrah of those soldiers whom, under happier auspices, and on a more glorious theatre of action, he was so often to lead against the enemies of his country, and to guide to victory and glory.'

It is not often, however, that Captain Sherer sins in this way; nor does he fail to atone for these *mal-a-propos* flourishes, by shewing that, on proper occasions, he can relieve spirited narrative by vivid description. We give a brief extract in illustration of his skill in this way.

'From the moment that the retreat (of the British army in Corrunna) commenced, discontent and disorder possessed the soldiers; and here in Beneventè their angry devastation began. The fine castle of Beneventè, a stately monument of the age of chivalry,—of such spacious grandeur as to afford in its vast halls and magnificent galleries lodging for two entire regiments, and a train of artillery, that stalled its horses below,—was rudely dismantled by its guests. Fires were lighted on its tessellated pavements, and blackened its jasper columns, while the pictures were torn down from the walls of its rich chambers, and heaped as fuel upon the flames: and as the soldiery served this palace, so did they many a goodly mansion, and many a peaceful cottage, on their route to the coast. They were already murmuring and disobedient: they moved along the weary roads dejected and

One of the last topics, however, which are likely to occupy the thoughts of most persons who are seeking for information respecting Australia and the prospect of things in that quarter, is the condition of the natives. To many of them, it may not have occurred, that the country was inhabited before 1770, when Captain Cook first explored the coast of New South Wales. The only thing that is commonly thought of, is the advantages that the colonies hold out to the emigrant. Upon this point, the Author of 'The Picture' offers to all inquirers the following very *decisive* information.

'The enticements which Australia holds out to the intended settler are, a boundless extent of soil, unappropriated by any other people for purposes of cultivation; that soil situated in latitudes having such a range as to be adapted to the growth of every useful vegetable, and the rearing of every useful animal; and, great part at least, enjoying a climate much better adapted to the constitution and health of Europeans, than any other country to which Englishmen resort for the purpose of settling. When indeed one compares those extensive colonies and dependencies into which Britons have carried their own activity, and the means and the example of civilization to others, one can hardly avoid fixing upon Australia as the only one in which the settler can find a permanent home for himself and his descendants. Hindustan, the shores of South America, the islands of the Colombian Archipelago, and (as experiment has proved) the territories of Southern Africa, are not adapted for the permanent residence of Englishmen; and the fact is, that of those who do resort to these places, the principal object is, to earn as speedily as they can, an independence, with which they may return to the mother country. Now, such views strike at the root of improvement to the country visited; and hence, in the places alluded to, Britons may, in as far as the progress of civilization is concerned, be said to be sojourners, not inhabitants. Thus, the only British territory which can be put in competition with Australia, is the British portion of North America; and it requires but little comparison to discover on which side the advantage lies.

'It requires no extended argument to prove, that in order properly to bring out the capabilities of a country, the people must consider it as their own; and thus the colonization of Australia, if completely effected, would add to the industrious, enjoying, and rational world, more than could be added by any other means or measure, to which reference can at present be made. And the discovery of those vast regions, when the interior has been as carefully explored as the coasts, will give to the conquest of knowledge as much as the Macedonian conqueror fancied he had given to the conquest of the sword; and the feeling will be far different, they may rejoice that the field of improvement is so extensive, and the means so ample.' pp. 2—4.

Such is the character of the information to be derived from this volume, the Compiler of which professes to have made it his object, 'to set Australia before the reader in its true aspect' and condition, as far as there are *data* for determining these,



‘leaving him to draw his own conclusions’! It may be instructive to place in immediate connexion with this vague and deceptive representation, the following passage from Mr. Dawson’s interesting volume.

‘The idea of removing poor half-starved and ragged paupers, with their families, to new and distant countries, with the view of making them cultivators of their own soil, or on their own account, has always appeared to me to be the height of absurdity. And to those who *really* know any thing of the manner in which emigrants are obliged to proceed in the colonies, and the means which they are required to possess before they can scarcely establish themselves, it must be fully apparent, that such notions as have been obtained, of sending off the surplus population of England to the colonies, are utterly impracticable. *No country, perhaps, in the world can be more unfavourable for such schemes, than New South Wales*, where the general poverty of the soil, the want of navigable rivers, and the extreme uncertainty of the harvests, are sufficient, I should think, to prevent any attempts of that kind in that quarter of the globe. Mr. T. P. Macqueen, however, late M.P. for Bedfordshire, in a pamphlet which he has lately published on the subject of the distresses of the country, and on emigration, has hinted at the propriety of such an attempt; at which I confess I feel no little degree of surprise, after the experience which he has had of the repeated failures of the harvests upon the land which he possesses in that colony, from causes which neither he nor any one else can justly attribute to any thing but the unfavourable nature of the climate to the production of grain. If Mr. Macqueen had given to the public *his* five years’ labour and expenses in New South Wales, under far better management than obtains there in general, or than can be expected from the poor and unfortunate beings he would send thither, it would have gone very far towards settling the question upon that point in the minds of his readers, although it does not appear to have deterred him from the expression of his wishes.’  
pp. 448, 9.

Mr. Macqueen’s pamphlet we have not seen, and we cannot therefore pretend to give an opinion as to how far he has laid himself open to Mr. Dawson’s strictures. This, however, we do know, that those individuals have much to answer for, who, by their specious and romantic misrepresentations, would decoy successive bodies of emigrants into distant regions, to perish by the slow death of disease and disappointed hope, in countries never destined to be occupied by any but a pastoral and partly wandering race. Nor is this the whole amount of the evil. There is, we fear, some ground for the remark, that no inconsiderable number of the labouring poor of this country have probably been thrown out of employment, during the last year, by the emigration of farmers and others, having capital, to the new settlement in Western Australia. It is not by such chimerical or interested schemes of colonization, that the pros-

perity of this country can be promoted. Unhappily, however, in no branch of our public administration has there been hitherto so striking a deficiency of wisdom, forethought, or any intelligible system of policy, than in the management of our colonies. As far as any deliberate purpose can be discovered in the various modes of colonization which our Governments have adopted, from the plantation of Virginia to the new settlement in Western Australia,—that purpose, it has been said with truth, seems to have been, to tempt persons, not paupers, to abstract capital from the country\*. On the other hand, the method recommended by the Emigration Committee, of transporting, free of passage, and locating pauper settlers, by advances made by Government, seems as wild and visionary a scheme as ever received the sanction of a parliamentary committee. The fallacious and objectionable principles upon which the Report rested the advocacy of that measure, we endeavoured to expose in a volume of our former series†. We find a similar view of the subject taken in a sensible pamphlet recently published, proposing an intermediate course,—the formation of a ‘National Society for the cure and prevention of pauperism’ by means of systematic colonization.’ In this tract, whatever may be thought of the Writer’s project, and whatever inaccuracy there may be in some of his calculations, we find much good sense and information, and some highly just and important remark. Speaking of the advance of funds for the passage and location of paupers, to be repaid by these paupers, suddenly converted into land-owners, the Writer remarks:—

‘This, at least, is certain,—that nearly all paupers so located, would be ignorant and improvident; and that either ignorance, or improvidence, or idleness, or drunkenness, or fever, or a serious bodily accident, or a wandering disposition, not to mention death, would prevent the pauper settled and located by Government, from repaying by his labour the cost of his passage and location. And as for the repayment of the advances of Government through the improved value of the land held by the settler, it is very sure, that in a thinly-peopled country, where the soil is naturally rich, new land is worth more than land which has been exhausted. There is hardly a work on America, that does not complain of the practice of exhausting land; but the New England settler (who understands settling better than any body) knows that the best course, *with a view to profit only*, is to exhaust an allotment of land, to obtain a second allotment, and exhaust that also,

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\* In the regulations for granting land at Swan River, it is provided, that ‘such persons as may arrive in that settlement before the end of the year 1830 shall ———’

and so on continually. In Canada and *the United States*, there are hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of acres of land, once fertile and cultivated, but which are now deserted, and will not for a century to come resume their ancient fertility! In a country where the disproportion between people and territory is so great, that new land may always be obtained, either for nothing, or for a very low price, the settler who looks to nothing but profit, has only to calculate the difference between the cost of maintaining the fertility of cleared land by skilful cultivation, and the cost of obtaining new land and preparing it for seed. As, in such countries, the wages of labour are generally extravagantly high, skilful cultivation, or rather what is considered skilful cultivation, in old countries, is very expensive; and the cost of maintaining the fertility of old land, is greater than the cost of obtaining new land, and preparing it to yield a succession of rich crops without skilful cultivation.'

'The exhaustion of land is not by any means confined to those who make use of land without a title. Except in the neighbourhood of towns, the practice is almost universal. It is in fact the result, not of a wise calculation, but of absolute necessity. One man unable to obtain the assistance of other labourers, and compelled, therefore, to do almost every thing for himself, can bestow but a small portion of his time on the mere production of food. With his own hands he must build and repair his house, make and mend his furniture, and follow an infinite number of occupations unconnected with tillage. His labours in the field, therefore, and the tools with which he works, are of the rudest kind. "An English farmer," said Washington, in a letter to Arthur Young, "ought to have a horrid idea of the state of our agriculture, or the nature of our soil, when he is informed that one acre with us only produces eight or ten bushels. But it must be kept in mind, that where land is cheap and labour dear, men are fonder of cultivating much than cultivating well. Much ground has been *scratched*, and none cultivated as it ought to be." Where land is extremely cheap, or may be obtained for nothing, and where, consequently, labour for hire is not only dear, but very scarce, and often even quite wanting, "scratching," instead of good cultivation, is unavoidable; and where so barbarous a mode of cultivation is unavoidable, plenty of food could not be obtained otherwise than by the continued exhaustion of new land, of which the great temporary fertility compensates for the less productive nature of the labour bestowed upon it. One of the most celebrated English writers on political economy has attributed the constant exhaustion and abandonment of land, in the slave states, to a want of animal manure, in consequence of the labour of cattle being performed by men; but every English farmer knows that his land would soon be exhausted, if he had no manure but what is furnished by his *working* cattle; and there are many districts of Europe, such as the mountainous coasts of Spain and Italy, not to mention nearly the whole Chinese empire, where agricultural labour is entirely performed by men, and where, nevertheless, land is maintained in the highest state of fertility by means of animal manure. At all events, it is established, in America, that land which has been long cultivated is of less value than new land, unless, indeed, it be

situated near a town, so that all, or a part of it, acquire the character of accommodation-land. In this latter case, no doubt, the land will improve in value with the increase of inhabitants, even though it should remain unsettled ; but this forms the exception to the general rule, and a very rare exception it must be in such completely waste districts as could be located by emigrants from Britain. It appears, therefore, that the hope of obtaining repayment of the advances made to pauper settlers, either through the produce of their labour, or through the improved value of their land, is entirely delusive. If so, however, it is a delusion into which any inhabitant of an old country, who had never seen a new country, might easily fall ; and as the reasoning faculties of the inhabitants of "new countries" are not, generally speaking, much better cultivated than their land, we have no right to quarrel with the colonial evidence by which this delusion was propagated in England.' pp. 12—16.

With regard to the enticement held out by 'the boundless 'extent of soil', it is remarked, that, far from being in itself a security for the prosperity of the colony, it presents, under the present system, a serious evil. Emigrants, when allowed or compelled to spread themselves thinly over an immense territory, must remain, at least for ages, a poor people, if they do not degenerate into a sort of half-Tartars, like some of the Spanish Americans of the present day, or the Dutch colonists of Southern Africa in the last century.

'The governments of Spain, of France, of Holland, of Britain, and of the United States, have invariably either compelled, or encouraged, or permitted, their colonial subjects to appropriate more waste land than they could possibly cultivate, and to scatter themselves over a territory immense in proportion to their numbers ; but then the nations, or the germs of nations, created by the colonial policy of those governments, are, without exception, poor, ignorant, and uncivilized, when compared with the civilized nations of Europe ; and it would not be difficult to show, that every "new people", as it is called, is less poor, ignorant, and uncivilized, in proportion to the degree in which circumstances independent of government, such as very dense forests and hostile tribes of natives, interfered with the dispersing, barbarizing policy of its government. For instance, the Cape of Good Hope and the State of New York were settled by emigrants from the same country, who were, in the first instance, we may presume, equally skilful, industrious, and prudent. Yet the progress of the two colonies in wealth and civilization will not bear comparison. To what cause must the very striking difference be attributed, if not to a remarkable difference between the degrees of concentration which occurred in the two colonies ? The Hollanders in North America were kept together by dense forests and hostile savages, and they preserved the civilized habits of their mother country. The Hollanders in

grees, they became half savages. If they *had* not obtained slaves, whereby some little division of labour was *preserved*, we may believe that they would have degenerated into perfect savages.' pp. 28, 9.

Wealth cannot exist without concentration. Nor is dispersion, it is remarked, of itself favourable to a high rate of wages. 'The greater the concentration, the greater must be the division of labour, the quantity of production, and the accumulation of wealth; the greater consequently must be the demand for labour.' It is not our intention, on the present occasion, to go into the general subject of Emigration. Yet, we cannot refrain from adverting to this Writer's observations on the apparent necessity, or at least advantage, of slave labour in infant colonies, where there is so great a scarcity of free labourers as to endanger the conversion of civilized men into semi-barbarians. 'If the Dutch colonists of South Africa, for instance, had not obtained slaves, whereby some little division of labour was preserved, we may believe,' it is remarked, 'that they would have degenerated into perfect savages'. The Writer appears to be no friend to slavery. He seems to admit, on the contrary, that the employment of slave-labour is less profitable than that of free labour;—that the advantages derived from it are attended by 'terrible evils'; and that the system of colonization is altogether erroneous, which renders the employment of slave-labour, in the first instance, a preservative against utter barbarism; while ultimately its effect must be, to exclude free labour, and to render the very wealth thus produced a curse to the owner. The perpetuation of slavery in the United States, is ascribed, with some justice, to the unbounded facilities and encouragement given to all persons to become proprietors of land and 'would-be-employers of labour'; by which means the Eastern States have been drained of capital, and the real prosperity of the Union not a little undermined. Slavery is maintained in the United States, by 'the struggle of a people anxious to be civilized, against the barbarizing tendency of dispersion.' What can be urged more strongly in condemnation of the system, than that it is the miserable palliative of evils attendant upon an unnatural state of society, originating in a false policy which tends to barbarism?

Without having recourse to the flagitious wickedness of reducing the native inhabitants of a country to slavery, or importing captive slaves from other lands, the deficiency of labour might, under a wise and humane policy, have been greatly supplied by the willing servitude of the aboriginal tribes. In every

vice might have been obtained, had it not been too often the policy to hunt them down and exterminate them. The degree of civilization which has been found to prevail, has generally corresponded to the concentration or dispersion of the population; and this of course must depend upon their habits as agriculturists or nomadic hordes, pastoral or venatic; and this, again, on the physical features of the country. But the circumstances which have determined the habits of the aboriginal inhabitants, will have a powerful effect upon the condition of the civilized emigrant; nor can he overlook them with impunity. The further removed the aborigines are from civilization, the more need there is of cautiously investigating the apparent advantages of a country which has barbarized its original possessors. And under all circumstances, a sound policy would lead to a diligent cultivation of beneficial intercourse with these indigenous tribes, which Nature seems to have fixed in every land as the pioneers of the civilized stranger. Nothing can be worse than the treatment which they have too generally met with at the hands of European colonists; and for this, in how many various ways have the latter been punished!

‘In a *philosophical* point of view’, the Author of the ‘Picture’ remarks, ‘the most interesting inquiry respecting any country, is the nature and habits of the human beings by whom it is occupied.’ Few persons, we fear, will be of this opinion in respect to the inhabitants of Australia, who are not, indeed, an ‘*interesting*’, though they are an injured race, claiming our compassion more than they will gratify our curiosity. The race which is scattered over New Holland, Van Diemen’s Land, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, New Britain, and Solomon’s Islands, as well as New Guinea, has been distinguished by the generic appellation of the Papuan, or Australasian Negroes. They have generally been considered as physically inferior to the African race; and Malte Brun represents them as ‘incapable of rising from the very bottom of the scale of humanity.’ Mr. Banister, whose testimony is entitled to our entire confidence, as well from his upright and humane character as from his opportunities of information, tells us, that ‘the natives of New South Wales, although a kindly disposed race, are, probably, further removed from civilization, than any other people upon earth.’

‘They require therefore’, he continues, ‘to be led with the greater care from their uncivilized state, and to be the more shielded from our ordinary injustice, than any other barbarous people. On the contrary,



commerce, no motives for the consideration of *Private traders*. Their position is such with respect to other Europeans, and they are so weak, that no political inducement exists for the government to conciliate them; and missionary bodies wisely go to scenes where the obstacles to success are less formidable, and the objects of their zeal more numerous. *Justice towards them, on our part, has never been thought of.* It is impossible to say, that any attempt is making to afford them an equivalent in any shape for the land which we are seizing in every quarter. The amount of exertion by his Majesty's Government does not deserve notice; and what individuals have done has failed for want of support proportioned to the requisites of the case. . . . . We are, indeed, fast destroying them in a manner deeply revolting.

'At the Swan River, there are no convicts; and the natives have shewn us the friendliness we usually meet with upon first settling new countries; difficult as the task unquestionably is, to combine our interests with theirs, no fair observer of them elsewhere will deny their capacity or their good feeling. It is, therefore, exceedingly to be hoped, that at least an attempt will be made to save them, through the means which, at Sydney, the London Missionary Society tried with considerable effect in 1826, in defiance of extraordinary obstacles.'

*Banister, Appendix No. 5.*

We shrewdly suspect, that the natives are likely to derive more protection and benefit from becoming the objects of attention with some of our Missionary Societies, than from the circumstance of their being included in the diocese of the Bishop of Calcutta.—The greater part of Mr. Bannister's work relates to the treatment of the aborigines of Southern Africa, and does not, therefore, come properly under our notice in the present article. We are glad, however, to take this opportunity of recommending it to the notice of our readers, as comprising a mass of facts and documents deeply involving the character of our colonial policy, and deserving the attention of every friend of humanity.

Mr. Dawson's volume is by far the most valuable publication that has yet appeared on the subject of our Australian Colonies. The Author resided in the country for three years, as chief agent of the Australian Agricultural Company; during which time he travelled over a considerable portion of the located, as well as of the unlocated parts of the colony. His opportunities of gaining information were therefore ample; and his statements bear the stamp of both authenticity and fairness. He mixed much with the natives; and one object which he has avowedly had in view in the publication, is, 'to rescue,' as far as he is able, 'the character of a race of beings from the gross misrepresentations and unmerited obloquy that have been cast upon them.'

'The natives,' says Mr. Dawson, 'are a wild and harmless race of savages; and where any mischief has been done by them, the cause

has generally arisen, I believe, in bad treatment by their white neighbours. Short as my residence has been here, I have, perhaps, had more intercourse with these people and more favourable opportunities of seeing what they really are, than any other person in the colony. My object has always been to conciliate them, to give them an interest in cultivating our friendship, and to afford them protection against any injuries or insults from the people within my jurisdiction. They have usually been treated, in distant parts of the colony, as if they had been dogs, and shot by convict servants, at a distance from society, for the most trifling causes. There has, perhaps, been more of this done near to this settlement,' (Port Stephens, 120 miles N. of Sydney.) 'and on the banks of the two rivers which empty themselves into this harbour, than in any other part of the colony; and it has arisen from speculators in timber, who formerly obtained licenses from the Government to cut cedar and blue gum-wood for exportation, upon land not located.' pp. 57, 8.

A very large portion of the information contained in this volume, respecting the manners and customs, the character and condition of the natives, consists of anecdotes and entertaining details, far more satisfactory than general statement, but of course not admitting of analysis. In only one instance did Mr. Dawson fail to conciliate every native with whom he came in contact, and he had considerable proofs of their constancy, fidelity, and docility. They are, he says, 'one of the best-natured people in the world, and would never hurt a white man if treated with civility and kindness.'

'I would trust myself any where with them; and, with my own blacks by my side, as I call them, I should feel perfectly safe against any enemy I could meet in the bush. They are excellent shots; and I have often lent them a musket to shoot kangaroos, when it has always been taken care of and safely returned.' p. 63.

Mr. Dawson has no doubt that all the natives 'of this vast island are of one race.' From the Hawksbury to Port Macquarie, they speak the same language on the coast, with slight variation. At Morton Bay, as well as in the districts of Argyleshire and Bathurst, the dialects differ more widely. But every where he found the straight, silky hair and general colour and features of the natives to be the same, while 'their manners, habits, and warlike instruments so clearly resemble each other, as to leave no doubt of their common origin. The children, when born, are of a bright copper colour; but generally before they are a year old, they change to so dark a brown as not easily to be distinguished from black.'

'As they are a great deal in the water during the warm weather, when their skins are perfectly clean, I had numerous opportunities of drawing their different shapes. The mass of them are black, or very dark brown; but there are some of a brightish copper colour, and

between this and the darkest shade, all the intermediate tints are to be seen amongst them. Whatever may be asserted, there are, as far as I could observe, no tribes of uniform copper colour in any parts of the colony. The difference of colour is casual, and frequently found in members of the same family: the hair, however, *never* varies, being uniformly straight and black. The cause of these variations remains to be explained; but I see no reason to impute it to a mixture of races in this particular people, while similar differences exist in the aborigines of many other countries; the fact may fairly be referred to the accidental varieties which we observe throughout the whole economy of nature.

‘ The natives inhabiting some of the islands in Torres Straits, which separate New Guinea from New Holland, and especially those of Murray’s Island, appear also to belong to the same race of people as the Australians: they resemble each other in their straight hair, in their features and colour, and in many of their habits; but, instead of spears, those of the islands use bows and arrows, probably the original weapons of war of the Australians, and likely enough to have been retained in the islands, while they gave place to the spear on the main land.

‘ If the present race, as has been surmised, were a cross between the woolly-haired negro of New Guinea and the Malay, we ought to see some of the varieties which such a mixture would have produced. That characteristic of the New Guinea negro, the woolly hair, would surely in such a case be frequently met with amongst the Australians: but as I never witnessed any thing of the kind, I cannot but believe that they are the unmixed descendants of the Malays, to whom they bear a closer resemblance in colour, hair, and features, than to any other people.

‘ The mothers in Australia sometimes flatten the noses of their infants, and in this feature, therefore, they occasionally resemble the negro. This custom however, like many others, is not universal, and the nose, in its natural state, is sometimes aquiline, although it varies as much as that feature usually does in Europeans. Their eyes are deep sunken, and their eye-balls, or rather that portion which is commonly called the white of the eye, is of a dusky colour, and generally speckled with dark brown spots. Their sight is remarkably strong, although their eye is not particularly animated, unless lighted up by any peculiar excitement. That part of the bridge of the nose immediately connected with the forehead, is often suddenly depressed, while the forehead, in the situation of the frontal bone, shelves over considerably; and in some cases, I have seen the high, open forehead of the European. The arms and legs, both of the men and women, are long and slender,—the hands and feet of the middle size; but the latter, especially those of the men, are broad and muscular, in consequence of being unconfined by shoes. They are of various statures: I have seen men of six feet two or three inches, and of all the intermediate gradations down to five feet; but they are, upon the whole, rather a tall race. Dwarfs are extremely rare: I never saw more than

who was a female; nor did I ever witness a case of corpulency in

Many of the women are well formed, broad over the loins,

slender in the waist, with a full and expanded chest. Some of the young ones, as well as the men, are exceedingly good-looking; and the sexes are modest in an extraordinary degree in their deportment towards each other.' pp. 338—40.

This statement differs widely from the vague and sweeping representations hitherto received respecting the aborigines, who have been classed with those whom Malte Brun styles Oceanian Negroes. On the other hand, the aboriginal inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land 'as clearly resemble the woolly-haired negroes of New Guinea, in all their characteristics of colour, form, and features, as one people can resemble another, considering the distance and difference of climate'. That the continent of New Holland should be thus interposed between two islands inhabited by the negro race, and yet be wholly occupied by a people of a different physical character, more nearly allied to the Malays of Polynesia, is certainly remarkable. Mr. Dawson suggests the possibility, that 'the negroes of New Guinea might have reached the shores of Van Diemen's Land through the communication of those of New Holland, and the assistance of canoes, after the latter country was inhabited by the present race'. If they had been accidentally cast on the shores of Australia, and found these occupied by a hostile people, they would naturally, he remarks, stay no longer on the spot where they first landed, than would be necessary to procure a subsistence, and, on being disturbed, would coast from place to place till they reached a district wholly unpeopled. 'Those who are acquainted with the manner in which savages use canoes near the coast, even in a heavy sea, can easily imagine the probability' of the statement. Yet, is there sufficient reason to conclude that the shores of New Holland were at any time so thickly peopled as to prevent the settlement of another race? Is there not, on the contrary, ample evidence that the population must always have been scattered? Mr. Cunningham, on the other hand, attempts to explain the origin and location of these tribes, by making the Malays to have mingled with the negroes of New Guinea, and then to have driven the New Guinea men across the continent of New Holland, to take refuge in Van Diemen's Land. But, on this supposition, why did not their supposed pursuers follow them there? The truth is, that we are wholly in the dark; and nothing can be more futile than such random conjecture. The following instance, however, which came within Mr. Dawson's knowledge, is important as an illustration of the practicability of coasting, and landing occasionally for water and food, along the shores of a hostile and savage people.

'In the year 1828, Captain Leary of the brig Woodlark, with his

passengers and crew, were wrecked on a coral rock a considerable distance from the coast of New Holland, and on reaching it in their boat, found that they were four or five hundred miles north of the penal settlement of Morton Bay, which was the nearest place from which any relief could be expected. The captain, his chief mate Mr. Ryan, (with whom I afterwards sailed from Sydney to the Mauritius,) several of his crew, and two female passengers, (one of whom had an infant at her breast,) left the reef in a boat unarmed, and with no more than one day's provisions. The boat had been almost dashed to pieces on the rock, and was kept together only by a piece of tarpawling passed round her, and it was with much difficulty they could keep her from sinking. They fortunately, however, reached the shore, and afterwards coasted along in their crazy bark, as near to land as possible, landing from time to time in search of water and rock-oysters to subsist upon, and to rest their weary and emaciated frames. But before they could take their full portion of rest on shore, or procure all the subsistence they wished, they were in every instance disturbed by the natives, and obliged to move off in their boat, which fortunately held together till they all landed in safety at Morton Bay. If Europeans, including a nursing mother, could perform this under such privations and dangers, how much more easily might the natives, either of New Guinea or New Holland, have run the whole extent of the coast. They not only could have subsisted themselves with little trouble, but it would have been easy for them to renew their bark canoes from the trees on the shore, had it become necessary to do so, with little hazard of being taken or destroyed. The identity of the people of Australia furnishes good grounds for concluding that the inhabitants of this immense country originally began to spread from a single point of its coast: and when it is considered that this is every where inhabited, as well as all parts of the interior yet discovered, and that the extent of the shore around the island cannot be less than seven or eight thousand miles, the time which it must have taken for a people in a state of nature to spread themselves over such a space, even as thinly as they have been found in Australia, would, upon a moderate calculation, make them a race of very long standing. From whatever quarter, therefore, they may have come, and whatever may have been their origin, the period of their arrival on the shores of New Holland, is sufficiently ancient to have rendered them a distinct people, and to have caused in them those peculiarities both of mind and form, which time and circumstances have everywhere produced, as the distinguishing characteristics between the several races of mankind' pp. 341-3.

Of the state of society among the native Australians, Mr. Dawson gives the following account.

'It has generally been supposed that chieftainship exists amongst the natives of Australia. I can, however, confidently assert, that it was not mentioned amongst any of the people with whom I was acquainted. Each tribe is divided into independent families which acknowledge no chief, and which inhabit in common a district within certain limits, generally not exceeding above ten or twelve miles on

any side. The numbers of each tribe vary very much, being greater on the coast, where they sometimes amount to two or three hundred, and I have known them in other quarters not to exceed one hundred.

‘ The families belonging to a tribe meet together upon occasions of festivals at certain seasons, and also to consult upon all important occasions. But although they have a community of interests at such meeting, still, each family has its own fire, and provides its own subsistence; except in a general kangaroo hunt, where the game is impounded and taken in large quantities, when it is fairly divided.

‘ Their festivals are very similar in their intentions to the wakes or feasts which exist in many parts of England. Their objects are, to feast and dance together for several days, and it is here that the painted bodies, the garnished and mop-like heads, and the harlequin step, are to be seen in perfection at their corrobories. At one season of the year, they assemble at a place where they can all procure oysters; and sometimes they meet, as they say, to “patter bungwall,” or fern-root; at other times they meet where they can all feast upon menmy, or gigantic lily, when in season, or upon the kangaroo. Upon these occasions, it would be difficult to prevail upon any to absent themselves; and there are some who would not be induced to stay away by any persuasions or bribes that could be offered, more especially the younger members and the children.’ pp. 326, 7.

‘ Although the men fish when it suits their convenience or pleasure, still, it is the women who are looked to for the supply of the members of the family. So important an office do they consider this near the coast, that the mother nominates one of her female children to it as soon as born, amputating the little finger of the right hand as a token of such appointment. I, however, prohibited this practice as far as I could. . . . When any death occurs, the female relatives of the deceased not only put on mourning, by beplastering themselves with pipe-clay; but they further testify their concern by burning with a fire-brand the front of the thigh, tying over the wound a piece of soft tea-tree bark. This practice actually lames them for a time, and must occasion a great deal of pain; but no complaints are ever heard from them. There are few women without scars, arising from this practice.’ pp. 314—16.

‘ They are remarkably fond of their children, and when the parents die, the children are adopted by the unmarried men and women, and taken the greatest care of. They are exceedingly kind and generous towards each other: if I give tobacco or any thing else to any man, it is divided with the first he meets, without being asked for it. They go up the largest and tallest trees with great facility, by means of notches made with their tomahawks, to cut opossums out of them, or to procure wild honey, which is deposited there by a small bee, not larger than a common fly.

‘ Their quickness is astonishing, and they throw the spear at the distance of forty yards with the greatest precision and force. I have frequently seen them kill birds, either by throwing stones from the



which they either sleep under, or set up in *the shape of a half cone*, supported by sticks at different angles. This is all they require, and so long as they are constantly wandering, it is the best and most simple plan they could pursue in such a climate as this. . . . They are a cheerful, merry, good-natured people, and very honest into the bargain.' pp. 68, 9.

The volume contains much interesting information with regard to the physical geography of the country, the soils of different districts, and the natural productions. One remarkable peculiarity of the country is, that the richest soil and herbage almost universally *commence* where navigation ceases.

' At the mouths of the principal rivers in Australia, the country is generally low, and consists of mud flats, salt marshes, and sandy swamps, for several miles ; when it alternates, to the limits of navigation, between extensive reedy swamps, small hollows or flats, and moderately elevated granite, porphyry, or sandstone hills, whose sides and summits are almost without exception clothed with timber and grasses of the description already given. On leaving the banks of the rivers, the country is generally found to be of a broken description ; and between the hills are narrow valleys and flats of greater extent, composed of the debris of the rocks ; and yielding frequently a very weak and sour kind of grass, interspersed with a species of bulrush called grass-trees, which are universal signs of poverty. Others bear a more productive and sweeter kind of herbage, consisting of thin tufts of the tall oat-grass, which present to the eye a fresh and rich surface, and such as generally deceives a stranger both as to its quality and actual produce.

' A few miles from the point where navigation ceases, and where the salt water invariably terminates, small districts of low hills are generally found, of several miles in extent, along the banks of the principal rivers and their branches. These hills are often covered with a deep rich soil of decayed argillaceous rock, and sometimes diverge five or six miles from the banks, although generally not more than one-third or one-fourth of that distance, when they abruptly cease, and are succeeded by a similar country, (although generally somewhat better,) to that which preceded them within the district of the tide. In this manner the soils alternate on the banks of the rivers and streams, at whose sources the country rises into mountains, and dividing ranges of considerable elevation, formed chiefly of the porphyry rocks and soils as before mentioned. Nearly all the salt-water rivers are navigable for about twenty miles only ; scarcely any go beyond it, and the greater portion on the eastern side of the Blue Mountains, which are not above sixty miles from the coast, do not rise more than thirty miles in a direct line from the sea, although in their tortuous courses they may sometimes exceed sixty.

' The low rich hills which are formed on the banks of rivers above the navigable waters, are composed of some of the richest soil in the world. A similar irregularity, however, frequently prevails here, although from apparently different causes ; the valleys being poor, while

the tops of the hills, and the higher grounds immediately connected with the vales, are in the highest degree fertile.' pp. 347—349.

The interior of Australia is still, for the most part, *terra incognita*. 'The course and outlet of the Macquarie, which Mr. Oxley traced, till it became lost in a marsh, seem likely long to remain a perplexing problem. In 1828, this river's course was 'traced during a drier season than that in which Mr. Oxley 'followed it; and its channel was again discovered at a considerable distance from the spot to which he proceeded. Its 'waters, however, were found to be salt, and the country about 'it so barren and destitute of fresh water, that the party were 'obliged to quit it' and abandon the enterprise. It is surprising, Mr. Dawson remarks, that no direct attempts should yet have been made to explore the north-western coast,—the only quarter 'where it is probable that the waters can flow into the 'ocean from behind the barrier ridge which appears to encompass the island on every other side.'

The Hobart Town Almanack, we notice chiefly as a most respectable specimen of Colonial typography and authorship. It comprises, besides the usual contents of an Almanack, the Court Calendar of the Establishment, a 'Descriptive Itinerary', illustrated by some tolerable cuts, the 'Laws and Regulations', Statistics, &c. of the Colony, and is, in short, a complete *Vademecum* to the settler. The Editor speaks with great modesty of his performance, which entitles him to the warmest thanks and substantial patronage of all his fellow-colonists. Such an 'Annual' as this is likely, if kept up with spirit, to be of great use as a repository of topographical information; and we shall be well pleased to see the future volumes. We cannot, however, extend the present article to Van Diemen's Land.

Art. VII. *Memoirs of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones*. Now first compiled from his Original Journals and Correspondence. Two Vols. foolscap 8vo. pp. 684. Price 14s. Edinburgh. 1830.

**I**T is now some years since a life of Paul Jones was published in America. The work was compiled by Mr. Sherburne, a gentleman holding an official station under the government of the United States; but the unsatisfactory quality, or rather the insufficiency of the materials, left much to be desired in the way both of detail and of illustration. It was, however, judged worthy of abridgement and republication in this country, and the reprint was briefly noticed by us. The present biography professes to have been prepared from ample and authoritative sources, consisting chiefly of papers left by Jones, and carefully preserved by his family. The specification of

these documents leaves no doubt of their value and completeness as autograph memorials and authenticated vouchers. Of these voluminous collections, not unskilful use has been made by the present Editor; but we cannot help thinking that, in a mercantile view, a more popular plan of publication might have been devised. Few people, now-a-days, care enough about Paul Jones, to purchase two widely-printed duodecimos, by no means particularly cheap, and relating to circumstances little illustrative of the greater events of history. If, indeed, the materials had been worked together by the master hand which constructed the life of Nelson and the memoir of Kirke White, there are incidental details and comments which might have been wrought into the fabric with lasting advantage. In its actual state, the task seems to have been committed to some one with ability enough, evidently, to have done this with effect, but, as evidently, taking the straight-forward course of leaving the thing to take its chance for popularity, with just so much of editing as the covenant might require, and not a jot beyond. It is a clever book, and spiritedly written, but it might have been more than this. Enough of valuable matter might have been derived from the contemporaneous history, so far as Jones was involved in it, of France, Russia, and the United States, to throw much light on the present narrative, and to obtain much more information from it, than now appears to be the result. Little of this occurs: and the first struggles of Anglo-America in the formation of her marine, the naval administration of France, and the campaign of the Black Sea, in 1788, are but imperfectly elucidated in these volumes.

Of Jones himself, it must suffice to say, that he appears to have been a bold and able, but thoroughly unprincipled adventurer. Humane in disposition, and courteous in manner, had his talents been brought out in the service of his country, he might have stood high among her untainted brave: as it was, he had apparently no choice between honest obscurity and evil notoriety; and he had not self-denial enough to retain the former, when he found the road open to the latter. Had he been, in truth, the enthusiast for freedom which his language would indicate, we should refer the trial of his character to different principles: but the memory of the man who intrigued for honours and rank under Catherine and Potemkin, and whose sword was at the service of the best bidder, has no claim on our forbearance.

**Art. VIII. *Outlines of Physiology.*** With an Appendix, containing Heads of Lectures on Pathology and Therapeutics. By William Pulteney Alison, M.D., F.R.S. E. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 452. Edinburgh. 1831.

**I**N selecting the present work as the ground-work of a slight sketch of physiological science, we are guided by the date of its publication, rather than by its comparative merit; for within the last few years, several treatises on physiology of much value, and still more comprehensive in their character than that of Dr. Alison, have been presented to the public. Indeed, the pretensions of the Author himself do not extend beyond the merit of arrangement; unlike the practice of some authors who promise much more than they perform. After alluding in respectful terms to the systems of Blumenbach, Bostock, Mayo, and Magendie, (he ought to have added Richerand, as edited by Copland,) he states his object ‘to have been, first, to announce the facts which appear to be ascertained, and the inferences which appear to be fairly deducible from these in regard to the functions of the living human body; and secondly, to arrange these facts as far as possible in the order in which the functions, as existing in the living body, in the adult state, are dependent upon one another.’

What is life? Is it an effect resulting from the mode in which certain particles of what we call matter are put together? Do its phenomena denote the addition of a subtile something to material masses, which puts them upon the performance of their characterising functions? Or does a quality which is not merely more refined and subtile than common tangible matter, but actually and essentially different from it, constitute a portion of that class of beings which, as distinguishable from matter commonly and philosophically admitted to be such, are denominated organized or vital? \* Although much of dogmatic logomachy has, during successive ages, connected itself with

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\* They who, in their orthodox attempts to oppose the organic philosophy, call to their aid an indefinable principle or quality which is less subtile than matter, and more gross than mind, bring into their reasons and inferences a greater measure of materialism than even the organists themselves; while these, on the other hand, not only express themselves presumptively, but absurdly, when they talk of thought being a secretion of the brain as the bile is of the liver. The last order of logomachists to which allusion is made in the text

these questions, the world has hitherto, and probably ever will continue precisely at the same point of knowledge, or, more properly speaking, of ignorance respecting the mode in which volition is appended to material structure, or perception to organs, as when Plato symbolized, or Aristotle reasoned. Effects, phenomena, principles, are the legitimate subjects of human research; and when we even attempt to ascertain any thing beyond these, we find ourselves arrested by the mandate, 'Proceed no further!'

'All physiological inquiries,' Dr. A. very properly remarks, 'are intended only to *ascertain the conditions, under which the various phenomena of life take place*, and naturally terminate in a reference to certain *Laws of Vitality*, or ultimate facts in this department of nature, just as the investigation and explanation of phenomena in the inanimate world terminate in a reference to certain *Laws of Motion*, of *Gravitation*, of *Chemical Affinity*, &c. Of such first principles in science we can give no other account than that they depend on the will of the **AUTHOR OF NATURE**; but the determination of such first principles is the main object, and the applications of them constitute the details of all sciences; and every science is thus mainly conversant with principles *peculiar to itself*.'

It is, in other words, the laws that govern, not the essence that constitutes life, which form the basis and superstructure of physiological disquisition.

Our predecessors in philosophy were, for a long time, content to generalize the objects of science under the leading divisions of fire, air, earth, and water. These qualities, or substances, the ancients considered the *primordia* of nature; and all individual being or circumstance was either forced into one or other of these elements, or supposed to be made up of a union of two or more of them. Even organized substances were thus classified. Thus, the hardest parts of a living body,—bone,—was referred to the densest of these elements, while their fluids were imagined rather referrible to the most tenuous—the flesh and fat being constituted of one or the other mixed together in relative variety. This division we now know to have been founded on erroneous views of the very nature of matter, which word is merely expressive of manifest quality, and has no abstract signification. Elementary principles are still, perhaps, too much sought after. They are, as a sensible writer remarks, 'the philosopher's stone of the physiologist'. 'In vain', says the same writer, 'did Haller speak of the simple fibre as what the mere line is to the geometer; this last being imaginary, and a mere abstraction of the mind, while to the elementary fibre is ascribed a real or physical existence'. Plac-

province of the physiologist, to investigate the laws by which life is regulated, and the particulars by which it is distinguished.

*Contractility* is, according to Dr. Alison, the first essential peculiarity of the living body. Against the absolute correctness of this assumption, we must enter our protest. We should rather make indivisibility, or totality, to be the main and distinguishing characteristic of organized matter;—a principle which indeed pervades the whole, even of simple vegetative existence. Break a large stone into several fragments, and you only, by so doing, interfere with its form; each piece remains the same stone, endowed with the same properties, and obedient to the same ordinances as before. Not so with organized substances; for, if you lop off branches from trees, these branches not only become isolated, but different existences; chemical powers seize on them as now their property; and although the branches eventually become again integral portions of a living fabric, it is by undergoing various chemical, physical, and ~~probably electric transmutations~~, that this reunion to life is effected\*. It would, then, we think, be more proper to consider indivisibility as the ~~essence of life~~, and contractility as one of the main principles by which this indivisibility is secured.

This contractility, or irritability, is certainly a faculty of organization exclusively: it is the power, or property, of *contracting* upon the application of certain excitants or stimulants,—and is, in its modes and effects, entirely and essentially different from any thing we observe as the result of physical, or of chemical power. But for this power, no matter could be received from without for the purpose of nourishing and supporting the vital frame;—not a particle of blood could circulate through its vessels;—not a single effete material could be ejected from the body. It is literally that power by which we live and move. But even as to the nature and extent, the residence and formation, of this very principle, physiologists are not entirely agreed. Some, with Dr. A., argue for its exclusive locality in the muscles of the body, these muscles being constituted of fibrin; while others consider contractility and sensibility as parts of the same whole, and

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\* “It may be said that an exception obtains to this law in some of the Zoophytes and Vermes; but there is, in point of fact, no exception even in these examples, because in cases where life is preserved after separation, the being thus treated may be considered either as a series of beings, each having its own central vitality, or to be so low in the scale of animated beings, as to be merely a connecting link with the inorganic world.”



maintain that nervous fibrils, and muscular substance are both requisite for the presence of contractility in its complete form. 'The general organ of motion,' says Cuvier, 'is the fleshy or muscular fibre. This fibre contracts itself by volition, but the will only exercises this power through the medium of the nerves. Every fleshy fibre receives a nervous filament, and the obedience of the fibre ceases when a communication of that filament with the rest of the system is cut off or interrupted. Certain external agents applied immediately to the fibre, likewise cause contractions, and they preserve their action upon it even after the section of its nerve; or its total separation from the body during a period which is longer or shorter in different species of animals. This faculty of the fibre, is called its irritability. Does it, in the latter case,' (continues Cuvier,) 'depend upon the portion of the nerve remaining in the fibre after its section, which always forms an essential part of it? Or is the influence of the will only a particular circumstance, and the effect an irritating action of the nerve on a faculty inherent in the muscular fibre? Haller and his followers have adopted the latter opinion; but every day seems to add to the probability of the opposite theory.'

By the following extract from Dr. Alison, however, it plainly appears, that his creed is that of Haller, and for ourselves, we incline to the belief, that the leading doctrine of this great physiologist has by no means been overturned by any subsequent reasoning on vital causation and properties.

'It remains,' says Dr. A., 'that, on this point, we acquiesce in the judgement of Haller as the only generalization yet admissible, of the facts known in regard to it, viz.—that the vital power of muscles is inherent in themselves, and in no case dependent on nerves; but is liable to affection in two distinct ways, by changes in certain parts of the nervous system, whether these are produced by physical or mental causes;—being directly excited in many muscles, and increased or diminished, or variously altered, probably, in all muscles by such changes. The final cause' (he adds soon after,) 'of all endowments bestowed on nerves in the living body, in relation to muscles, appears to be, *not to make muscles irritable*, but to *subject their irritability in different ways to the dominion of the acts and feelings of the mind.*'

But we must not pursue to any further extent this division of our inquiry lest we transgress our prescribed limits, and anticipate matter which will more properly come under the head of mental pathology;—a topic, which, could we pursue it with hopes of practical results, would stand unrivalled in utility by any thing short of ethical and moral research.

Contractility, then, we assume with Alison and others to be, the essential property of life; vital affinities, and organic sensibilities being apparently developed and manifested mainly

through the instrumentality of this ruling principle,—a principle which our Author makes the commencement of his arrangement and classification. We do not, however, perceive either much advantage or even novelty in the order proposed by our ingenious physiologist; and having taken the pains to collate the several systems of classification extant, we find most of precision and simplicity in that proposed some few years ago by Richerand. Every system must, indeed, be in some measure defective, since there is properly no point from which to start. Suppose, for example, we begin by detailing the peculiarities of the digestive process; in order duly to understand what we are about, not only the general characteristics of life ought to be known,—but the principles of secretion, of muscular action, of vital solvency, ought to be principles familiar to the student; otherwise much of the phraseology that is used in tracing the process would be words destitute of meaning. Then again the *modus agendi* by which the blood is conveyed through its innumerable conduits cannot be at all conceived, without a previous insight into the composition of the blood itself and of the laws which regulate its varied degrees of solidity or fluidity. Even blood-vessel itself is formed from the blood, while this blood thus transmuted becomes the channel of fresh supplies manufactured in like manner.

Mr. Richerand proposes a primary division of organic functions into two leading classes; the first including those which serve for the preservation of the individual; the second, those which serve for the preservation of the species. The first order of the first class are those which assimilate to the living body, comprehending Digestion, Absorption, Circulation, Respiration, Secretion, Nutrition: the second order of this class are the functions which form connexions with surrounding objects,—namely, Sensations, Motions, Voice, and Speech. Under the second class are comprised Generation, Growth, Virility, Decrease.

*Digestion.* We can afford neither time nor space to expatiate on this most interesting head of inquiry to any extent; and we must refer our readers to what was advanced concerning it in our criticism of Dr. Paris, Wilson Philip, and others. The chemico-physiologists, both of this country and the Continent, are actively employed at this moment, in researches respecting the proximate principles and minute composition of that pultaceous mass which is constituted by the action of the gastric and intestinal secretions upon the ingested mass; and among these experimenters none perhaps may be read with more interest than the papers of Dr. Prout in the *Philosophical Transactions*, &c. A patience of research, an ingenuity in the mode of investigation, and a sincere desire for truth, are manifested in all that Dr.

Prout does, which give a particular value to his publications. Nothing, however, very satisfactory or practical has hitherto attended the experiments of this able philosopher and amiable man, beyond what we had an opportunity of announcing in the article just referred to. We shall in consequence, therefore, on the present occasion, content ourselves with an abridgement of that theoretical and practical summary of the phenomena of digestion contained in Dr. Alison's treatise.

‘ The materials on which the function of digestion in the human stomach may be performed, are, the chief proximate principles of animal and vegetable substances,—Fibrin—Albumen—Gelatin—Ozma-zome, &c. ; the vegetable Gluten, Starch, Gum, Extractive Matter, Sugar, and animal or vegetable Oil. In regard to these, the following facts demand attention.

‘ 1st. They answer for the purpose of digestion best, when in a medium state of aggregation and density ; hard or dried food, solid albumen in any form, vegetables not softened by boiling, are acted on with difficulty in the stomach ; and, on the other hand, very soft or liquid aliments seem to give but little stimulus to the digestive process. Of the different proximate principles, Oil is, perhaps, in any form in which it can be taken, the most difficult of digestion.

‘ 2d. It has been fully ascertained by Magendie, Leuret, Lassaigne, and others, that a certain *variety* of articles, whether of vegetable or animal food, is necessary in various animals, on which experiments were made in order that the due action of the stomach on them may take place, and that they may be effectual for the nourishment of the body ; the animals that were fed on single chemical principles only becoming almost uniformly, after a time, unable to digest sufficient quantities of these for the support of life.

‘ 3d. According to Dr. Prout, all the articles of food which are used by the human species may be arranged according to their chemical relations under three heads ; the Saccharine (sugary), the Albuminous (e. g. whites of eggs), and the Oily. Of these three, the prototypes exist in milk ; and he thinks that a mixture of two at least must be taken either together or soon after one another, to answer the purposes of Digestion and Nutrition.

‘ 4th. There is much variety in individuals as to the most easily digested food. Habit, however, does considerable in modifying this variety.

‘ It is satisfactorily ascertained, by the numerous experiments of Montegre, Prout, Magendie, Tiedemann, Gmelin, Leuret, Lassaigne, and others, that chyme, in the healthy state, is uniformly, though slightly *acid*. This does not depend upon fermentation, but chiefly, if not entirely, on the nature of the secretion of the stomach itself. For

‘ 1st. The chyme is acid from the commencement of its formation, i. e. long before the same substances, kept at the same temperature, can have run into acetous fermentation.

‘ 2d. The secretions of the living stomach, so far from promoting fermentation, are decidedly antiseptic.

‘ 3d. The acid is partly *lactic*, or a modification of the acetous ; but

in part muriatic, which last of course cannot be generated by fermentation.

‘ In animals fasting, this acid is seldom found in the stomach ; it is excited by the presence of food, and is more abundant when that food is of difficult digestion.’

*Assimilation and Absorption.* Digestion, or the formation of chyme, is a mere preliminary to the production of chyle, and the eventual conveyance of this chyle (which is little else than blood without colouring matter, and but with comparatively little fibrin) into the blood-vessels ; a transmission effected by the assimilating and absorbing faculties, which faculties are exercised manifestly through the agency of that contractile principle to which we have already adverted, connected with vital, as different from mere chemical affinity ; the vessels which rise by mere open mouths from the inner coats of the bowels, seizing upon the chylous or nutritive portions of the aliment, probably change its nature into a nearer alliance with actual blood, and pour it thus changed into the circulating mass by means of the large terminating conduit, called the thoracic duct. But the lacteal or chylous vessels certainly do not effect all this great and astonishing result in the way of chemical agency merely ? The vessels in question obey, indeed, to a certain extent the laws both of chemical and of physical influence, in thus supplying the blood with fresh materials ; but there is much in the process independently even of *prima mobilia* excitation, of which we should fail in giving the *rationale* were we to call it mechanical or chemical force. With Dr. A. and others therefore we call the property vital affinity.

The same observation holds good when we transfer our reasoning from mere nutrition to the function of absorption generally ; for whether with John Hunter and the English school of physiologists, we conceive absorption to be accomplished by a peculiar set of vessels exclusively called the lymphatics ; or whether, with the French, and German, and American experimentalists, we regard the process as of a different kind, and effected in great part by the veins ; there is still a principle of imbibition and percolation, and suction implied, which is of a very different nature from capillary attraction or chemical impulse.

‘ We are therefore constrained to believe that the fluid in these vessels is moved by powers which are strictly *vital*, but how far vital contractions of the vessels may suffice for the explanation of this motion, or how far as in the case of capillary circulation, other vital powers may be supposed to operate, is doubtful.’

We have just intimated, that there is a discrepancy of opinion among physiologists, respecting the vessels which are employed

n the act of absorption, or of supplying the waste of an organized body by reception of matter from without. But the dispute does not end here; for even admitting that these blood-vessels, the veins, take in fluids immediately from without, it remains to be determined whether such assimilating process is effected by the open mouths of the absorbing veins, (absorbing, if they *are* gifted with this power,) or whether a sort of perco-ation inwardly is produced by the coats of the vessels being pervious to their peculiar recipients. To set this matter at rest, Dr. Magendie instituted the following, among very many other luminous experiments. A vein was isolated, and its body inserted in some acid liquor, so as to leave the two extremities loose and not engaged with the liquid; then a stream of warm water was directed through the piece of vessel at one end; and permitted to escape by the other, which water, mixing with the acid, became sensibly impregnated. We mention this as one out of numerous other trials of modern physiologists, for shewing that the veins do not merely absorb by their mouths opening on membranes and surfaces; but that a transmitting or rather receiving faculty resides in their sides. How far this permeability is brought about by the *vasa-vasorum* or otherwise, are further questions not at present decided.

That both the veins and the absorbents more commonly so called, (*viz.* the lymphatics,) pretty clearly take up materials to be incorporated or amalgamated with the living body, would seem to be a physiological fact pretty well established. It remains that we say a word or two on the contested question, whether the surface of the body takes into the blood-vessels matter from without, while the scarf skin remains entire and unabraded? Do our bodies for example, receive humidity from an atmosphere laden with fog or moisture? Sailors, it is known, in long voyages, when fresh water fails them, and they are oppressed by thirst, often dip their shirts into the sea and put them on wet\*. The late celebrated Dr. Watson gave a Newmarket jockey just before the race, a glass of wine weighing from one to two ounces; then having weighed the lad immediately preceding to and after the course, found that nearly two pounds had been gained. To the first of these facts the opponent of surface-absorption would say, that the grateful sensations excited by the wet applications to the skin, are a suf-

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\* We may here take occasion to mention, that fluidity is a necessary condition for absorption, so that there being no marks of salt entering the system by this application of a saline fluid, even, were it possible to trace these, would not prove that a portion of the fluid, disengaged from the salt, had not found an entrance into the body.

ficient explanation of the effect, while against the Newmarket experiment they might urge that the lungs, from the rapid motion of the rider, would take in sufficient matter from the atmosphere to account for the apparently disproportionate increment.

An intermediate inference approaches probably, nearest to truth. While the outer skin is quite whole, reception of matter is, perhaps, difficult, but not impossible; this outer skin however does not seem to constitute a *complete* barrier to the introduction of circumambient matter.

Richerand expresses himself on this head in the following words: 'The increased weight of the body after exercise in wet weather, the abundant secretion of urine after remaining long in the bath; the manifest enlargement of the glands of the groin after keeping the feet immersed a long time in water; the effects of mercurial frictions, &c. shew, in an unquestionable manner, that absorption takes place through the skin with more or less rapidity according to circumstances. It must, however, be taken into account that the means which promote cutaneous absorption, operate at least as much by altering the structure of the outer-skin as by increasing the action of the absorbing surfaces. In this manner the bath appears to operate by softening the texture of the epidermis; and frictions, by raising and displacing its scales.'

It may here be incidentally remarked, that the determining of the question now referred to, would have an important bearing both upon medical theory and practice. If matter finds its way with so much difficulty from without inwards, how much of the doctrine has been nugatory, and how much of the preventive laws without meaning, which have been applied with such scrupulous caution in order to check the admission and progress of contagious disorder! The boldest oppugner, however, of the vulgar notions and apprehensions on infectious maladies, ought to be aware that where the contagious principle is at all volatile, the lungs of individuals are ready to take up what the skin is said to refuse.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that where so much is at stake, error on the side of caution is always laudable, until positive demonstration shall take place of plausible induction.

In concluding this slight notice of the theory of absorption, it may be stated, that the solid, actual nutriment of the body seems to be formed alone from the chyme and chyle, and to be conveyed exclusively through the lacteal vessels and thoracic duct; while the more fluid parts of the frame may principally pass in by the other inlets. There is still, however, much in the process both of exhalation and of absorption, over which an obscurity hangs in the present state of the science. That the



outer skin transmits or exudes freely, if it does not readily take in or imbibe, is proved by all the phenomena connected with the process of perspiration. But it would seem that it does so by a mechanical adjustment of its pores to those of the exhalants pertaining to the true or internal skin. When a blister is applied on the surface, the outer, or scarf skin is raised up, and, instead of performing the office of transmitting the fluid consequent upon the excited surface, becomes a sac for its retention; which is demonstrative of the difference between the organic percolation of the cutaneous vessels, and the retaining or transmitting power of the scarf-skin structure and economy: this last appearing to be a power, or rather an office more physical than organic.

Our narrow limits will allow of only a few cursory remarks upon the remaining *genera* in the first order of the first class of Richerand, viz. Circulation, Respiration, Secretion, and Nutrition. It would, indeed, be idle to attempt to treat of Circulation apart from the connected respiratory function. Then, again, these last lead unavoidably to the consideration of the nature and production of animal heat; the influence of breathing upon the various secretions; the voice as expressed by the monotonous noises of the brute, or complicated and harmonized by the beautiful organization, and commanding mind of the human species. Nay, even the cerebral functions are manifestly and extensively regulated by the respiratory act; for though we do not talk with some modern illuminati about the brain being the manufactory of thought, as the liver is of the bile, we do and must admit, that a due supply of vitalized blood is as necessary to the manifestation of intellect, as the circulation of this blood is requisite for the maintenance of living phenomena.

The great Harvey deduced the circulatory motion of the vital fluid, from observing the very curious structure of the heart's valves, which are so disposed, as to admit easily of the blood's entrance into the heart's cavity, and at the same time to impede its exit from that organ. It was remarked also, that when an artery is opened, the jet of the blood from the orifice is in a direction from the heart; whereas, when a vein is punctured, the current is in the contrary direction. But this flow and return became the actual subject of microscopical observations; and when, in addition to these and other facts, the existence of a double heart with double cavities, was taken into consideration, there was left no room to doubt that the blood, in traversing the body performs a double circuit,—viz., that through the lungs and that through the whole material fabric.

Still, there is much difficulty attendant upon our endeavours to follow the course of the blood-vessels, and the transmission of their contents from their alleged origin to their termination.

We have not hitherto been able to trace the open mouths of arteries upon parts corresponding to the open extremities of veins. All that has been detected are, the capillary or smaller vessels of the commencing venous system bending round, as it were, upon the smaller, or terminating arteries, and thus gradually enlarging into actual veins, as the arteries diminish into capillaries or thread-like conduits. Now, if the whole projecting force and even reflux power be awarded to the muscular contractions of the heart itself, the difficulties of explaining the course of the blood upon such supposition are considerable.—In the first instance, while the larger arteries of the body (those nearest the heart) are more elastic than contractile, and therefore more nearly allied to passive recipients of the current; in the smaller, or capillary branches, tonicity, or muscularity, are the main endowments of the vessels, and therefore the motions of the blood are not here found pulsatory, but more continuous; how, then, upon any principles which we know of projectile peculiarity, can it be conceived, that the volume of blood, thus impelled by so small a power as that of the heart, can occasion a continuous stream, which stream, united in the great venous trunks, may be able to command the blood's entrance into the organ in the manner conceived and described;—and that too both against gravity and several other impediments arising out of the construction, situation, course, and appendices of the vessels?

Then, again, we are supposing a mere vascular circle without taking into account the *vasa-vasorum*,—the vessel within vessel,—the exudation from open mouths, as in the various secretories,—the partial accumulations of blood in accidental inflammations or tumors, and in some of the regular processes of nature. When we take these and other particulars into consideration, we shall find it difficult to explain the course of the blood by referring the whole expelling and recipient power to the heart itself. In the motion of fluids through simply organized vessels, nothing of this single projectile energy can be either traced or conceived;—and it ought always to be recollected, that an analogous principle of causation in some measure pervades all systems of nature where analogous results are to be expected. The motion of sap in trees, is upwards and downwards. The supply of blood to the class of zoophytes is by a sort of percolation, and when these and other phenomena of nature are made the objects of reflection and comparison, we may find occasion to believe, that, although the great Harveian doctrine speaks the truth in reference to the blood's impulse and current, it does not speak the whole truth.

When speaking of contractility as the great law of organized being, we might more fully have remarked upon this contrac-

tility being susceptible of becoming contraction, only through the influence of particular excitants. Now blood, if not the only, is most certainly the most powerful stimulant of the great muscle or circle of muscles called the heart; and we might *a priori* suppose, that to effect this stimulation, it must be duly aerated (in the way we shall soon explain) by the respiratory process. But no; the blood sent from the body, as well as that transmitted from the lungs, proves of force sufficient to demand and obtain entrance into the heart. Mr. Brodie, indeed, and others, have aimed to shew, that blood is not the proper, or rather the peculiar excitant of the organ; but all admit, that easy as it may be to preserve the organic motions of the heart for a length of time without the presence of blood, this blood must eventually be supplied, or the animal sinks and dies. The difficulty, however, still recurs; how does carbonized or deoxygenized blood excite the heart's contractions?—and whence the dilatation of the organ for the reception of this stimulant material?

If, with some physiologists, we suppose this organ (the heart) to be a suction as well as a forcing pump, we do but little more than substitute words for expositions, and are in danger of reverting to all the absurdities of physical assumptions, and theorems, and corollaries; and we must admit, that beyond a reference to vital peculiarities,—to organic contractility and affinities,—we do not see our way clear through the labyrinths of circulatory motions. The quantity of blood, the length of its course, and the various obstacles opposed to its progress, render, in Dr. Carson's opinion, the mere propulsive power of the heart insufficient to maintain the circulation perpetually; but assistance must be given by the vacuum which takes place in all the cavities of the organ, when the contraction of the muscular fibres is over; the blood is thus drawn into each relaxed cavity, and the heart performs the double office of a forcing and a suction pump. The situation of the valves of the heart is thus explained. There are valves between the auricles and ventricles; and at the mouths of the two great arteries, because behind each of these four openings is a cavity of the heart; alternately dilating and affording a vacuum into which, were there no valves, the blood would be drawn retrograde. But at the venous openings of the auricles no valves exist, because they do not open from a cavity of the heart from a part ever experiencing a vacuum, and, therefore, the blood cannot, when the auricles contract, move retrograde, but will necessarily press forward into the ventricles, which, at that moment, are offering a vacuum. All allow that when the heart is relaxed, its cavities enlarge; though some ascribe this to its elasticity, and others regard it as a necessary consequence

of the arrangement of its fibres; experiment proves the same. Dr. Carson extracted the hearts of some frogs, and immediately put them into water blood warm; they were thrown into violent action; and, upon some occasions projected a small stream of a bloody colour through the transparent fluid. The water could not have been projected, unless previously imbibed; it was thought that a stream of the same kind, continued to be projected at every succeeding contraction; but, that after the first or second, it ceased to be observable in consequence of the fluid, supposed to be imbibed and projected, losing its bloody tinge, and becoming transparent, or of the same colour with the fluid in which the heart was immersed. The organ was felt to expand during relaxation, a fact stated long ago by Pechlin.

When treating on the subjects of secretion and nutrition more at large, we shall have to call the reader's attention to some of the circumstances connected with the blood's composition. We may, however, here just allude to the remarkable fact of its fluidity while in the course of the circulation; and its almost immediate solidification upon being separated from the body. To its constant motion, this would be usually ascribed;—but, agitate the mass as you may when extravasated, you will only retard,—you will not prevent coagulation. Moreover, Mr. Charles Bell isolated a portion of vessel from the circulating connection with other vessels, retaining the blood so isolated, which was thus rendered quiescent, but did not in consequence thicken; it was therefore very properly inferred by this ingenious physiologist, that a sort of vital affinity between the fluid and its containing vessels, had place in a manner not hitherto traceable, but, with which, the circulating energy had considerably to do.

In a word, neither arteries, nor veins, nor capillaries, nor absorbents, are mere mechanical conduits, influenced by mere physical laws; but they have an action which, although it may in some sort be analogous to the phenomena observed in physics and chemistry, is, in fact, essentially different from either. And yet, the circulating power, like all other organized faculties, is in part regulated by physical and chemical circumstance.

‘That circulatory impulse,’ says a writer in the *London Encyclopedia*, ‘is not effected independently of powers exterior to the body, may in the first place be shewn by the larger diameter of the general mass of the arteries, compared with that of the central source of circulation; this range of diameter augmenting as it has been expressed, in proportion to the increase of the ramifications.’ It has indeed been stated, that the aggregate diameter of the arterial system forms a cone, the apex of which is the heart.

Then, again, the short angles against which the blood has to strike at the origin of the different branches, must necessarily constitute a greater call upon the projectile force of the powers concerned in the circulation; and the tortuous course that some of the arteries take, more especially those which enter the brain; though some physiologists have doubted, whether this last circumstance can in any way operate towards resistance or impediment. Mr. Charles Bell, we recollect, expresses this doubt; but, though his objections to the principle may be ingenious, we should feel reluctance in admitting any objections to a construction the final cause of which seems so apparent. In the case, for instance, of the bending and winding of the main artery which supplies the brain; it is almost demonstrative that this is a provision by nature against sudden impulses upon an organ which is so obnoxious to injury from these inordinate rushes of blood.

Natural gravity is another power which the circulation has in some measure to oppose, since the direction of the coming branches is upwards and lateral, as well as downwards and forward; and it has been supposed by some, that the friction against the sides of the vessel is a source of impediment to freedom of propulsion.

It is, then, sufficiently obvious, that the force which has to meet and encounter these obstacles, must not only be great but *peculiar*;—by which last expression we mean, that all calculations on mechanical and hydraulic principles; and that do not take into account vital causation and impulse, must necessarily be erroneous; although to a certain degree they apply; and in this modified or subordinate way, do we find exterior influence operate upon the functions now under notice.

By density and rarity in the air,—by the degree of atmospheric moisture or dryness,—by different positions of the body—by changes in external temperature—by a greater or less fulness of the vascular system—by exercise or rest, &c. is the circulating impulse in some measure modified; while, on the other hand, the vital force concerned in the phenomenon counteract these agencies to a very considerable extent.

(*To be concluded in the next Number.*)

## ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

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## ERRATA IN THE FEBRUARY NUMBER.

At p. 188, line 27, for *by*, read *from*  
168, line 25, for *1550* read *1650*



# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR APRIL, 1831.

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- Art. I.—1.** *The History and Topography of the United States of North America*, from the earliest Period to the present Time; with a topographical Description of the Cities, Towns, Sea-ports, Public Edifices, Canals, &c. Edited by John Howard Hinton, A.M. Illustrated with a Series of Views drawn on the Spot. 4to. Nos. I. to VII. Price 3s. each. London, 1830, 1.
- 2.** *The History of the Western World.* Vol. I. The United States. (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia. Vol. XIII.) f.cap. 8vo. 6s. London, 1830.
- 3.** *The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America*, till the British Revolution in 1688. By James Grahame, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1827.
- 4.** *The Modern Traveller.* United States of America, and Canada. 2 vols. 18mo. 11s. London, 1830.
- 5.** *An Address to the Citizens of Boston*, on the Close of the second Century from the first Settlement of the City. By Josiah Quincy, LL.D., President of Harvard College. 8vo. pp. 68. Boston, U. S. 1830.
- 6.** *An Ode* pronounced before the Inhabitants of Boston, Sept. 17, 1830, at the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of the City. By Charles Sprague. 8vo. pp. 22. Boston, U. S. 1830.

**T**HE first of these publications has already been announced to our readers, as highly deserving of public encouragement. Its distinguishing feature, though not its only recommendation, is the Series of Views by which it is embellished, and which will possess, at least on this side of the Atlantic, all the attraction of novelty. Although America contains few

buildings of historical interest, and its scenery is not, for the most part, strikingly picturesque, it cannot but afford abundant objects of interest, that deserve to be familiarized to us by the pencil. And this is one way, we think, by which an interest in the country may be effectively awakened. But for the graphic sketches of Geoffrey Crayon, America would appear a blank to the imagination. The country is apt to present itself in the naked abstractedness of a map. One takes a bird's eye view of the large, square bit of the other side of the globe, parcelled out into rectangular states, and cut into two vast divisions by the Mississippi valley; and has the idea of so much political territory,—so much geographical surface, measured by meridians and parallels. But the scale is too vast to enable us to realize the existence of any spots endeared or consecrated by local association, any precious portions of hallowed soil, any nooks and nests of romantic beauty,—scenery speaking through the imagination to the heart, and interesting us in the inhabitants for the very sake of the country in which they dwell. Much of the sympathy which is felt towards nations less closely allied to us, is fostered by the hold which their mountains, and valleys, and rivers have upon our recollection and fancy, as described by the poet and delineated by the artist. No associations of this description connect us with the people of the United States, who, indeed, discover little attachment to their own soil. Hereditary emigrants in a country where nothing is fixed,—where, in fact, nothing but manners, and habits, and national character, is hereditary,—they disdain to confine their affections to narrow localities, being ever ready to break up their encampments, and to found new cities in the wilderness. In America, as their own writers admit, all is as yet mere outline: the filling up of the picture has but just seriously commenced. All is in transition too. Each State is perpetually shifting its centre; the capitals are travelling westward; and the political institutions of the country, it has been remarked, 'may be compared to their bridges, in which the position of the arch is reversed, and the whole structure is in suspension.' It is impossible for any enlightened man not to feel deeply concerned in the result of this grand experiment upon society; but it is a sentiment of a purely moral nature, which does not attach us to the people. The truth is, a ruin is a more interesting object than a scaffolding.

Will not this serve in part to explain why the history of the United States has hitherto excited so little attention in this country? Mr. Grahame complains, that the information concerning the early history of many of the settlements, which the public libraries of Britain are capable of supplying, is amazingly scanty.

‘ Many valuable works illustrative of the history and statistics, both of particular States and of the whole North American commonwealth, are wholly unknown in the British libraries ; a defect the more discreditable, as these works have long enjoyed a high repute at the seats of learning on the continent of Europe, and as the greater part of them might be procured without difficulty in London, or from America. After borrowing all the materials that I could so procure, and purchasing as many more as I could find in Britain, my collection proved still so defective in many respects, that, in the hope of enlarging it, I undertook a journey to Gottingen ; and in the library of this place, as I had been taught to expect, I found an ampler collection of North American literature, than any, or indeed all the libraries of Britain could supply.’

We have transcribed this paragraph from Mr. Grahame’s preface, as it not only makes us acquainted with a singular fact, but will also shew the meritorious way in which he has set about the work of which the first portion is now before us. Our attention, we will honestly confess, has been called to his volumes, by the high commendation bestowed upon them in a recent number of the *North American Review*. That they had escaped our notice, is not altogether our fault, since neither the Author nor his publishers had conveyed to us any intimation of their existence. The American Reviewers find a reason for the undeserved neglect the work has met with on both sides of the Atlantic, in the unpopularity of the subject with us, and in the aptness of American readers to form their opinions of the merits of books from the notice they receive in the leading English periodicals. ‘ The fact is,’ they say, ‘ that the whole ‘ subject of North America carries with it an uncommonly disagreeable association of ideas to British minds.’ We are persuaded that this is neither true in itself, nor is it the reason why Mr. Grahame’s volumes have not met with due attention. Nor do we believe that the good people of Gottingen are one whit more zealously affected towards North American history or literature, than those of Edinburgh or of London. But we have understood that the University library in the German city, contains a larger proportion of *modern* books, than the great repositories of France and England ; and we need not remind our readers, that the ancient history of the American States is very modern. Had the works in question been written in a dead language,—had the historical labours of Holm, Hopkins, and Vanderdonck been extant in Latin, they would have been treasured up, we doubt not, in all our public libraries. At the same time, we must protest against the unfair inference from the deficiencies complained of. That the *History of Sweden*, and the *History of Providence*, and the *History of New Netherlands*, &c. are not to be found in the *Advocates’ Library*

at Edinburgh, or in the British Museum, may, or may not, be thought discreditable to our national character; but that it is owing to any disagreeable associations with the subject of North America, is a supposition quite absurd.

For our own parts, we entirely disclaim any feeling of the kind imputed to us by the tetchiness of our Transatlantic fellow-labourers. The history of the American Revolution itself, is not to us, we frankly admit, the most pleasing part of the story of the Western World, sincerely as we can rejoice in the issue of that most righteous and patriotic revolt. Nor let America forget, that the best eloquence of Burke in his best days, was exerted on behalf of her just claims, and that he gave voice to the sentiments and feelings of the most virtuous part of the community, for the hearts of all true Englishmen were on the side of their American brethren. Ill does it become the people of the United States to impute to the British nation, the violence, injustice, and infatuated policy which at that period characterized the measures of a detestable Administration, supported by a venal and corrupt Parliament. Had the voice of the people of England been heard, the American Colonies would never have been driven into insurrection. It is rather too much to expect, however, that we on this side of the Atlantic should take any extraordinary gratification in retracing the blunders of our statesmen, the rashness and incompetency of our generals, the series of fatal mistakes and disasters, by which a handful of colonists were enabled to defeat the whole power of Great Britain. The history of the revolutionary struggle is not very glorious to either party. There was little opportunity for the display of any extraordinary bravery, military genius, or heroism on the part of the colonists; and the character of Washington shines with an almost solitary lustre among those who took an active part in the war of independence. The battles were chiefly skirmishes; the victories on either side were disasters; and our armies were at last check-mated, rather than defeated. In the conduct of the war, too, there was much that was disgraceful to humanity on both sides. Nor were the hostile parties, on all occasions, British and American, but, in the southern States more especially, royalist and republican, between whom there often prevailed a more deadly hatred than was felt towards the common invader. We would gladly draw the veil over the revolting details of the successive campaigns, from which little instruction can be derived, beyond the salutary lesson, that success is not always on the side of the strong; for never, perhaps, was there a contest, the decision of which was more visibly the result of an overruling Providence working by most feeble and inadequate agency.

But if this part of the subject carries with it disagreeable as-

sociations of ideas to our minds, it surely does not follow, that the whole subject of North America must be distasteful to us ; that we should have no sympathy with the early colonists, nor take any interest in the history of the young Republic. Our readers are aware, that we have recently devoted two or three articles to the subject of American history and topography. It is only about a year ago, that we had occasion to review Mr. Murray's Historical Account of the United States, when we expressed our dissatisfaction with the meagre and slovenly sketch of the history of New England, taken chiefly from George Chalmers. Had we been aware, at the time, of the existence of Mr. Grahame's performance, we should have had pleasure in referring our readers to his accurate and impartial narrative. His work is intended to comprise a complete history of the United States, from the plantation of the English Colonies to the establishment of their independence. The present volumes embrace the rise of the original States, and their progress down to the accession of William III. in 1688. This portion of the work fully justifies, in our opinion, the encomium pronounced by the North American Critic. ' With an apparent desire to be ' above prejudice, with industry equal to a thorough investiga- ' tion of facts, and with a spirit able to appreciate the value of ' his subject, Mr. Grahame has published what we conceive to ' be the best book that has any where appeared, upon the early ' history of the United States.' \* The Author honestly avows, indeed, a strong predilection in favour of America, and the *Co- lonial side* in the great controversies between her people and ' the British Government ' ; but adds :—

' Against the influence of this predilection, I hope I am sufficiently on my guard ; and my apprehensions of it are moderated by the recollection, that there is a wisdom which is divinely declared to be " without partiality and without hypocrisy," and attainable by all who seek it in sincerity from its heavenly source."

Too rarely has history been written in this spirit, or with any reference to this source of wisdom. Of the careful investigation which the Writer has employed, the minute references to authorities, at the foot of his pages, afford an ample pledge.

The History of the United States, in the Cabinet Cyclopædia, may be tolerably well cast for popularity, but it is very far from what even a popular history ought to be. ' It has been thought ' adviseable,' we are told, ' to disencumber the pages of the ' volume of frequent references to authorities ;'—an unpromising intimation, which is not at all mended by a list of the works that

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\* North American Rev. No. lxx. p. 176.

have been professedly consulted. It is singular enough, that from none of these sources could the greater part of the information have been drawn; and most of them would be of use only in the compilation of the introductory chapters. A geographical outline of the country occupies the first chapter. This is followed by an account of the aboriginal inhabitants,—very confused, indistinct, and inaccurate. The settlement of Virginia, forms the subject of Chapter III., and that of the other colonies is disposed of in the IVth. The whole of the early history of the Thirteen Colonies, is despatched in twenty pages! We are not surprised that the following account of the settlement of Massachusetts' Bay should be disencumbered of any references to authorities.

' In the year 1620, that country began to be colonised by a number of poor, ignorant, and fanatical zealots, who, inflamed by the mad intolerance of the English Government, first passed into Holland, but afterwards emigrated to America. They applied to the Virginia Company for a patent, and it was not unwilling to favour their views. They solicited full freedom of conscience, but this the king declined granting under the great seal: he promised, however, not to molest them, so long as they behaved themselves peaceably.

' The first band of these poor fanatics, consisting of 101 persons, reached Cape Cod at break of day on the 9th of Nov. 1620. Observing that they were beyond the limits of the Company's patent, they thought themselves released from all superior authority; and therefore, even before landing, they formed themselves into a "civil body politic under the crown of England, for the purpose of framing just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices," to which they promised all due submission and obedience. Forty-one persons signed this contract. They settled at a place which, in affectionate remembrance of the English port from which they had sailed, they named New Plymouth. . . .

' In the year 1628, Massachusetts' Bay, so named after the *sachem* or chief of that part of the country, was purchased from the Plymouth council, and a company formed for establishing a settlement there.... The first emigrants under this company settled at Salem; but religious dissensions soon disturbed their peace. In a society of ignorant and furious fanatics, each of whom thought himself an oracle of truth and a pattern of excellence, harmony could not long subsist. Of their religious character and intellectual attainments, the following is a sample:—On the 13th of June, 1632, at Waterlen, in the presence of several witnesses, there was a great fight between a mouse and a snake; and after a long combat, the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. Mr. Wilson, the minister of Boston, who, we are told, was a very sincere and holy man, gave the following interpretation of the matter. The snake, said he, is the devil; the mouse, a poor contemptible people, whom God has brought hither, who shall overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom. At the same time, he told the governor, that, before he resolved to come into the country,



he dreamed that he was there, and saw a church rise out of the earth, which grew up and became a marvellous goodly church.'

' But fanatical ignorance and habits of industry are not incompatible : they are not unfrequently united ; and this was the case in New England, at least after each of the settlers was allowed to reap the fruits of his own exertions. The colony prospered. The arbitrary measures of Charles, and the persecuting principles of Laud, increased the number of their emigrants ; and in about twenty years after the first settlement, 4000 families, consisting of upwards of 21,000 souls, passed into New England in 298 vessels.

' The governor and company removed from London to Massachusetts ; and, instead of the appearance of a corporation, they soon assumed the form of a commonwealth, departing from the charter as suited their humour or convenience. " They apprehended themselves subject to no other laws or rules of government than what arose from natural reason and the principles of equity, except any positive rules from the word of God." Their religious notions were deeply blended with all their civil proceedings.

' As the number of emigrants increased, they spread themselves more widely over the country ; and so early as the year 1635, some families settled on Connecticut river, and formed plantations in different places. The Protector treated the New England settlers with much tenderness ; and Charles II. gave them charters with extensive powers. But no external circumstances could impart comfort and happiness to such a people ; for the elements of discord and mischief were treasured up in their own fanatical opinions and turbulent tempers. The love of religious liberty had induced them to abandon their native land, and seek freedom of conscience in the depth of the American wilderness ; and in the wilderness, their zeal and love of liberty grew up with unpruned luxuriance. In their hands religion became, what popular ignorance and presumption always make it, a sectarian folly, a degrading superstition, or a temporary frenzy. The benevolent, mild, and unostentatious principles of the gospel, a well regulated temper and an upright life, have no charms for popular zeal. It must feast on barren and gloomy speculations, or rapturous transports ; or seek gratification in an imposing ritual, a punctilious regard to external observances, or a restless pursuit of novelties.' pp. 55—58.

In the same philosophical and dispassionate style, the Writer goes on to speak of the subsequent proceedings of the ' pitiful fanatics,' the whole of whose history would seem to have consisted of wrangles and quibbling disputes about ' grace and free-will,' the fierce persecution of ' others as ignorant and foolish as themselves,' and the pestilential frenzy that seized them in 1692, on the subject of witchcraft. Yet, strange to say, the Colonies of New England increased and prospered, and have at length grown to a great nation. All this must sound very unaccountable to those who are unacquainted with the facts ; and the history of England, written in the same ingenious manner, would be not less staggering. The authority for this

tissue of contemptible misrepresentation, though not given, is, we presume, Mr. George Chalmers's 'Political Annals;' a work written during the American Revolution, and published in the year 1780, in the heat of the bitter controversy, and under the auspices of the British Government. That the illiberal slander and virulent party-spirit of the Maryland Royalist should now be allowed to tincture a popular history of America, is disgraceful either to the information or to the good faith and good principles of the Compiler; and we deeply regret that such trash should have found its way into a volume of Dr. Lardner's Cabinet work. Of Chalmers's Annals, the North American Reviewers speak in terms of just but tempered indignation. 'It must be admitted,' they say, 'that his sources of original information were extensive, and that he used them industriously; so that his work is valuable to us, if considered with reference to his facts, and apart from his fallacious commentary. But *he* merits no mercy at the hands of Americans. We may smile when he tells us, "that, among other deplorable ills, the American *climate* seems always to have begotten a propensity to disobedience;" we may laugh at the enthusiasm which should so far blind a man, that, in the book which tells of the sufferings of the Pilgrims in exile for conscience's sake, he should introduce "clemency as the *peculiar* characteristic of kings;" but we can feel nothing less than the sternest indignation, when we reflect that he used the most authentic materials of our colonial history to serve the interests of a day. Such an act, if luckily it did not partially carry its own antidote, would be ruinous to every thing like justice. It is perverting the first principles of eternal truth, to accomplish the purposes of party.' \*

In our review of Mr. Murray's volumes, we entered somewhat at length into a consideration of the policy and proceedings of the New England Colonists, of which an able and satisfactory exposition will be found in Mr. Grahame's second book, as well as in Mr. Hinton's pages. It will not be necessary for us, therefore, on the present occasion, to go very deeply into the subject; and it may serve to enliven the grave discussion, if we transcribe into our pages a few stanzas from Mr. Sprague's Ode, partly as a specimen of American poetry, and partly for the sake of shewing how very differently the same story tells, according to the purpose and sentiments of the relator. In the present case, there is, for once, more truth and less fiction in the strains of the poet, than in the fallacious representations of the annalist.

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\* North American Rev. No. lxx. p. 179.

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- ‘ And you ! ye bright ascended Dead,  
Who scorned the bigot’s yoke,  
Come, round this place your influence shed ;  
Your spirits I invoke.  
Come, as ye came of yore,  
When, on an unknown shore,  
Your daring hands the flag of faith unfurled,  
To float sublime  
Through future time,  
The beacon-banner of another world.
- ‘ Behold ! they come—those sainted forms,  
Unshaken through the strife of storms ;  
Heaven’s winter cloud hangs coldly down,  
And earth puts on its rudest frown.  
But colder, ruder was the hand  
That drove them from their own fair land ;  
Their own fair land—refinement’s chosen seat,  
Art’s trophied dwelling, learning’s green retreat ;  
By valour guarded, and by victory crowned ;  
For all, but gentle charity renowned.  
With streaming eye, yet steadfast heart,  
Even from that land they dared to part,  
And burst each tender tie ;  
Haunts where their sunny youth was passed,  
Homes, where they fondly hoped at last  
In peaceful age to die.  
Friends, kindred, comfort, all they spurned—  
Their fathers’ hallowed graves ;  
And to a world of darkness turned,  
Beyond a world of waves.
- ‘ When Israel’s race from bondage fled,  
Signs from on high the wanderers led.  
But here—Heaven hung no symbol here,  
*Their* steps to guide, *their* souls to cheer.  
They saw, through sorrow’s lengthening night,  
Nought but the fagot’s guilty light.  
The cloud they gazed at was the smoke  
That round their murdered brethren broke.  
Nor power above, nor power below,  
Sustained them in their hour of woe.  
A fearful path they trod,  
And dared a fearful doom ;  
To build an altar to their God,  
And find a quiet tomb.
- ‘ But not alone, not all unblest,  
The exile sought a place of rest.  
ONE dared with him to burst the knot  
That bound her to her native spot ;

Her low sweet voice in comfort spoke,  
 As round their bark the billows broke ;  
 She through the midnight watch was there,  
 With him to bend her knees in prayer ;  
 She trod the shore with girded heart,  
 Through good and ill to claim her part ;  
 In life, in death, with him to seal  
 Her kindred love, her kindred zeal.

‘ They come—that coming who shall tell ?  
 The eye may weep, the heart may swell,  
 But the poor tongue in vain essays  
 A fitting note for them to raise.  
 We hear the after-shout that rings  
 For them who smote the power of kings ;  
 The swelling triumph all would share ;  
 But who the dark defeat would dare,  
 And boldly meet the wrath and woe  
 That wait the unsuccessful blow ?

‘ It were an envied fate, we deem,  
 To live a land’s recorded theme,  
     When we are in the tomb ;  
 We, too, might yield the joys of home,  
 And waves of winter darkness roam,  
     And tread a shore of gloom,—  
 Knew we those waves through coming time,  
 Should roll our names to every clime ;  
 Felt we that millions on that shore  
 Should stand, our memory to adore.  
 But no glad vision burst in light,  
 Upon the Pilgrims’ aching sight ;  
 Their hearts no proud hereafter swelled ;  
 Deep shadows veiled the way they held ;  
 The yell of vengeance was their trump of fame ;  
 Their monument, a grave without a name.

‘ Yet strong in weakness, there they stand  
     On yonder ice-bound rock,  
 Stern and resolved, that faithful band,  
     To meet fate’s rudest shock.  
 Though anguish rends the father’s breast  
 For them his dearest and his best,  
     With him the waste who trod—  
 Though tears that freeze, the mother sheds  
 Upon her children’s houseless heads—  
     The Christian turns to God !

‘ In grateful adoration now,  
 Upon the barren sands they bow.  
 What tongue of joy e’er woke such prayer,  
 As bursts in desolation there ?

What arm of strength e'er wrought such power,  
As waits to crown that feeble hour?  
There into life an infant empire springs!  
There falls the iron from the soul;  
There liberty's young accents roll,  
Up to the King of kings!  
To fair creation's furthest bound,  
That thrilling summons yet shall sound;  
The dreaming nations shall awake,  
And to their centre earth's old kingdoms shake.  
Pontiff and prince, your sway  
Must crumble from that day;  
Before the loftier throne of Heaven,  
The hand is raised, the pledge is given—  
One monarch to obey, one creed to own,  
That monarch, God; that creed, His word alone.

' Spread out earth's holiest records here,  
Of days and deeds to reverence dear;  
A zeal like this what pious legends tell?  
On kingdoms built  
In blood and guilt,  
The worshippers of vulgar triumph dwell.  
But what exploit with theirs shall page,  
Who rose to bless their kind;  
Who left their nation and their age,  
Man's spirit to unbind?  
Who boundless seas passed o'er,  
And boldly met, in every path,  
Famine and frost and heathen wrath,  
To dedicate a shore,  
Where piety's meek train might breathe their vow,  
And seek their Maker with an unshamed brow;  
Where liberty's glad race might proudly come,  
And set up there an everlasting home?

' O many a time it hath been told,  
The story of those men of old:  
For this, fair poetry hath wreathed  
Her sweetest, purest flower;  
For this, proud eloquence hath breathed  
His strain of loftiest power;  
Devotion, too, hath lingered round  
Each spot of consecrated ground,  
And hill and valley blessed;  
There, where our banished fathers strayed,  
There, where they loved, and wept, and prayed,  
There, where their ashes rest.

' And never may they rest unsung,  
While liberty can find a tongue.

Twine, Gratitude, a wreath for them,  
More deathless than the diadem,  
Who to life's noblest end,  
Gave up life's noblest powers,  
And bade the legacy descend,  
Down, down to us and ours.'

This is stirring verse: the 'words burn' at least. And had the poetry less merit, the sentiment would protect it from our criticism.—President Quincy's Address is sufficiently 'learned, 'eloquent, and appropriate,' as the City Council of Boston style it; but it will read better in Massachusetts, than in England. Cut and dry orations, however eloquent, are not to our taste. We like a speech to be a speech, and writing to be in the tone of written composition. When a man talks like a book, we are apt to tire of him; and when, on the other hand, an orator runs himself out of breath, and hunts down a metaphor, after the following fashion, although he may be listened to with applause in the heat and excitation of delivery, he should not print it.

—' For what part of this wide empire, be it sea or shore, lake or river, mountain or valley, have the descendants of the first settlers of New England not traversed? What depth of forest, not penetrated? What danger of nature or man, not defied? Where is the cultivated field, in redeeming which from the wilderness, their vigor has not been displayed? Where, amid unsubdued nature, by the side of the first log-hut of the settler, does the school-house stand, and the church-spire rise, unless the sons of New England are there? Where does improvement advance under the active energy of willing hearts and ready hands, prostrating the moss-covered monarchs of the wood, and from their ashes, amid their charred roots, bidding the green sward and the waving harvest to upspring; and the spirit of the Fathers of New England is not seen, hovering and shedding round the benign influences of sound social, moral, and religious institutions, stronger and more enduring than knotted oak or tempered steel? The swelling tide of their descendants has spread upon our coasts; ascended our rivers; taken possession of our plains. Already it encircles our lakes. At this hour, the rushing noise of the advancing wave startles the wild beast in his lair among the prairies of the west. Soon it shall be seen climbing the Rocky Mountains, and, as it dashes over their cliffs, shall be hailed by the dwellers on the Pacific, as the harbinger of the common blessings of safety, liberty, and truth.'

President Quincy's main object seems to be, to prove, that the idea of independence of the parent State, was conceived and cherished from the first by the Bostonian colonists. On this point, the testimony of Chalmers is represented as being at once unequivocal and conclusive. 'The charter of Charles I., that Writer remarks, 'was the only one which Massachusetts possessed, prior to the Revolution of 1688, and contained its most



for the ancient privileges. On this was most dexterously grafted, not only the original government of that colony, but even independence itself.' Instead of repelling the charge which makes the colonists of Massachusetts to have laid the foundations of their polity in fraud, Dr. Quincy glories in their having had the sagacity to deceive the English monarch respecting their intentions, with the settled design of asserting their independence as soon as they should find it convenient. The disgrace of this Yankee policy would, it is true, attach, not to the Pilgrim Fathers of New Plymouth, but to Winthrop, Dudley, Saltonstall, and their associates,—not clergymen, as Dr. Quincy remarks, but 'high-minded statesmen', who knew what they were about.

'Those wise leaders', we are told, 'foresaw, that, among the troubles in Europe, incident to the age, and then obviously impending over the parent State, their settlement, from its distance and early insignificance, would probably escape notice. They trusted to events, and doubtless anticipated, that, with its increasing strength, even nominal subjection would be abrogated. They knew that weakness was the law of nature, in the relation between parent states and their distant and detached colonies. Nothing else can be inferred, not only from their making the transfer of the charter the essential condition of their emigration, thereby severing themselves from all responsibility to persons abroad, but also from their instant and undeviating course of policy after their emigration; in boldly assuming whatever powers were necessary to their condition, or suitable to their ends, whether attributes of sovereignty or not, without regard to the nature of the consequences resulting from the exercise of those powers. Nor was this assumption limited to powers which might be deduced from the charter, but was extended to such as no act of incorporation, like that which they possessed, could, by any possibility of legal construction, be deemed to include. By the magic of their daring, a private act of incorporation was transmuted into a civil constitution of state; under the authority of which they made peace, and declared war; erected judicatures; coined money; raised armies; built fleets; laid taxes and imposts; inflicted fines, penalties, and death; and, in imitation of the British constitution, by the consent of all its own branches, without asking leave of any other, their legislature modified its own powers and relations, prescribed the qualifications of those who should conduct its authority, and enjoy, or be excluded from its privileges. The administration of the civil affairs of Massachusetts, for the sixty years next succeeding the settlement of this metropolis, was a phenomenon in the history of civil government. Under a theoretic colonial relation, an efficient and independent Commonwealth was erected, claiming and exercising attributes of sovereignty, higher and far more extensive than, at the present day, in consequence of its connexion with the general government, Massachusetts pretends either to exercise or possess. Well might Chalmers assert, as in his Political Annals of the Colonies, that "Massachusetts, with a peculiar dexterity, abolished her  
" that she was always "fruitful in projects of independence,

the principles of which, at all times, governed her actions." In this point of view, it is glory enough for our early ancestors, that, under manifold disadvantages, in the midst of internal discontent and external violence and intrigue, of wars with the savages and with the neighbouring colonies of France, they effected their purpose, and for two generations of men, from 1630 to 1692, enjoyed liberty of conscience, according to their view of that subject, under the auspices of a free Commonwealth.' pp. 23—25.

This anxiety to antedate the independence of their State by a hundred years, would excite only a smile, as indicating the characteristic weakness of the Bostonians, could we reconcile it either with fact or with justice to the memory of the colonists. The same view is less distinctly intimated in the *North American Review*. The legislation of the early colonists, it is remarked, 'tended chiefly to three distinct objects. The first 'was, the cultivation of piety and good morals. The second, 'the dissemination of knowledge. The third and last was, the 'security of individual liberty. This (last) may be seen in the 'first act of the settlers: it may be traced with unerring certainty in all their subsequent proceedings. They would not 'come at all, unless the Charter which governed them came 'also; a decision which has shocked the feelings of British 'historians most grievously, but upon which the young American cannot ponder too deeply; for it is the corner-stone of 'our liberty. Mr. Chalmers tells the truth, because he thinks 'it a matter of reproach, but we hope it will be long before any 'one here will be ashamed of it.' We know not whether this may not be intended as the *softening down* of the sentiment more broadly avowed by the Orator of the 17th September; for the matter, as here stated, has really nothing in it to be ashamed of, although, as Chalmers puts it, the facts are not very honourable to the colonists. But the first question is, What powers did the charter granted by the crown, really convey? On this point, we must cite the sensible remarks of Mr. Grahame.

'The meaning of this charter, with respect to the religious rights of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, has given rise to a great deal of discussion. By the puritans, and the puritan writers of that age, it was universally regarded as bestowing on them the amplest liberty to regulate their worship by the dictates of their own conscience. And this, I think, is manifestly its import. The granters were fully aware, and the grantees had neither the wish nor the power to conceal, that their object was to make a peaceable secession from a church which they could no longer conscientiously adhere to, and to establish for themselves, at Massachusetts Bay, an ecclesiastical constitution similar to that which was already established and maintained without molestation at New Plymouth. A silent acquiescence in such designs was

all that could reasonably be expected from the king and his ministers ; and when this emphatic silence on a point which it is quite ludicrous to suppose could have escaped the attention of either party, is coupled with such a ready departure from all the arbitrary principles which the king was preparing to enforce in every other branch of his domestic and colonial administration, it seems impossible to doubt that Charles was at this time not unwilling to make a temporary sacrifice of authority, in order to rid himself of these puritan petitioners, and that the interpretation which they gave to their charter was perfectly correct. And yet, writers have not been wanting, whom enmity to the puritans has induced to explain this charter in a manner totally repugnant to every rule of legal or equitable construction. It is a maxim of law, and the dictate of common sense and universal equity, that, in all cases of doubtful construction, the presumption lies against that party whose office it was to speak, and who had the power to clear every ambiguity away. In defiance of this rule, these writers have insisted, that the silence of the charter respecting the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony, implies the imposition on the colonists of every particular of the constitution of the church of England.'

'The unsuspecting ignorance that is imputed to the king and his counsellors, appears perfectly incredible, when we consider that the example of New Plymouth, where a bare exemption from express restrictions had been followed by the establishment of the independent model, was fresh in their recollection ; that it was avowed and notorious puritans who now applied for permission to proceed to the land where that constitution was established ; and, above all, that, in their application to the king, they expressly desired leave to withdraw in peace from the bosom of a church to whose ordinances they could not conscientiously conform. Whether the king and Laud were, or were not, aware of the intentions of the puritans, they must surely be allowed to be the best judges of what they themselves had intended to convey ; and their acquiescence in the constitution which the colonists of Massachusetts Bay proceeded forthwith to establish, demonstrates, in the strongest manner, that they were aware they had no violation of the charter to complain of. When they afterwards became sensible that the progress of puritan establishments in New England increased the ferment which their measures were creating in the parent state, they interposed to check the intercourse between the two countries, but tacitly acknowledged, that the system which they followed so rigidly in England, was excluded by positive agreement from the colonial territory.' pp. 244—247.

Again, with respect to the transfer of the charter government from England to Massachusetts, although President Quincy labours to shew, that it was done clandestinely, and that the English Government was dexterously outwitted, it would appear, that lawyers of eminence were consulted as to the legality of the proceeding, and that their opinions were favourable to the wishes of the emigrants. Secrecy might be prudently observed, before the Company had considered of the proposal,

and taken legal advice; but that the final resolution was any secret, is quite incredible. When it was at length determined by general consent, that the charter should be transferred from the corporation in London to the settlers at Massachusetts, it was provided, that the members of the corporation who chose to remain at home, should enjoy a share in the trading, stock, and profits of the Company for the term of seven years.

‘By this transaction,’ continues Mr. Grahame, ‘one of the most singular that is recorded in the history of a civilized people, the liberties of the New England communities were placed on a sure and respectable basis. When we consider the means by which this was effected, we find ourselves encompassed with doubts and difficulties, of which the only solution that I am able to discover, is the opinion I have already expressed, that the king was at this time exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them, that if they would bestow their presence on another part of his dominions, and employ their energies in peopling the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations on the church of England, they were free to arrange their internal constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, according to their own discretion. An English corporation, appointed by its charter to reside in London, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts: and this was openly transacted by men whose principles rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to their rulers, and under the eyes of a prince no less vigilant to observe, than vigorous to repress every encroachment on the limits of his prerogative. So far was Charles from entertaining the slightest dissatisfaction at this proceeding, or from desiring, at this period of his reign, to obstruct the removal of the puritans to New England, that about two years after this change had been carried into effect, when a complaint of arbitrary and illegal proceedings was preferred against the colony by a papist who had been banished from it, and who was supported by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the king, after a full hearing of the case in the privy council, issued a proclamation not only justifying but commending the whole conduct of the colonial government, reprobating the prevalent reports that he “had no good opinion of that plantation,” and engaging not only to maintain the privileges of its inhabitants, but to supply whatever else might contribute to their further comfort and prosperity. From the terms of this document, (of which no notice is taken by the writers inimical to the puritans,) and from the whole complexion of the king’s conduct towards the founders of this settlement, it would appear that, whatever designs he might secretly cherish of adding the subjugation of New England, at a future period, to that of his British and Virginian dominions, his policy at this time was to persuade the leaders of the puritans, that if they would peaceably abandon the contest for their rights in England, they were at liberty to embody and enjoy them in whatever institutions they might think fit to establish in America. And yet some writers, whom it is impossible to tax with ignorance, as they had access to all

the existing materials of information, whom it would justly be held presumptuous to charge with defect of discernment, and whom it may perhaps appear uncharitable to reproach with malignity towards the puritans, have not scrupled to accuse the founders of this colony, of effecting their ends by a policy not less impudent than fraudulent, and by acts of disobedience little short of rebellion. The colonists themselves, notwithstanding all the facilities which the king presented to them, and the unwonted liberality and consideration with which he shewed himself willing to grace their departure, were so fully aware of his rooted enmity to their principles, and so little able to reconcile his present conduct with his favourite policy, that they openly declared they had been led by Providence to a land of rest, through ways that were unintelligible to themselves, and that they could ascribe the blessings they obtained to nothing else but the special interposition of that Being who orders all the steps of His people, and holds the hearts of princes and of all men in His hands. It is indeed a strange coincidence, that this arbitrary prince, at the very time when he was exercising the sternest despotism over the royalists in Virginia, should have been cherishing the principles of liberty among the puritans in New England.' *Grahame*, Vol. I. pp. 258—260.

It is no affair of ours; but we really think that Mr. Grahame has made out a case far more honourable to Governor Winthrop and his compeers, as well as more probable, than the romantic statements of the Harvard President; and that the good people of Massachusetts might be content to date their independence from 1776. We think it is Mr. Cooper who satirizes the national foible of his countrymen, by expressing his expectation, that the Americans will soon claim to be the most ancient nation, as well as the freest, wisest, and bravest in the world.

The first religious dissensions that arose in the colony, and that afforded occasion for the display of the intolerance inseparable from a theocracy, originated with the famous Roger Williams, whose conduct and character have been portrayed in very different colours. Mr. Hinton zealously vindicates this 'eminent, though somewhat eccentric man' from the injustice of 'all his historians.' He complains, that Mr. Grahame 'has followed Mather, Hubbard, and Hutchinson too closely, and has by no means perceived the true merit of his character.' We differ from him entirely, and think that Mr. Grahame has placed his merit in its true light. That he was a man of substantial piety, fervid zeal, and unimpeachable integrity, is admitted on all hands; but, that he 'was the first legislator who fully recognized the rights of conscience,' is a very questionable assertion. His liberal notions of toleration were very strangely combined with the most narrow-minded bigotry and great violence of temper. He was a strict-communionist *par excellence*, and separated from his own wife, refusing to perform any act of religious worship with her, because she attended

divine service at the church at Salem. While he maintained, that it was very wrong for the magistrate to punish a man for any matters of his conscience, he carried his notions of conscience to an extent subversive of all magistracy. He would not take, nor, so far as was in his power, suffer others to take, the oath of fidelity to an unregenerate magistrate; and he held it unlawful for any unregenerate man to pray. Such at least were his early notions, which occasioned his expulsion from the colony; and it is a little staggering to be told, that such a man was, at this very time, in his enlarged benevolence and philosophic liberality, in advance of his age. The fact seems to be, that, in common with many other persons,—Episcopalians, Nonconformists, Roman Catholics,—he saw the wickedness of persecution when directed against himself,—a discovery for which he would have deserved little credit; but his real merit was, that he did not forget the lesson, when called upon to act as a legislator. He was not, however, the first to set the example of equal toleration. That honour is due, as we remarked on a former occasion, to an Irish nobleman, a Roman Catholic, the founder of the State of Maryland. Nor was the toleration established in the State of Rhode Island unlimited, since the right of voting was denied to Roman Catholics. A considerable change appears latterly to have taken place in the character of Roger Williams. His violence subsided; his exile tamed his extravagance; and he became a wiser and a happier man. Although he never returned to Massachusetts, a cordial reconciliation seems to have taken place between him and those who have been stigmatised as his persecutors.

‘ He lived to an advanced age; and soon throwing off the wild and separating spirit with which his sentiments had been leavened, he regained the friendship and esteem of his ancient fellow colonists, and preserved a friendly correspondence with Mr. Cotton and others of them till his death. The principles of toleration, which he had formerly discredited, by the rigidity with which he disallowed the slightest difference of opinions between the members of his own communion, he now enforced by exercising that forbearance by which the differences that distinguish Christians are prevented from dividing them, and by cultivating that charity, by which even the sense of these differences is often melted down. The great fundamental principles of Christianity daily acquiring a more exclusive and absorbing influence over his mind, he began to labour for the conversion of the Indians; and, in addition to the benefits of which his ministry among them was productive to themselves, he acquired over them an influence which he rendered highly advantageous to his old associates in Massachusetts, whom he was enabled frequently to warn of conspiracies formed against them by the savages in their vicinity, and communicated to him by the tribes with whom he maintained relations of friendship.’

*Grahame, Vol. I. pp. 270, 1.*



It is remarkable too, that, after Williams had established himself in Rhode Island, he found himself compelled to call upon the authorities of Massachusetts to apprehend a troublesome fanatic named Gorton, after flogging and banishing the offender to no purpose himself. This Gorton went to England, and, during the civil wars, involved the colony in no small trouble by his complaints of the persecution he had undergone!

We shall not again go over the history of Mrs. Hutchinson, and the subsequent persecutions of the 'Anabaptists' and Quakers; having, in a former article, adverted both to these circumstances and to the judicial proceedings against the witches. The Author of the History of the United States, in the Cabinet Cyclopædia, refers to the latter proceedings as the consummation of the frenzied fanaticism of the New England colonists. Is he ignorant, or does he affect ignorance of the fact, that suspected witches and wizards have been frequently tried, condemned, and executed by the authority of the most enlightened tribunals in Europe? Sir Matthew Hale had, only a few years before, after a long and anxious investigation, adjudged a number of persons to suffer for this offence at an assize in Suffolk; and it appears that executions for witchcraft have taken place in Great Britain, so recently as 1716 at Huntingdon, and 1722 in Sutherlandshire. The Seceders in Scotland published an act of their associate presbytery at Edinburgh in 1743, (reprinted at Glasgow in 1766,) denouncing the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as a national sin. Sixty years before the act against witchcraft in England, Louis XIV. had issued an edict forbidding the French tribunals to receive accusations of witchcraft; but the edict was ineffectual. These facts afford no vindication of the proceedings in New England; but they shew the utter unfairness of holding up the Colonists as ignorant and credulous fanatics, on the ground of the transitory epidemic delusion which for a time raged among them with frightful violence, but was at length effectually and for ever dissolved. At the close of the seventeenth century, all these disorders had happily subsided; and the colonists, more united than ever among themselves, enjoyed a degree of tranquillity and prosperity, of which a long train of previous calamities and hardships had taught them to appreciate the value. We shall close our extracts from Mr. Grahame's volumes with his remarks upon the state of society in New England at this period.

'Perhaps no country in the world was ever more distinguished than New England was at this time, for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits that render communities respectable and happy. Sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every description were remarkably strict,

and not less strictly executed ; and, being cordially supported by public opinion, they were able to render every vicious and profligate excess equally dangerous and infamous to the perpetrator. We are assured by a respectable writer, that at this period there was not a single beggar in the whole province. Labour was so valuable, land so cheap, and the elective franchise so extensive, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of his country. The general diffusion of education caused the national advantages which were thus vigorously improved, to be justly appreciated ; and an ardent and enlightened patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other and to their country.

‘ The state of society in New England, the circumstances and habits of the people, tended to form, among their leading men, a character more useful than brilliant ;—not (as some have imagined) to discourage talent, but to repress its vain display, and train it to its legitimate and respectable end, of giving efficacy to wisdom and virtue. Yet this state of society was by no means inconsistent either with refinement of manners or with innocent hilarity. Lord Bellamont was agreeably surprised with the graceful and courteous demeanour of the gentlemen and clergy of Connecticut, and confessed that he found the aspect and address that were thought peculiar to nobility, in a land where this aristocratical distinction was unknown. From Dunton’s account of his residence in Boston in 1686, it appears that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were at that time distinguished in a very high degree by the cheerfulness of their manners, their hospitality, and a courtesy the more estimable that it was indicative of real benevolence.’ *Grahame*, Vol. I. pp. 504, 505.

Mr. Hinton has diligently availed himself of the labours of his predecessors, and has not, we are glad to find, overlooked Mr. Grahame’s volumes. The portion of the work now before us, extending to 168 pages, is occupied with the history of the Colonies down to the middle of the last century. Of its execution thus far, we can speak with almost unqualified commendation. If some points are touched rather too slightly, while, in other places, a little more compression might have been advantageously employed, we are quite aware how difficult it is, in a popular narrative, to steer between the meagreness of an abridgement and the diffuseness of specific detail. Mr. Hinton has evidently taken great pains to be accurate ; and a body of original documents and interesting information is contained in the foot-notes. We should recommend, however, a somewhat more sparing introduction of this sort of matter in the subsequent chapters. Documents of importance, such as the ‘ Heads of ‘ Agreement ’ at p. 130, and the ‘ Penal Enactments of the General Assembly of Connecticut, in May 1742,’ at p. 138, are better given in an Appendix, after being fairly and fully described in the text. The latter paper is very curious as a flagrant specimen of religious intolerance on the part of a purely demo-

cratic Government. It was an attempt to destroy by a blow, what Jeremy Taylor calls the liberty of prophesying; and is justly characterized by Mr. Hinton as an outrage on every principle of justice and on the most inherent and valuable rights of the subject.

‘ It was a palpable contradiction and gross violation of the Connecticut bill of rights. It was equally an invasion of the rights of Heaven, and incompatible with the command, “ Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.” In obedience to this command, the primitive preachers went every where, preaching the word. They regarded no parochial limits; and when high priests and magistrates forbade their preaching, they answered, “ Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.” This law was also contrary to the opinion and practice of all the reformers and puritans. The reformers all preached within the parishes and bishoprics of the Roman Catholics, and by this means, under Divine Providence, effected the reformation. It never could have been effected without it. The puritans preached within the parishes of the church of England, and judged it their indispensable duty to preach the gospel whenever and wherever they had an opportunity. They did it zealously and faithfully, though exposed to fines, imprisonment, and loss of living. Even in Connecticut, the episcopalianism were allowed to preach and collect hearers, erect churches, and form ecclesiastical societies, in opposition to the established ministers and churches. The law was therefore partial, inconsistent, and highly persecuting.’ *Hinton*, pp. 139, 140.

In this case, as in, perhaps, every other instance of similar illiberality, the State appears to have been but the executive of the intolerance of the ecclesiastical body in ascendancy. The ‘ Consociations ’ of Connecticut had previously displayed a strong disposition to carry matters, in their ecclesiastical judicatories, with the high hand of authority. Mr. Hinton’s remarks upon this body may, at the present moment more especially, demand notice.

‘ It is undeniably true, that some evils have ever been attendant on the purely congregational or independent system of church government; but they have arisen rather from the absence of a proper spirit among the members of the churches, than from the form of government itself. The history of the proceedings of the “ Consociations ” of Connecticut, affords but a poor recommendation for their general adoption as a remedy for the disadvantages of independency; although it must be admitted, that the injurious tendency of such associations was much aggravated by the intimate connexion which existed between the civil and ecclesiastical powers in this colony; and most assuredly, the acts of the hierarchy of Connecticut fully evince, that the sword of the magistrate should never be intrusted to the hands or to the influence of any priesthood, however pure or exemplary. The tyrannical

character of their proceedings was decidedly exhibited, in their treatment of many of the most devoted labourers in that great moral renovation which pervaded almost every part of the Colony in 1738 and the following years.' *Hinton*, pp. 133, 4.

This paragraph would supply fertile matter for comment; but this is not the place to enter into a discussion of the evils of Independency, their source, or their remedy. We must content ourselves with throwing out the general remark, that it presents no valid objection against any form of ecclesiastical polity, episcopal, presbyterian, or congregational, that, when associated with secular power, it becomes corrupt, oppressive, and an engine of tyranny. As to the expediency of such associations, we shall have occasion to offer our sentiments hereafter; and we must now take our leave of Mr. Hinton for the present, with cordially recommending his work to the patronage of our readers.

The two volumes of the *Modern Traveller* mentioned at the head of this article, comprise a general description of North America, geographical and statistical; a catalogue of the aboriginal tribes, with remarks upon their history and generic character; an historical sketch, necessarily succinct and rapid, of the discovery and settlement of the country, of the American War of Independence, and the second American War; and a full topographical description of the United States and the British possessions. The character of the work must be too well known to our readers, to render it necessary for us to say any thing further respecting these volumes, which conclude the series.

And now to advert to the observations with which we pre-faced this article,—is it true, and if so, whence comes it, that the subject of these several publications is not popular in this country? Whose fault is it? The *North American Reviewers*, in a long article, headed 'Tone of British Criticism', complain, not wholly without reason, but in terms of great exaggeration, of the perpetual abuse lavished upon the Americans by our writers, from the *Quarterly* down to the *Literary Gazette*. And in endeavouring to account for this, they assert, that 'the real head and front of' their 'offending, as is' (they say) 'perfectly well understood on all sides,—is nothing more than this; that' they 'happen, by the act of God, and the valour and virtue of their fathers, to be placed in such a situation, political, geographical, and statistical, that' they 'are more likely than any other power to rival or surpass Great Britain, first, in those commercial and maritime pursuits which have hitherto constituted the chief elements of her greatness, and, at a more remote period, in population, wealth, and national importance.' Now we take upon ourselves to say, first, that

this is by no means perfectly well understood, at least on our side; and secondly, that such an apprehension forms no element of the feeling which is betrayed in the tone of British criticism. Political antipathy may have actuated the Quarterly; it can scarcely have prompted the sneers of the Edinburgh; and the 'bullying' of Blackwood, our transatlantic friends might be content to bear in common with the friends of humanity and religion in our own country. That so 'petulant' and peevish a spirit, so much 'petty spite,' should ever be displayed towards the Americans, by any British critics or journalists, we sincerely regret; but the way in which these Reviewers would account for it, if not meant *en badinage*, would prove that they wholly mistake both the feeling and its source. The truth is, that the Americans deserve our respect and esteem,—and they enjoy it, above all other nations in the world; but they have the strangest way possible of courting our friendship and kindly feeling,—by alternate threats and sentimental whimpering. They complain of the influence of national pride on the tone of British writers; but is it not the natural result of the national vanity perpetually displayed by American writers? It is not their talents, but their vaunts, that provoke contempt. Vanity, whether in individuals or in communities, is the last quality that can excite sympathy. Not content with having achieved their political independence, they seem to be constantly aiming at a moral and intellectual separation from the parent stock. Impatient of every obligation of gratitude to England, they disdain any other attitude than that of rivalry, and would fain make their unborn future competitor with our rich historic past. Jealously alive to the sarcasms of our party-writers, they seem to us to set little value upon the good opinion and sympathy of that portion of the people of England with whom they might be thought to have the nearest affinity. We blame them not for despising the Radicals; but why should they lightly appreciate the friendship of the great body of Dissenters? Why should they writhe under the ribaldry of Blackwood, and take no account of cordial civilities at the hands of Christian Reviewers?

Jealousy of America, we have none. On the contrary, we already enjoy all the high and liberal satisfaction with which the Reviewers would so kindly provide us in the contemplation of their young and flourishing Republic. We admit, however, that the proper view of the subject is not generally taken; and we shall conclude this article with citing the eloquent appeal which, in the paper alluded to, is made to the people of this country. 'Is there nothing, in fact', they ask, 'to approve, to admire, to rejoice at, to sympathize with, in the mighty development of wealth and population,—the creation, as it were, of

' a new human race,—which is now going on upon our vast ter-  
 ' ritory? And is it no just ground of pride and pleasure to an  
 ' Englishman, that all these wonders are the work of English  
 ' hands, and were performed under the influence of English ha-  
 ' bits, feelings, and principles? Can the friend of learning in  
 ' England find no joy in reflecting, that the language he loves  
 ' and cultivates—the language, which conveyed to his infant  
 ' ear the soft accents of maternal affection—to his young heart  
 ' the tender avowals of passionate love—to his manly mind the  
 ' sublime strains of parliamentary and pulpit eloquence,—will be  
 ' spoken in a future age by hundreds of millions, inhabiting a  
 ' distant foreign land, and will enliven with its rich and noble  
 ' music the now solitary regions of another quarter of the globe?  
 ' Is it nothing, for example, to the enthusiastic admirer of  
 ' Shakspeare—and every Englishman is or ought to be one—  
 ' that the madness of Lear will hereafter rend the concave of a  
 ' thousand theatres from Maine to California\*; the sorrows of  
 ' Juliet draw forth floods of sympathy from bright eyes in the  
 ' valleys of the Rocky Mountains, or on the banks of the river  
 ' Columbia; and the mournful melody of the harp of Ariel move  
 ' upon the bosom of the smooth Pacific “in notes by distance  
 ' made more sweet” than they ever could have been, even in  
 ' the fancy of the poet, upon the shores of the “still vexed Ber-  
 ' moothes?” Here, too, Liberty has found a home and a  
 ' throne; and Liberty is, or was, the god of the idolatry of every  
 ' true-born Englishman. Is it nothing to the countryman of  
 ' Hampden, Sidney, and Russell, that the principles of “the  
 ' glorious constitution”, for which they gave up their “golden  
 ' years” to exile and prison, or their lives upon the block, are  
 ' to flourish hereafter in all their beauty, purified and perfected,  
 ' according to the illustrious Fox, by the experience of a thou-  
 ' sand years, in four and twenty—in the sequel we know not  
 ' how many more—independent States? Is it nothing to the  
 ' friend of good government, social order, law, and humanity,  
 ' that the problem of perpetual peace has at length been solved,  
 ' and that these four and twenty States have bound themselves  
 ' together by a mysterious but indissoluble tie of union, which  
 ' preserves to them at once the beneficial activity of independent  
 ' sovereignties, and the untroubled harmony of a single commu-  
 ' nity? Is it nothing to a Scotchman—a friend of Erskine—that  
 ' the *Trial by Jury* is to spread its banner of protection over  
 ' the head of the unfortunate, and perhaps innocent prisoner—  
 ' that the potent sound of *Habeas Corpus*, like the *sesame* of the

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\* We take leave to observe, that an Englishman may be an admirer of Shakspeare, without participating very strongly in this part of the Writer's anticipation.



‘ Arabian fable, is to burst the doors which arbitrary power shall  
‘ have closed—if such a case should ever happen here—in  
‘ regions which might, and probably would, if they had not  
‘ been settled by Englishmen, have been subjected to a ruthless  
‘ Spanish despotism? Finally, is it a matter of indifference to the  
‘ friend of pure and undefiled religion under any of its forms,  
‘ that the beautiful feet of those that bring good tidings, that  
‘ publish peace, that say unto Zion, Thy God reigneth, are al-  
‘ ready traversing in every direction the sandy shores of the  
‘ Atlantic, the blue summits of the Alleghanies, and the green  
‘ savannahs of the West; that they are climbing the precipices  
‘ of the Rocky Ridge, and will soon reach the distant borders  
‘ of the South Sea? Is all this world of wonders, this mag-  
‘ nificent display of the full bloom and glory of civilization,  
‘ bursting forth, as it were instantaneously, from the depth of  
‘ barbarism, like a Lapland spring out of the icy bosom of win-  
‘ ter,—to be held as nothing, and worse than nothing, not be-  
‘ cause it is not the work of Englishmen—for that in the main  
‘ it is—but because it is not performed by the Englishmen who  
‘ inhabit a little island on the eastern side of the Atlantic? Is  
‘ it not a burning shame, a crying sin, that, under the influence  
‘ of this paltry motive, the greatest achievements and characters  
‘ are to be habitually depreciated, the purest and most amiable  
‘ sentiments mocked and jeered at, and this too by men of high  
‘ pretensions for talent, education, and philosophy? We know  
‘ not what others may say in answer to these questions, or what  
‘ doctrines and sentiments may be fashionable in the mother  
‘ country, where a selfish system seems in fact to be the order  
‘ of the day: but for ourselves, we must avow without hesitation,  
‘ that we consider the tone of criticism, to which we have here  
‘ alluded, as very strongly marked by bad principle, bad feeling,  
‘ bad taste, and bad policy. We believe that our transatlantic  
‘ brethren, who adopt it, are great losers by it, on the score, not  
‘ only of honour and conscience, but of national advantage, as  
‘ well as mere personal comfort and pleasure. We really think  
‘ that an Englishman of right feeling and good understanding,  
‘ instead of exhibiting a miserable jealousy of the progress of  
‘ this great offset from the parent stock, ought to take as much  
‘ pride in it, as in any of the more direct developments of the  
‘ resources of his country. We conceive that the victory over  
‘ our western wilderness, which has been won by English hands  
‘ and English hearts, ought to fill his mind with as high a satis-  
‘ faction as the blockade of the whole coast of the European  
‘ continent by the British navy: and that he ought to view the  
‘ marvellous increase of population that is going on among us, the  
‘ hitherto unexampled multiplication of human life and human  
‘ happiness, which is taking place, for instance, in the State of

‘ Ohio, with even more delight than the glorious waste of blood  
‘ and treasure at Trafalgar or Waterloo.’

*N. Amer. Rev.* N. lxviii.

Art. II.—1. *A Sermon on 1 Corinthians, ii. 12. Preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Sunday, February 6, 1831. By the Rev. H. B. Bulteel, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College, and Curate of St. Ebbe's, Oxford. Third Edition. 8vo. pp. 53. Price 1s. 6d. Oxford. 1831.*

2. *Remarks upon a Sermon, preached at St. Mary's, on Sunday, February 6, 1831. By the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity. 8vo. pp. 29. Price 1s. Oxford. 1831.*

3. *Strictures on the Rev. Mr. Bulteel's Sermon and the Rev. Dr. Burton's Remarks. By Oxoniensis. Second Edition. With a Postscript. 8vo. pp. 25. Price 1s. Oxford. 1831.*

4. *One Reason for not entering into Controversy with an anonymous Author of Strictures. 8vo. pp. 8. Price 6d. Oxford. 1831.*

5. *A Reply to Dr. Burton's Remarks upon a Sermon preached at St. Mary's, February 6, 1831. By the Rev. H. B. Bulteel, M.A. 8vo. pp. 56. Price 1s. 6d. Oxford. 1831.*

6. *The Doctrine of the Church of England at the time of the Reformation, of the Reformation itself, of Scripture, and of the Church of Rome, briefly compared with the Remarks of the Regius Professor of Divinity. By ΟΥΔΕΙΣ. 8vo. pp. 64. Price 2s. Oxford. 1831.*

**THIS** is a strange controversy;—not, certainly, in itself, since it is, essentially, little more than a variety of the long-standing wrangle between the Calvinistic and Arminian parties in the national hierarchy; but for the samples which it supplies of the way in which theological questions are handled in one at least of our great schools of divinity. The discussion involves, either directly or indirectly, the most important points both of faith and experience; and we have before us the opinions and arguments of two Oxford licentiates, the one a Master of Arts, the other no less a personage than the very Regius Professor of Divinity, who comes forward as the *ex-officio* interpreter of the doctrine of the Church, and modestly assumes to himself the high prerogatives of one who is ‘*to stand between the dead and the living, and stay the plague!*’ Mr. Bulteel's tone is sufficiently dogmatical; but this flourish from the divinity chair, is at mortal variance with the paraded humility which, only two sentences before, had deprecated all supposition, that the cause of the Church of England could be ‘entrusted’ to his ‘feeble hands.’ Yet, whether arrogant or meek, whether declamatory or argumentative, neither the Preacher nor the Professor has

thrown the least light on Scripture doctrine, nor advanced, in the smallest degree, the great cause of Evangelical truth.

On Sunday, the 6th of February last, the Rev. H. B. Bulteel, Curate of St. Ebbe's, Oxford, was called upon to 'preach before the University', in the routine of a duty which all who, being in orders, have taken their Master's degree, are required to perform in rotation. This gentleman is well known among his friends and neighbours, as a fearless and uncompromising assertor of what we cannot easily designate in a more intelligible way, than by terming them ultra-evangelical doctrines. His feelings and intentions, on the present occasion, seem either to have been accurately known, or shrewdly guessed; and in consequence, 'an audience was attracted, such as never, perhaps, was witnessed for numbers within the walls of St. Mary's'. And if his hearers anticipated, from his well-known zeal, a bold and rousing appeal to the consciences of those of the higher grades, most assuredly they were not disappointed; for a less ceremonious handling of men in authority, never yet made the 'budge doctors' of a college start from their slumbers. None were spared; neither the contemner of evangelical truth, nor the signer of false or negligent testimonials to religious character, nor even the royal granter of that mockery of ecclesiastical institution, a *congé d'elire*. Assuredly, Mr. Bulteel has no chance for a bishopric. Nor do these sweeping censures seem to have been at all mitigated by tone or manner. No 'well-bred whisper' softened down the asperity of rebuke. Boanerges thundered from the pulpit; wigs and bands shook at the terrors of his indignant eloquence; and all, save the Professor of Divinity, bowed the head in silent consternation. It was a fearful addition to these appalling circumstances, that the sermon was of most uncanonical length; and, instead of the prescriptive twenty minutes, must have stretched on, we imagine, to something not much short of an hour and a half. To the charge of 'bitterness' in his expressions, Mr. B. replies:

'I confess to their *bluntness*; I plead guilty to their *severity*;—but bitter they only could have been to those who smarted under the truth of them; and I candidly confess, if any one ask me a reason for the severity of any part of my sermon, that I felt convinced of its necessity. Surely a man would be thought a fool, that should attempt, as one says, to break a millstone by threshing it with a feather; and he would not be much wiser that should whisper through the keyhole, to tell his sleeping friend that his house is on fire.'

In this memorable effusion, Mr. Bulteel wastes no time in manceuvring, but comes, without a sentence of exordium, at once to the arrangement of his subject. From the words of his text, 1 Corinthians, ii. 12., he discourses, 'i. Of the doctrine

'contained in the words *freely given to us*, and *we have received* 'ii. Of the things themselves so given. iii. Of the spiritual 'knowledge we have of these things.' He winds up all by a 'bitter' application in the shape of a 'practical conclusion'. He sets off at score, denying, under his very first point, that the Gospel is an '*offer*': grace and salvation, he says, are *given*, freely given.

'When God intends grace for any poor soul, he does not stop half way, and wait for our closing with his offer, but he comes home to our very soul, and makes a sure lodgement of the blessing. When, therefore, God declares that he gives Christ, he doth more than offer Christ. If God had waited for man's acceptance of Christ before he sent him into the world, Christ never would have appeared in the world; for when he did come, his own received him not. Had God offered man that Christ should come, he would have left the redemption of the world suspended upon man's corrupt will; but God having given his Son, he went beyond, and even contrary to the will of man, and acted after the counsel of his own will, and therefore made sure work of the sinner's salvation'.

Mr. Bulteel writes with spirit, but his vivacity would be more effective, were it more powerfully backed by argument. These few sentences afford a tolerably fair specimen of the dashing, superficial way in which he hurries along, delivering his opinions with a heedless impetuosity, which defeats its own purpose by never pausing to review its own statements, nor to inquire how far it may be expedient to make good by reasoning, that which has been authoritatively asserted. '*To give*', he sententiously observes, 'means *to give*, in opposition to every 'other word which may be put in its place'. Certainly; but why may not the Gospel be at once an offer and a gift? What is it, in its primary import, but an appeal to man as a moral agent, independently of all disposition or indisposition, on his part, to its reception? What are its invitations but offers? What is implied in the Saviour's charge to the Seventy, but offer and rejection? This view of the Gospel is not invalidated by the fact, that there is an after-process in the economy of redemption, by which God, far from leaving the success of his gracious amnesty 'suspended upon man's corrupt will', has secured the triumph of his grace, and made, in Mr. B.'s own phrase, 'sure work of the sinner's salvation'. It is, however, but fair to remark, that the Preacher does, in one place, use the qualifying adverb '*merely*', in connection with the views to which he is objecting: at the same time, his language has no reference to the restriction, nor does he avail himself of it in his subsequent explanations.

Mr. Bulteel next canvasses and condemns the use of the word *condition*; and here, as elsewhere, his rambling, discurs-

, and indiscriminating manner, transfers a world of difficulty and trouble from himself to the reader. Employed in the sense of *meritorious condition*, the word, like the doctrine, is utterly defensible, as at variance with the essential character of the Gospel; but, in the general sense of a *sine qua non*—of a something inseparable from that to which it is referred,—we must either use it or find a substitute. We admit that it is equivocal, and that, in cases of importance, it may be expedient to use it with caution and scrupulous definition in its application; but the word itself, or an equivalent, is indispensable. We can, however, understand the necessity for laying stress on the abuse of such a phrase, in addressing an audience like that which filled the pews and aisles of St. Mary's; and we honour the motive which prompted Mr. B. to strip off all disguise from the destructive tenet, that 'God gives upon conditions, or, in other words, *sells* grace';—though we think that a more strict and critical discrimination might have rendered more effectual his exposure of the abuse.

The second division of this discourse, amid some vagueness, and in spite of the defects of an arrangement which is rhetorical, rather than logical, and more verbal than specific, contains much that is excellent; and we are gratified in availing ourselves of the following forcible testimony against an error of which we know not how to speak in measured terms.

'If it be here asked, Was not then Christ himself a sinner, seeing he bare sin in his own body? the answer is, No. Neither the body or (nor) soul of Christ was tainted with the least spot or speck of sin. For the Lord's word is, *Not that which goeth into a man, defileth a man; but that which cometh out of a man, that defileth a man.* Therefore, however the Lord of Glory might have groaned or grieved under the enormous pressure from without, and the quick sense and feeling of it within; however his righteous soul might have been tormented by its presence; yet it was a righteous soul still, and he, through the eternal spirit, still presented himself without spot to God. Far be it from the heart and from the lips of him that believeth, to say, that Christ's body or soul was sinful or defiled.'

At the same time, we are compelled to say, that, under this head, there are some things which are rather unguardedly expressed. And it is because we think that there are, amid much sound and eloquent illustration of the cardinal doctrine of justification through the righteousness of Jesus Christ, expressions which seem to favour the notion of imputed sanctification, that we are gratified by finding elsewhere the most explicit recognition of sound doctrine on this subject.

'When once quickened by the sovereign agency of the Spirit, we

have a principle of life implanted in us, enabling us to will, though not always to work, the things of God. A holy, spiritual, divine, imperishable seed is sown in our souls, for we are born again, not a corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, and its tendencies are always heavenward, even as those of the flesh are always earthward. Upon this *new creation* God the Spirit acts; that again acts upon the soul, bringing every thought into subjection to Christ; the soul again in its turn upon the body; and so the whole man, body, soul, and spirit, becomes sanctified to the service of God through Jesus Christ.'

We have followed this train thus far, with the view of letting our readers a little into the secret of Mr. Bulteel's modes of thinking and speaking. We must now come to that portion of his address which, as pronounced within the walls of the University church, would be felt most pithy and pungent. So far, all was not much amiss. A little extravagance in point of doctrine, was to be expected from the over zealous Curate of St. Ebbe's; but, after a slight movement and a week's gossip, all will be forgotten, and the monotonous ministrations of St. Mary's resume the 'noiseless tenor of their way.' If such were the anticipations of the men in high places, they were proved, in the result, to have been sadly erroneous. The Preacher did, in truth, read to his hearers a handsome lecture on the 'high matter' of the Calvinistic creed, and on the spiritual character of the Gospel; but, not satisfied with this, he turned fiercely, no breathing time allowed, on the desecrations of the ministerial office by state-policy and relaxed discipline. Let our readers imagine the effect of the following bold censures on certain of the congregation.

'Mark, brethren, how the case stands. The king's minister recommends such and such a one to the king to be a bishop; it may be, because he is his relation, or his son's tutor, or because he is a good scholar; but one thing is sure, that except this minister know Christ, he is not likely to recommend one that knows Christ. Then the king recommends to the clergy, which recommendation has the force of a law. The bishop so appointed has the ordination of a multitude of inferior clergy, and so the pulpits are filled. Now the consequences are plain to every impartial eye. A young man, either in search of preferment, or because the Church is a respectable profession, or aspiring to a seat in the House of Peers, or because there is a good living which he is sure of by going into the Church, beholds too many attractions in our Establishment not to catch at the gilded bait. The Articles, which were set up as barriers to keep out all but spiritual men from the ministry, are easily explained away, and made to mean any thing but what they do mean. Ordination is easily enough conferred on any man of moderate abilities, provided our Grace Articles form no part of his creed; and thus men, whose object in becoming



nisters of Christ is any thing but the glory of Christ, climb boldly over the wall, and perform a mock exercise of the shepherd's office.'

Mr. Buteel proceeds to point out the inevitable consequence of this injurious system, in the secularization of the clergy. He stigmatizes a 'large proportion' of them as 'men of pleasure, such as play and opera-goers, card-players, ball-frequenters, and dancers, delighting in horse-races and hunting, or the more refined and seducing amusements of music, the concert, and the oratorio.' Nor does he stop here; but firmly speaks of some among them as 'habitual gamblers, drunkards, misers, gluttons, fornicators, adulterers, or even worse than they.' He treats with contempt all efforts to evade or to conceal these heavy accusations; and tells his audience of the world's 'sharp eye' to discern the immoralities and inconsistencies of those who, professing sanctity of life and separation from the world, are to be generally found in the front rank of Baal's worshippers in his temples.' He next turns upon the 'Heads and resident Fellows of Colleges,' and bears a solemn protest against the lenity and partiality with which testimonials of pious and sober living are given or withheld. 'The persecuting spirit towards spiritual men,' which has been manifested ever since the Restoration, by the 'great men of our Establishment,' is referred to for a moment; and then the Preacher gives the following, as the 'two grand inconsistencies which call loudly for reform in the practice of the Church of England.'

'I. Though the thirty-seventh Article denies to the king any supremacy but that of ruling all estates, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, in the same way as the godly princes in holy Scripture, yet, she does in fact allow to him such a power in things ecclesiastical, as those godly princes never enjoyed.

'II. Whereas the doctrinal Articles of the Church are all in favour of Free grace, and against Free will and man's work in the whole matter of our Salvation; yet, it is notorious, that the great majority both of prelates and preachers neither teach nor preach according to those Articles, but boldly disavow them; and brand those that hold them with the name of *heretic*.'

There is, of course, in this every way remarkable discourse, much that would afford opportunity for dissertation; and nothing that more tempts us to engage in it, than the boldness and broadness with which Mr. B. lays down his *dogmata* on the subject of Assurance. We shrink, however, from a discussion, of which all the cost would fall upon ourselves. Assertion is cheap, and Mr. Buteel deals in little else; nor do his modes of quotation supply the lack of argument. He is a ready textuary; but, of that only trustworthy method of citing Scripture, which

has invariable regard to the entire context, he is by no means a master.

It is now time for us to take up the *per contra* of the controversy; and Dr. Burton's pamphlet lies before us, an egregious specimen of official theology. The Doctor was, at one time, rather a favourite with us. His volume on the Ante-Nicene Testimonies, was a seasonable, and, on the whole, a well-executed performance; distinguished by a temperate firmness in the maintenance of right, and by a gratifying abstinence from the asperities which too frequently make a good cause questionable. Following necessarily in the steps of a singularly able controvertist, Bishop Bull, he yet exhibited proof of original inquiry; giving novelty to what was old, by putting the argument in a new light; and strengthening the evidence by the addition of important facts and impressive illustration. In this useful work, he seems, however, to have well nigh exhausted his energy. His pamphlet on 'the Power of the Keys,' has baffled our repeated efforts to analyse its argument; and his Bampton Lectures on the Gnostic heresy, which we have been lately inspecting for the purpose of reviewing, will not, we suspect, be found to place that difficult subject in a clearer light than has been done by Beausobre and Matter. The 'credit and renown' of the Regius Professor cannot, we are quite sure, derive any accession from his 'Remarks' on Mr. Bulteel's Sermon. He is not by any means a terse or spirited writer, nor does he always succeed in putting his argument in a distinct and advantageous form. Learning he has, and of the right sort; but he does not make a dexterous use of it; nor is he a distinguished master of that fine discrimination which is the most valid qualification for inquiries such as those to which he has devoted himself. In the instance before us, we are persuaded, that the Writer of the 'Strictures,' has fairly expressed the general feeling on the subject, in the following observations.

'Whatever immediate sensations were produced by the discourse preached in our University Church, on the 6th instant, by Mr. Bulteel,—whatever were the impressions which, on its delivery, that composition occasioned in the minds of the auditors,—it may be safely affirmed, that no other feelings than those of unqualified regret, took possession of the breast of every sensible man among us, when that production was announced for publication. The eyes of the University were turned instantly on the Regius Professor of Divinity, as the fittest person to undertake both their defence, and the defence of the Christian Religion and the Christian Church. Accordingly, in a few days appeared 'the Remarks,' which, I will venture to say, produced a sensation of surprise and disappointment in the public mind, more than commensurate with the previous regret.'

Well indeed might the more judicious feel both surprise and

disappointment; for never was failure more signal or less excusable. A simple exposure of error, a plain appeal to facts and documents, a pertinent citation of the Articles and the Scriptures,—nothing more, certainly nothing less, than this, was required at the hand of the Oxford champion. But, whether he sank under the difficulty of his task, or was betrayed by its apparent facility, he has halted miserably in its performance; and the irritation which marks his subsequent publication, seems to indicate consciousness of failure. The pamphlet to which we have referred in a former page, on the ‘Power of the Keys,’ contained some curious, but to us altogether unaccountable speculations on the subject of Baptism; and we should suppose that the topic was rather a favourite with the Professor, since he has again recourse to them as a sort of universal solvent.

‘The doctrine of our Church,’ writes Dr. Burton in his ‘Remarks’ on Mr. Bulteel’s Sermon, ‘as of the German Reformers, was, that man of his own free will could never perform works which would merit the favour of Heaven, or remove the consequences of Adam’s disobedience. The mercy of God alone, removed these consequences by the death of his Son: and the grace of God alone moves us by his Holy Spirit to accept the terms which are offered: but the Church also holds, as did the German Reformers, that this spiritual grace is offered to all persons without distinction; and that all persons may accept or reject it. He who accepts it, believes in Christ, and is taken into covenant with God by baptism. When he is baptized, he is figuratively said to have died with Christ: the penalty denounced upon him, as a child of Adam, is discharged: his past sins are blotted out: he figuratively, i. e. spiritually, rises again a new creature, and at that moment is righteous in the sight of God: his own sins, or that of his first parents, condemned him to death; the mercy of God has restored him to life; and this act of placing him in the covenant is termed justification. Every baptized person is justified: his past sins are forgotten: his faith is counted to him for righteousness: and if he should die before the commission of actual sin, he will undoubtedly be saved. This is the doctrine of the Church concerning justification. It is the first step in the application of God’s scheme of redemption to a sinner.’

We are not concerned with the Doctor’s peremptory assertion, that ‘this is the doctrine of the Church concerning justification;’ but we are very sure that it is not the doctrine of Scripture, nor the dictate of common sense, concerning any thing whatsoever. It would, we verily believe, be perfectly impossible to bring together a greater mass of self-contradictory absurdity within a similar space. We take it for granted that Dr. Burton must be a pædobaptist; and yet, on the supposition, it must baffle all ingenuity to give a grave meaning to some of his expressions. Happily, however, we are not called on to ex-

plain the perversions and confusions of this singular paragraph; and we are reluctant to waste time on that which may be very safely left to operate as its own antidote.

We have by this time, as we are inclined to think, given quite enough of this marvellous controversy, for the satisfaction of our readers. Of Mr. Bulteel and Dr. Burton, we have given our opinion already. It only remains to say, that the 'Strictures' are sensibly written; and that the pamphlet on the 'Doctrine of the Church of England,' although we cannot praise the style, contains valuable illustration of important matters.

Art. III. *Natural Theology*; or Essays on the Existence of Deity and of Providence, on the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State. By the Rev. Alex. Crombie, LL.D. F.R.S., and M.R.S.L. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 1270. Price 1l. 4s. London, 1829.

**S**CEPTICISM shews itself in so many forms, is so fertile of opinions, and so indefinite and capricious in its tendencies, as to preclude every attempt to describe its nature or to represent its affinities. There is no truth to which it will not oppose its influence: there is no error which it will not include in its friendships. There are no evidences so clear, no proofs so cogent, but it will resist them, and turn them aside from its regard in its wayward and destructive progress. It never rests, it never seeks repose. It prescribes to itself no rules to regulate its movements, and to guide its proceedings. It is daring in its presumptions, and bold in its denials. It discards revelation,—it disowns a providence,—it denies the being of a God. It sports with futurity; it laughs at immortality; it is restless in its efforts to divest man of the moral intelligence which constitutes his real greatness, and to reduce him to a brutish level. It views him in no other connexion than the present relation which he sustains to the things around him, and regards him as nothing more than a portion of the changing atoms which compose the material world. It is ever on the alert for enterprise, and watching for occasions of employing its stratagems and its powers, it becomes an impetuous, or a wary assailant, as may best answer its purpose in its conflicts; and, in the victories which it achieves, it consigns its captives to dank and chilling cells, where it leaves them to linger and to perish.

In the representation which we have laid before our readers, of the devious and baneful spirit which has intruded itself into nearly every department of human learning, and into almost

every walk of life, and by which the means of knowledge have been most extensively abused and perverted, we have not withdrawn either them or ourselves from the observation of what is real in the history of the human mind, to the contemplation of an image which might be classed with poetic fictions. In the history of ancient literature, there may be found abundant proofs of the existence of the sceptical spirit, accompanied with the memorials of its mischievous propensities and its dismal and pernicious effects. It could not much conduce to the edification of those whom we would willingly instruct or admonish, to have before them a digest of the multifarious tenets which the ancient philosophical sects included in their patronage of opinions. The collation of them would, however, present a curious exhibition, and shew in what manner, and to what extent, men who professed themselves to be wise had become fools. For this purpose, an enumeration of their extravagant conceits, and a survey of their gross and subtle speculations, might have their use. We should then see of what avail was the most patient application of the profoundest and most patient minds, to the questions which, in all ages of the world, must be to men the most interesting.

The sceptical schools in which so many pretenders to wisdom found disciples to follow them in the most bewildering of their mental wanderings, did not become extinct when their conductors left the world. The philosophers who promulgated the atomic system, and the other Atheistical doctrines which disfigure the history of Grecian genius, ceased to labour in the invention of novelties, and were prevented by death from multiplying the number of the irreligious sects which they aspired to establish; but their doctrines, not only in respect to the knowledge of them, but in regard to the living patronage and adoption of them, survived. The crudities of the ancient schools have found admirers among those who had access to the lights of better times: the masters of the old sects have not been without their successors in the inculcation of ridiculous dogmas, and the worst errors of heathen pretenders to wisdom, have been revived in countries which the beams of a superior learning have been long illuminating. Atheism has had its teachers and its pupils in our own age; and it would be deceiving ourselves, to presume that it has ceased to exist. Deference to generally received principles, may, in some instances, have been so felt, as to check the avowal of sceptical sentiments, or to modify the expression of them; but it were easy to name writers who have succeeded in loosening themselves from the restraints which are thus imposed, and who have come forward boldly to declare their disbelief of religion, and to advocate infidelity in its widest and most pernicious aberrations. Nor have their efforts in la-

bouring to draw away disciples after them, been abortive attempts; since there is but too much reason to fear, that the direct inculcation of sceptical doctrines in the works of some modern authors, and the insidious insinuation of them in other publications, have not been so ineffectual as to leave those sentiments the exclusive property of the original writers.

The magnitude of the evil which we detect in a system of unbelief that excludes from the relations and the obligations of mankind, an omniscient Observer and Judge of human actions, and from the universe an intelligent and almighty Creator, is so alarming to the fears of every one who regards religion as the essential safeguard of human happiness, that every attempt to expose it, and to diminish and abate its ravages, must be considered as a public benefaction. In such a design, the Author of the work before us has engaged. His qualifications for the service will be appreciated by his readers as amply equal to the task; and the temper which he manifests and preserves throughout, they will not fail to approve. His opportunities have not been few, or of rare occurrence, of observing the indications of a spirit unfavourable towards religion in the educated classes of the community. His avowals of his belief and of his fears in this respect, are but too well grounded. We have heard much of the circulation of irreligious publications among the lower orders; and clamorous have been the cries of many for their suppression by the arm of the law. In many of these instances, we have seen but too much reason to conclude, that, saving certain interests not essentially religious, the impieties so decried might have passed unnoticed. Whether in the lowest or the higher classes of society, the influence of infidelity is to be deprecated; but he most fitly shews himself to be cognizant of its evil working, who adopts the best modes of dealing with it as a moral contagion. For, as no one but a madman would unsheath the sword, or discharge a musket, as a remedy against the plague, other means than those of physical violence will be thought of by every one who would competently attempt to diminish and remove the malady of irreligion. Whoever will follow us in the perusal of the volumes which Dr. Crombie has put into our hands, will find that he well understands the character of the noxious disorder which, in its growth and prevalence, would inflict on mankind the direst calamities that could befall them. Whether he may have exhibited the specific remedy for the cure of scepticism, some persons may perhaps doubt; but he is at least correct in his exclusion of all applications but those which proceed on the principle, that the errors of the understanding will yield only to the evidence of truth. It is not only to the reasonings, but to the spirit and manner of his entire production, that this remark ap-



plies. There is in it nothing intemperate, nothing offensive. It is not only free from faults which might render it objectionable to a reader of mild and patient temper, but it is uniformly calculated to produce impressions in favour of the Author's avowed object,—to interest intelligent persons, who may be in danger of being seduced by sceptical influence, in the consideration of the most momentous moral questions to which the attention of human beings can be given.

What is the reason of the repugnance of the sceptic to the principles of religion? Is a man placed by Atheism in a better condition for being able to account most calmly and most reasonably for the phenomena which are present to his senses, and for the objects to which he directs his inquiries, than he would be by a system which begins and ends with God? Is it less philosophical to admit the agency of a Supreme, Omnipotent Being, possessing the perfection of intelligence, as the Author and Controller of nature, than to deny His existence? Is it wisdom in man, to look upon all things around him, and to ascribe the substance and the forms of all existing objects to necessity or chance, bringing himself, at the close of his survey of such a world as he inhabits, to the conclusion, that there is no infinite Mind to whom it owes its being? Atheism is an hypothesis of negations, which it has pleased some persons who have mastered the prejudices of education, and raised themselves above the common modes of thinking, to adopt. But, if we take the estimates of men's understandings from the utility or the consistency of their doctrines, to what rank shall we assign those who seek to be distinguished by absurd dogmas and cold and heartless speculations? To the communion of the wise and good they do not belong, whose highest labours are directed to cut off the human species from all associations, and from all hopes, but those which give them the interest of a brute in the pleasures and pains of a short and troubled existence. There is no doctrine which a man professes to believe, that should not be sufficient to justify his reception of it. But what are the advantages of Atheism? What are the attractions of a series of heartless propositions, such as this wretched hypothesis comprises? There is no God, nothing higher or better throughout the universe, than man himself! There is no providence, no inspection of the world by an omnipresent Being, no divine superintendence of its affairs, no cognizance of the actors in its scenes of private and public transactions! There is no futurity, no state in which man is again to live: he dies, and has finished such a life as that of the grazing animal; his vitality is for ever extinguished; and the grave, receiving the whole of him, concludes his hopes and his fears, and terminates all his prospects and all his interests! And there is no retribution hereafter;—no respon-

sibility rests on men in reference to a future judgement and the decisions of a righteous judge! What a base, degrading, demoralizing hypothesis! By what infatuations can man be seduced within its fatal circle? By what estrangements from the right path can he be led astray into the dreary, dismal wanderings where so many have perished? Who would not pity and deplore the wretched condition of the man who lives in the world without God? And who would have his understanding so debased, and his heart so withered and so dead, as to look with sullen indifference on the bright heavens and the verdant earth, on the flowers of the spring and the fruits of autumn, and withhold his belief from the acknowledgement of a divine ordination of whatever his eyes behold? Is there any spectacle more offensive and revolting than that on which we look, when we see the Sceptic as drawn by himself, surrounded with the conflicting elements of the moral world,—as when the lawless trample on the rights of the unoffending, who have no powers of resistance to prevent the most violent aggressions,—as when the innocent fall the victims of the villanous, who scruple neither oaths nor falsehoods to accomplish a nefarious purpose,—as when they who are most deeply injured receive no redress of their wrongs, and they who are the perpetrators of the greatest crimes escape punishment—and thinking with himself, There is no omniscient Being to govern the world, and hereafter to adjust the inequalities and disorders of it, by the application of an unerring standard of moral equity? *Sunt autem alii philosophi, et hi quidem magni et nobiles, qui Deorum mente atque ratione omnem mundum administrari et regi censeant.* The “Deorum” of Cicero, we must change for a more appropriate expression; but our business with the quotation is, to notice the epithets by which he has designated the philosophers of the Anti-Atheistical schools; and certainly there is nothing of the *magnus* or the *nobilis*, in those who waste the strength and acuteness of their minds, in the attempt to teach mankind lessons that arrest their aspirations after a better life, and gather round them the unwholesome and deadly damps of unbelief. The leaders who invite us to follow their guidance as the directors of our moral course, have disclosed too much of the prospects which they have found as limitations to human hopes, to induce us to follow them:—*incedunt mæstos locos, visuque deformes.* We can have no inclination to receive instructions from those who would conduct us through rough, and cheerless, and trackless deserts, deformed, and perilous with all the obliquities of error, only that we might reach the sterile shores of a dark and stormy ocean, frowning with horrors, concluding our enterprise and extinguishing our hopes. There is a more excellent way of employing our reflections on the disorders of the world, than that

which Scepticism teaches its votaries. "I saw under the sun, the place of judgement, that wickedness was there, and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there: I said in my heart, God shall judge the righteous and the wicked."

The subtilties of the Atheistical and sceptical philosophers are too abstruse to be at all intelligible to common minds. In their wild and extravagant speculations, the most conclusive proofs are furnished of the perversion of the intellectual faculties. Persons whose reading has not brought them within the circles into which these effusions have spread themselves, can have no conception of the follies which the mental energies of some men can work out from a very few elementary assumptions, when they have laid aside the restraints that regulate the understandings of the wise in all their aspirations after truth. It is inseparable from true wisdom, and one of the surest of its indications, that, in every proposition which it sanctions, and in all the applications which it makes of its researches and discoveries, there are intelligibility and consistency,—the means by which ordinary minds judge of the soundness of the reasoning faculty. To all sober minds, the absurdities of the Atheistical hypothesis are revolting, not only because they are impious, but as they are irrational. That they are acute and ingenious, may not be doubted, and so may be the ravings of a maniac; but the acuteness which we find in their lucubrations, is very different from the keenness which the healthy mind manifests in its dealings with the mixtures of truth and falsehood which come under its cognizance, and with the obscurities which exercise its patience. Sceptical writers do not offer to us the opinions and speculations which emanate from their restless imaginations, as amusements to recreate us, or as excitements to startle and rouse some indolent minds from the slumbers which previous appeals had failed to disturb; but they are addressed to us as grave solutions of the gravest questions which come under our discussion. Matter, they tell us, is self-existent and eternal; its present forms are the result of accident; no other laws than those of an unintelligent nature having at any time determined the shape and positions of the original atoms. The universe, in its primeval state, consisted of nebulous substances highly attenuated, out of which the planets and the stars were gradually formed by gravitation and condensation. The earth, in its primitive state, was possessed of a generative power, and contained the seeds of plants and animals, which, being accidentally thrown into their proper matrices, were expanded from embryos, and gradually grew into full maturity. An eternal principle of order is inherent in the universe. The influence of a revolving fluid, is assumed as sufficient to account for the celestial phenomena. These are some of the hypotheses

which atheistical metaphysicians and astronomers have devised as their contributions to human knowledge. An eternal, intelligent Agency is to be excluded from the constitution and course of nature. Such agency is by them pronounced to be unnecessary; and provided we separate ourselves from the adherents to the doctrine of a Divine First Cause of all things, we shall be allowed our free option of the other systems, however discordant they may be with each other, or in opposition to contrary presumptions. Whatever principle we may discard, if we do but unite with those who say, There is no God, we may obtain favour with the abettors of the atheistic dogmas, who are less tenacious of the peculiarities of their respective hypotheses, than they are agreed in their resistance to the first principle of religion. Religion is ever conjoined, in the view which some persons take of it, with prejudice or credulity; but he who yields himself to the seductions of the sceptical schools, may boast of his freedom from all sober and reasonable rules of faith. What are all the hypotheses which they put forward, but extravagant fancies, preposterous suppositions, revolting improbabilities, and odious sophistries? What are they but congeries of words, clusters of unmeaning expressions, and bundles of dark, dogmatical conceits?

Dr. Crombie has employed a considerable portion of his first volume in enumerating and describing the causes of Atheism. The language employed by philosophers, in explaining the phenomena of the universe, contributes, he remarks, to establish the belief of an exclusive physical agency. No term, perhaps, has been more powerful in leading into error, than that which is noticed by him as of that tendency,—*nature*. The notion of some secret inherent principle in matter, is conveyed by the expression, as it is frequently used; and as all words which are calculated, by the incautious employment of them, to induce serious error, should never be placed in a connexion in which they might lead the mind astray, the term in question ought to be so used by sober writers as never to afford occasion of confounding an effect with a cause. The habit of confining the attention to such views and speculations, as have a necessary tendency to generate and confirm a sceptical disposition, is another of the causes which the Author has noticed; and in describing it, he very properly remarks on the tendency of scepticism to multiply its own doubts. The truth of the following reflections, is too evident to be disputed; and the importance of them must be felt by all persons who have had occasions of observing the consequences of the associations against which Dr. Crombie's remarks are directed.

‘ Now, it is evident, that, to have our minds continually occupied in perusing the speculations of sceptical writers, is in fact to live in

communion with them, and to become, as it were, members of their society. This intercourse, it is impossible to maintain for any considerable time, without imbibing a portion of their spirit. There is a sympathy in sentiment, as well as in feeling; and we are irresistibly inclined to adopt the views, and embrace the opinions of those with whom we associate, and with whom we are in habits of constant communication. It requires no ordinary vigour of mind, to oppose the influence which a continual exhibition of the same views, the same motives, and the same arguments naturally possess. We yield, not because the motive is the most forcible, or the argument the most powerful, but because they are continually before us, soliciting our attention. How many thousands have been seduced into error by this single cause! How many have become sceptics by dwelling on the metaphysical subtleties of Spinoza and of Hume, or on the visionary cosmogonies of some French encyclopedists? They read and fancy, until their understandings are bewildered, and in imagination they dream that to be possible, which, in sober reason, they ridiculed as the reveries of an insane philosophy.' p. 15.

In the mind's conceit of its own powers, and in its pride of knowledge, the Author finds another of the causes of the debasing doctrine which he opposes. That, in adding this to the other causes which he enumerates, he is not unnecessarily multiplying the sources of this miserable impiety, every one who is an observer of mankind, must be but too sensible. The accomplishments of many individuals are most strangely overrated by themselves: instead of the docility and self-distrust which become learners, they manifest an arrogant spirit, and proceed to dogmatize, as if not only the remotest paths of knowledge had been explored by them, but the conceptions of their own minds were the standards of all opinions and of truth. It is not the vast attainments of some of the most highly gifted and most illustrious of the human race, who seem to stand apart from the species by their intellectual grandeur, that arrest our attention, so much as the modesty with which they announced their discoveries, or their improvements, when they conferred real services upon their kind, and the humility with which they spoke of themselves as conversant only with the elements of science and the rudiments of wisdom. How finely does the picture of Newton, drawn by himself, contrast with the self-sufficiency of the arrogant sciolist! 'I know not what the world will think of my labours,' said the Prince of philosophers, 'but to myself it seems that I have been but as a child playing on the sea-shore; now finding some pebble rather more polished, and now some shell rather more agreeably variegated than another, while the immense ocean of truth extended itself before me.' How could we put in contrast with this admirable saying, the inflated expressions of the vain and flippant dogmatist! Great minds bear their faculties

meekly. But there are minds of a different order, who, with a 'little learning', and not a fourth of Newton's years upon their heads, imagine themselves competent to the decision of every question. 'Conceit in human wisdom', Dr. Crombie remarks, 'is necessarily attended with extravagant notions of the extent of human knowledge,' and 'is uniformly accompanied with narrow views, precipitate judgements, and dogmatic conclusions.' Throughout these volumes, the reader will find most satisfactory proofs of the varied and solid attainments of the Author, whose simplicity of manner, and most entire freedom from the faults against which his censure and his caution are directed, give effect to the lesson in the following paragraph.

'The best corrective of conceit is, to become acquainted with ourselves. No man who has taken the trouble to examine the capacities of the human mind, to measure the extent of its powers, to consider how little he can penetrate into the secrets of nature, even in that little world in which he exists, how insignificant is the spot on which he lives in the immensity of creation, and how liable he is to error in all his speculations,—there is no man who reflects seriously on these things, but must retire from the contemplation, humbled under the conviction, that his experience of modes of existence, and laws of being, is extremely limited, and that, seeing little, and understanding still less, conceit, arrogance, and presumption are unbecoming his character.'

Vol. I. pp. 33, 34.

We do not dispute the propriety of Dr. Crombie's assigning as one cause of Atheism, the unworthy and degrading apprehensions which have been entertained of the nature of Deity, by some Theists; but we do not think that he has exhausted the reasons which may be deduced from the forms and associations in which religion has been viewed, and the influence which they have produced, as causes of impelling men to the renunciation of all religion. No one acquainted with the history of religion can possibly doubt, that very dishonourable conceptions of the Supreme Being have been entertained by religionists in modern times, as well as by some of the ancient professors of philosophy. But we may question whether the supralapsarian tenets have had much to do in the way of making men Atheists. If we could ascertain the whole process by which men have been repelled by the influence of religious dogmas from the ranks of Theism, we should not, we believe, find much occasion to attribute to the doctrines of the higher Calvinistic school an effect of this kind. The most prolific source of extreme scepticism has escaped Dr. Crombie's observation, or, at least, does not appear so distinctly and fully in his chapter of causes, as it might. The sincerity of religious opinions, discovered by the subjection of the mind that receives them to a moral influence, will scarcely prove offensive to an inquirer after truth. But the ostentatious observance of religious



ceremonies, and the constant averment of believing doctrines which neither the understanding admits nor the heart obeys, are a very effective preparation for the renunciation of all religious profession. A rigorous exactness in the performance of religious rites which custom or the prescriptions of authority have imposed, by persons of corrupt habits, to whom religion is, at all other times than when they are practising the ceremonies by which superstition has gained its ascendancy over them, a mockery,—both sows and quickens into growth the seeds of Atheism. The influence of supralapsarianism was, we should suppose, imperceptible among the causes which produced the Atheism of the continental philosophers and men of letters and fashion. It was a matter of course with many writers of our own country, to declaim against the Atheism of France, during the awful progress of the first Revolution, and to charge the excesses of those terrible times to the account of the abettors of that baneful system. But in what did this infidelity originate? Not, certainly, in the hyper-Calvinism of the French clergy, or of the French noblesse. It was in the State popery of the nation, that the pest was generated. What wonder need we express that so many were found to divest themselves of the belief of a God, when we direct our reflections to the pompous celebrations of superstitious rites, by the Court and the privileged orders of the country, who were the open and avowed patrons of the most scandalous profligacy? And what surprise shall we find occasion to utter, if, on the breaking of the rod of despotism in Portugal, in Spain, in Italy, or other countries which have so long crouched beneath the yoke of a corrupt ghostly dominion, the profession of religion should be renounced by thousands? Religion itself is unknown to them. Of its principles, they have no knowledge. The Creed and the Ave Maria are to them the text and the comment of religious instruction; and these, they only mutter from their lips, at the command of the guardians of the church which has spell-bound them in ignorance, and gives them its licence to sin. The confessional and the mass supply no light to the mind; they dispense with all intelligence in the devotee, who is sure that ignorance the most profound will never be in diminution of his merit. In such circumstances, the misleader and the misled may go on quietly together. But the deceptions and the delusions which are the cement of the union, may happen to be exposed; and as the uses of the system are detected, as yielding its support to the worst practices and the worst pretensions from which mankind can suffer wrong, it is sure to be discarded. An aversion is contracted towards the claims, and even the very name of religion, by minds so abused; and the transition is neither rare nor unaccountable, from the most superstitious deference to the prescriptions

of an external ritual, to the extreme of irreligion. *Facilis descensus Averni*. How many infidels have state religions produced!

Whatever ingenuity, or proof of superior powers of ratiocination, may be discovered in those writers who have had recourse to abstract reasonings, in dealing with the question of a Supreme Intelligence, there is, perhaps, but little ground for attributing to any of their productions the praise which may be claimed for successful labours. Metaphysical arguments on this subject can be addressed only to minds of a particular order; and to these, they furnish the materials of trying their acuteness and strength, rather than the means of guiding their judgements to satisfactory conclusions. Clarke has not hesitated to prefix to his celebrated volume, the title, 'A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God;' and in proceeding with the 'one only Method,' which he had selected for the trial of his intellectual strength, he professes to conduct his proofs in as close a conformity as possible to mathematical forms. To demonstrate, is to shew a thing as it is, or to establish the truth of any assumed proposition. Clarke undertakes to demonstrate the existence of God; and the 'one only method' which he has selected, is the well-known argument *à priori*. In proceeding with it, he sets out with his first proposition, That something has existed from eternity, and goes on with the second and following ones: That there has existed from eternity some one immutable and independent Being: That such Being which has existed from eternity without any external cause of its existence, must be self-existent, &c. And the terms of his eighth proposition are, That the self-existent and original cause of all things must be an Intelligent Being. This, he observes, is the main question between us and the Atheists. But how does he attempt to determine it? He acknowledges that it is not easily proved *à priori*. In fact, he abandons the *à priori* argument. Whatever, therefore, he has accomplished by it, it is evident, that if the conclusions which it forces upon us stop short of this point, that the self-existent Being is an *intelligent* Being, it avails but little in enabling us to repel the fallacies of the sceptic. If Clarke found it necessary to the completion of his argument, (which requires an intelligent perfect Being,) to desert the assumptions and mode of reasoning by which he professes to have established the eternity and infinity of the self-existent Being, he virtually admits the insufficiency of the form of demonstration which he applies to the solution of the primary question in his series of philosophical investigations. Whiston informs us, that, in a conversation which he had with Clarke soon after the publication of the 'Demonstration,' and in which, he remarked, that the Author of the 'Discourse on the Being and Attributes of God,' had dealt a great deal in abstract and metaphysical rea-

soning, he asked him, how he ventured into such subtleties ; and at the same time, shewing him a nettle or some contemptible weed in his garden, told him, that ‘ that weed contained better ‘ arguments for the being and attributes of God, than all his ‘ metaphysics.’ Clarke confessed it to be so ; but alleged for himself, that since such philosophers as Hobbes and Spinoza had made use of those kinds of subtleties *against*, he thought it proper to shew, that the like way of reasoning might be made better use of *on the side* of religion. In his ‘ Answer to a seventh Letter,’ Clarke assigns this very reason for the abstract discussions elaborated by him in his book. He admits the argument from design to be by far the most generally useful argument, most easy to be understood, and in some degree, suited to all capacities ; and therefore it ought, he says, always to be distinctly insisted upon. ‘ But forasmuch as Atheistical writers ‘ have sometimes opposed the Being and Attributes of God by ‘ such metaphysical reasonings as can no otherwise be obviated ‘ than by arguing *à priori*, therefore this manner of arguing also ‘ is useful, and necessary in its proper place.’ But what, may we not ask, is its proper place ? Abstract arguments may have their use, when they are limited to the refutation of intricate but plausible hypotheses, or are employed to detect and expose the errors and absurdities of a series of conjectures, artfully constructed into an imposing system ; but, in reference to the question of intelligent Self-existence, they are misplaced. They cannot determine the debate on the opposite sides of which are ranged the Theist and the Atheist. For the essential difference between these, is, not existence or non-existence ; not either the assertion or the denial of eternal existence ; (for that something has ever existed, is believed by both ; ) but the existence of an intelligent First Cause. He who excludes intelligence from his conception of an eternal self-existent Being, is an Atheist ; and he who refers the existence of the universe to an original, uncaused, Intelligent Being, believes in God.

‘ In every view of the subject, it resolves itself into a question of fact. “ Are there, or are there not, conclusive proofs in the phenomena of nature, that they must be the productions of an Intelligent Author ? ” And, if the affirmative be evinced, by such evidence as the question admits, and such as is deemed conclusive in all our other reasonings in matter of fact,—if it can be shewn, that we must either assent to the doctrine of Theism, or renounce the common and acknowledged principles of human belief, the truth of a Supreme Intelligent First Cause must be regarded as established on grounds of the highest moral certainty, excluding the possibility of rational doubt, or dissent. And here let me repeat, that it is a dangerous error to suppose, that moral evidence, on which this question rests, cannot be accompanied with the same firm conviction, as a scientific demonstration. The

clearest mathematical truth, as has been already observed, does not lay a firmer hold on our understanding, or gain a more doubtless assent, than many which rest solely on the cogency of moral evidence. No mathematician believes with less certainty, that he exists, and thinks, and wills, or that there are other beings beside himself, than that triangles, standing on equal bases, and between the same parallels, are equal. Though mathesis, therefore, may boast of being conversant in truths necessary and immutable, we should bear in mind, that it is as much a law of our nature to believe in certain moral truths, as in any abstract axiom whatever. No man can feel himself more certain, that two and two make four, than that he was alive yesterday.'

Vol. I. pp. 384, 385.

In the section which immediately follows this passage, the Author states the principles on which the argument *à posteriori*, in favour of Theism, is founded. Order and regularity are the grounds on which the presumption or the proof of design arises. Design implies intelligence. It is the result of wisdom, projecting or contemplating an end, and forming and adapting means for its accomplishment. Plain and simple as the account which is thus given of design may seem to be, it has been supposed to stand in need of explanation; and the inquiry has been suggested as a necessary one, Whether the conclusion from arrangement of parts to an intelligent cause, be founded in reason, or be the result of experience? It may be in satisfaction of the demands of some thinkers, to enter into the discussion of this query; but, for the purpose of the primary inquiry to which it relates, it may be sufficient to notice, that the invariable course which mankind take, in assigning the reasons of the distinctions which are made by them, is to connect intelligence with all such objects as manifest contrivance. The argument *à posteriori*, is universally admitted in the daily and common affairs of life. It is assumed as correct and proper, and as essential in human judgements, by the Sceptic. With him, then, the question is, Why, on the grounds on which mankind rest their conclusions invariably and without hesitation, when they ascribe, from their perceptions of the objects before them, the work to a workman, and any particular act to a rational agent,—should they not attribute to a Supreme Intelligence the existence of the world, which is replete with proofs of design? He can only evade the conclusion by denying the evidence, adduced to prove design, to be sufficient. On this ground, the discussion must proceed. It has, indeed, been so repeatedly and so powerfully occupied by the class of philosophers to whom the epithets *magni et nobiles* belong, that little more seems to be required from the modern advocates of Theism, than to select and arrange materials from the accumulations of their predecessors. The example which Cicero long

ago used in illustration of his objection to the doctrine of the philosophers who ascribed the origin of the world to chance, has been often borrowed, and is as appropriate and complete as any analogy can be. ‘*Hoc qui existimari fieri potuisse, non intelligo cur non idem putet, si innumerabiles unius et viginti formæ literarum vel aureæ, vel quales libet, aliquo conjiciantur, posse, ex his in terram excussis, annales Ennii, ut deinceps legi possent effici.*’ Chance, or whatever may be comprehended in any of the terms employed by Atheistical writers, or their disciples, might as soon produce from a random throw of letters, a book of Annals, or an Iliad, as originate from any concourse of atoms, the world which we inhabit. Dr. Crombie’s enumeration of proofs of design, connected with his argument, extend through many pages of his work (Vol. I. 432—604, Vol. II. to p. 133); a considerable proportion of them being derived from the mental constitution of man, in respect to which he justly remarks:—

‘If the structure of the human body evinces, in every part of it, the hand of a wise and designing Cause, the constitution of the human mind, as endowed with certain intellectual and active powers, by which we are enabled to perceive, and think, and will, proceeding, by gradual steps, from the elements of knowledge, until we ultimately arrive at science and philosophy, furnishes another most impressive evidence, that there exists a Supreme and Intelligent Being, its great original, and the mighty Parent of all intellectual existence.’

Vol. I. pp. 573, 574.

From the discussions thus introduced, we could with pleasure quote many impressive passages; but we must satisfy ourselves with transcribing the following paragraph.

‘Such are the intellectual faculties of the human mind, by the aid of which man is capacitated, as an individual, to acquire knowledge, and as a species, to advance in art and science, with a progress bounded by no assignable limits. When we contemplate, indeed, the wonderful effects which these powers are capable of accomplishing, that by them man, living here on a distant spot, is enabled to explore the planetary motions, to trace the cometary orbits, to measure untrodden distances in celestial space, to steer his way through the dark, untried, and trackless deep, to draw even the lightning down from the clouds of heaven, subjecting the powers of material nature to his dominion, at the same time, he explores the recesses of the unseen mind; when we contemplate these wonders, to believe, that such powers could originate in any possible arrangement or modification of senseless rambling atoms, seems to be the most pitiable darkness of understanding,—the most deplorable perversion of the human intellect. To tell us, that those powers had no origin, is to assert a position contradicted by facts. Not only do the astonishing effects, of which they are productive, exclude the credibility of this hypothesis, but their intimate

connexion with one another, their common co-operation to one end, evince their origin to be intelligence. And, if we consider for a moment, with what wonderful nicety the system is constituted in all its parts, and by what slight causes it may be deranged, at the same time, what, without the wisdom of an Intelligent Author, it most probably would have been, we must rationally be conducted to the same conclusion. Let the adjustments established in our mental constitution be subverted, let the balance of its powers be disturbed, and the whole fabric becomes immediately disjointed and deranged. Let imagination, for example, acquire a morbid predominance, and we either perceive the miserable hypochondriac moping in the gloom of the deepest melancholy, and brooding over his imaginary evils, or we see the maniac gnawing at his chain and raving with fury. Let reason or common sense be wanting, and we behold the idiot with vacant stare, or unmeaning laugh, talking to his fingers, or grasping the glittering soap-bubble. It matters not, whether these deplorable evils arise from mental constitution, or from causes purely physical. If the latter hypothesis should be asserted, the admirable delicacy with which the organs are constructed, equally evinces the intelligence of their cause. If man was the offspring of chance or necessity, why is not insanity or idiotism the character of the species? It is the pitiable lot of some; why does it not pervade the race? Is there any thing in the nature of chance, or of an ignorant fatality, which can rationally lead any mind to believe, that, though neither acquainted with causes, nor provident of consequences, it can, notwithstanding, be capable of precluding these evils from the common condition of humanity, or of preventing causes, which operate only partially, from acting generally or universally? To refer the nicety of our organization, or the due adjustment of our intellectual powers, to material properties, acting by necessity, as the sole and primary, because we perceive or believe them to be immediate, causes, is to confound proximate with ultimate agency—the effects of intelligent with those of unintelligent power. With equal reason might it be asserted, that we are not to look beyond the mechanical properties and action of the wheels of a clock, to account for its construction and its motion.'

Vol. II. pp. 50—55.

In proceeding with the argument founded on the intellectual and moral faculties of man, as furnishing evidence that he is the production of an Intelligent and Wise Being, the Author adduces many interesting discussions illustrative of the human constitution, in its mutual relations of dependence and congruity; forming a series of most conclusive reasonings in refutation of the atheistical assumptions of chance and necessity, which are amply shewn to be unmeaning and gratuitous. A sober mind must ever revolt at the attempt to substitute in the place of a designing Cause, such irrational suppositions as these, which the authors of them never fail to stultify, in their own judgements of the works of human agents. Why do not all men desire the same objects, and devote themselves to the



same pursuits? Why, instead of the most striking diversity, from which arises so much of the beauty and harmony of the moral creation, and so much of the pleasure of individuals, have we not a constant uniformity? Why is there not in nature a perpetual, uninterrupted monotony? Why, instead of the variety which is presented to our observation, does not the instinct of creatures impel them all in one direction? We have three answers to such questions, It is chance—it is necessity—it is design, that accounts for the established order. Chance is not either a cause, or a reason; and as little can we admit necessity. A designing Power is the only intelligible expression possible to be included in the answer that an unsophisticated mind will require or give.

‘ . . . . The hypothesis of an eternal material necessity amounts to this, that senseless atoms cannot but produce sentient beings; that what has no intelligence, cannot but create intelligence; that what has no notion of order, cannot but establish order; that particles devoid of beauty and utility, cannot but arrange themselves into useful and beautiful forms; that what has no conception of purpose, acts, notwithstanding, so as to accomplish beneficial effects; that what has no foresight, acts with the wisdom of Providence; that what has no knowledge of its own powers, cannot but direct those powers to the production of good. The Atheist, who can embrace a hypothesis involving paradoxes so repulsive to common understanding, has no reason to doubt the capacity of his faith.’ Vol. II. p. 108.

We have but very imperfectly described the nature and contents of the work before us, and have not noticed some of the principal topics on which the Author has enlarged, such as Providence, the Immateriality of the Soul, and a Future State. Nor have we been able to accompany him in the previous disquisitions on the Attributes of the Deity. All of these subjects are very ably treated. The work, it will be noticed, bears the same title as Paley’s admirable volume. It is, however, a very different work, embracing many subjects not included in his design. We had intended to conclude our notice of Dr. Crombie’s Essays, with some remarks on the propriety of adducing, in every disputation in favour of religion, the testimonies and claims of Revelation. But, not wishing to extend this article, we must content ourselves with simply throwing out the hint for the consideration of our readers.

Art. IV.—1. *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France*, from the Year 1807, to the Year 1814. By W. F. P. Napier. 8vo. Vols. II. and III. pp. 1202. London. 1829—1831.

. *Memoir*, written by General Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., of his  
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Proceedings as connected with the Affairs of Spain, and the Commencement of the Peninsular War. 8vo. pp. 333. London. 1830.

3. *Notes on the Campaign of 1808, 1809, in the North of Spain.* By Lieut.-Col. T. S. Sorell. 8vo. pp. 57. London. 1828.
4. *Strictures on certain Passages of Lieut.-Col. Napier's History of the Peninsular War*, which relate to the Military Opinions and Conduct of Gen. Lord Viscount Beresford. 8vo. pp. 137. London. 1831.

**I**T was not within the limits of probability, that a work like Colonel Napier's could pass unchallenged. It is far too bold and uncompromising in its statements and its strictures, to be acceptable among those individuals whose reputations depend on the discouragement of all such severe and searching investigations. Sad havoc does it make, and merciless devastation, among vanities and quackeries; nor do the loftiest escape unscathed. Yet, in no writer have we found a more full and generous concession of praise to the praiseworthy; nor does he fail to make every possible allowance for casualty, uncertainty, and unavoidable infirmity. It is said, and the anecdote has much plausibility, that, when application was made to the Duke of Wellington for the communication of original documents, his Grace replied: 'Yes, let him have them. He is a ——— radical; but 'he is an honest fellow, and he will tell the truth.' The Duke knew his man: the truth has been told: and the result has been, an imperishable monument to the great Commander, and the unrivalled soldiery, who achieved the triumphs of the Peninsular war. Errors there must be, of course: it is quite impossible that such a collection of details and criticisms can have been brought together, without mistakes both in judgement and statement; but, so far as his censurers have hitherto gone, they have effected every little in the way of important invalidation.

Lord Strangford's pamphlets have not, we believe, excited much attention, nor can they in any degree have shaken the authority of Colonel Napier's work. The point in question was of little historical importance; and the readers of the controversy will, probably, be of opinion, that the marking features of the case were fairly enough given in the Colonel's narrative.

Colonel Sorell's 'Notes' are valuable contributions to the History of Sir John Moore's Campaign; and they supply correction to certain misstatements which have obtained currency, concerning the movements of the division under the command of Sir David Baird. The Colonel writes in an exceedingly good and business-like style; and his anxiety to exhibit in the fairest light, the character and conduct of his friend and commander, does him the highest credit. His statements are unquestion-

able, since he had, as military secretary and aide-de-camp to Sir David, the best possible opportunities for observation and confidential communication. The special intent of his pamphlet is to shew,—

‘ 1st. That every effort was made to prepare the division which landed at Coruña for the field, and to effect its junction with that under Sir John Moore.

‘ 2dly. That Sir David Baird did not, as stated by Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, in his History of the War in the Peninsula, retire from Astorga to Villa Franca, until ordered to do so by Sir John Moore.

‘ And, 3dly. That the disorder and irregularity which attended the retreat, ought principally to be ascribed to the fatigues and privations which the army underwent, and not to any want of exertion on the part of the officers in command.’

On the whole, Colonel Sorell will be deemed to have established his main points, and to have supplied much valuable and interesting illustration of the unfortunate campaign to which his notes refer. We cannot, however, help thinking, that he has made rather too much of his *second* head of discussion. He certainly proves his assertion; and we admit that the paragraph which he cites from Napier, *may* be taken as intimating that the retrograde movement on Villa Franca was Sir David Baird’s own act and deed. Yet it may also, very fairly, bear a different construction. Colonel Napier simply gives the historical fact, that Baird ‘ fell back ’, and nowhere affirms that the retreat was *suâ sponte*. On the contrary, by stating that Sir John Moore ‘ recalled ’ Sir David, he seems to imply that both the movements were consequent upon orders from head quarters.

Of the ‘ Strictures ’, we cannot speak in terms equally laudatory. They are, evidently, the expression of personal ill-will; and if there had not been circumstances which lead to a fair guess at the Writer’s name, we should have at once set the pamphlet down as the work of some cavilling and ill-tempered lawyer, snappish and petulant, and loading his brief with all kinds of innuendo and special pleading. The Author would have done well to imitate Colonel Sorell, in the statement of strong facts, backed by authoritative documents, leaving the reader to form his own conclusions: but he has preferred the less satisfactory plan of mingling together detail, explanation, snarling, reasoning, evasion, and perversion of meaning. If we could spare half a dozen pages, and if we supposed that our readers would feel interested in such a process, we could give emphatic illustration of all this; but we must confine ourselves to a single specimen of the strange system of confusion and misrepresentation, which the pamphleteer would fain have pass

for triumphant exposure. Colonel Napier had stated, that Soult 'might establish himself firmly in the provinces beyond the Douro, but he could not alone force his way to Lisbon, a distance of 200 miles, in a season when the waters were full, and through a country tangled with rivers, mountains, and defiles.' What does the Writer of the 'Strictures' reply to this?

'I agree fully in the Author's conclusion, but not in the reasons on which he grounds it. There is something curious in his discovering that these comparatively trifling rivers are all *full* at this season of the year, after having described the Tagus as every where fordable. But where are these mountains, which Lieutenant-Colonel Napier has placed between Oporto and Lisbon? There are some small, and, at times in the winter season, difficult rivers between Coimbra and Oporto; but as their course is short, so, the rain ceasing, their force is soon expended, and the impediments they present are of short duration. The great difficulties offered by these rivers, and by the nature of the ground, are between Oporto and the Vouga. There is here a tract of difficult country, if well defended; but this was all in the undisputed possession of Marshal Soult. His advanced posts were on the Vouga; and he could, when he pleased, have passed that river and arrived at Coimbra. Now, from that place to the lines, the Duke of Wellington did not find, on his retiring after the battle of Bussaco, any position which he thought sufficiently good to occupy for a day.'

We do not undertake to expose all the contradictions of this strange paragraph. Respecting the fords of the Tagus, the Writer and Colonel Napier are totally at variance, and we are unable to say which is right; though we could easily shew that, whether right or wrong, the explanations of the anonymous Author do not affect the positions of the Historian. But, concerning the obstacles to military possession of the ground between Lisbon and Oporto, it would be difficult to find a parallel to the absurdities of this passage. He first asks, where are to be found the mountains which Napier 'has placed *between Oporto and Lisbon*'; and then proves the non-existence of such elevations, by stating that Wellington could find no good position *between Bussaco and the Lines of Torres Vedras*. But the Sierra de Buzaco, and the strong ground of the Lines, surely lie between Oporto (or, if it will better please the Pamphleteer, between the Vouga) and Lisbon: why then are they to be excluded from consideration, when they are the very points in question. Colonel Napier, expressly referring to the strong ground in front of Coimbra, and to the rugged region in front of Lisbon, speaks of the difficulties which they oppose to an invader; and his sagacious antagonist replies by gravely stating, that, in the low country between these tracts, there is no defensible position. Napier affirms, that the country between Lis-

bon and Oporto affords great advantages to an army on the defensive. He of the pamphlet answers triumphantly, that, of the country *between Coimbra and Torres Vedras*, the affirmation is not true. The Historian says of the mountain range of Buzaco and the wild region south of the Monte Junto, that they are not easily forced by an enemy; and the gainsayer fancies it a demolishing reply to say, that the intermediate space may be readily traversed.

We are unacquainted with the secret history of this egregious pamphlet, but it carries with it an air of superciliousness and determination to put down the obnoxious historiographer, that savour strongly of disquietude and apprehension. 'Easy credulity'; 'political bias'; 'senseless prejudice'; 'superficial knowledge'; ignorance of 'localities'; an 'intellectual vision thickly offuscated by the mists of party prejudices'; want of experience in command; shrewd intimations that the unfortunate history under criticism is but 'a silly mockery, a shadow without substance, a collection of vulgar and unfounded rumours, and not at all a narration of facts';—such is the language in which this anonymous gentleman permits himself to speak of a work which has been received with general admiration; of which the first military authorities have spoken in high praise; which the Author of the *Précis des Evénemens Militaires* has prefaced with strong eulogy; and to which Sir Hew Dalrymple has applied the term 'incomparable'. Was it that there arose an anxiety to pre-occupy the public mind, in the anticipation of that part of Colonel Napier's work which was to describe the battle of Albuera? Or could there be a hope that the Colonel himself might be intimidated to a milder tone? If it were so, never was expectation more grievously disappointed, for no general was ever less ceremoniously handled, than is Lord Beresford in the volume just published. Concerning his conduct in that bloody conflict, Napier speaks as follows.

'No general ever gained a great battle with so little increase of military reputation as Marshal Beresford. His personal intrepidity and strength, qualities so attractive for the multitude, were conspicuously displayed; yet the breath of his own army withered his laurels, and his triumph was disputed by the very soldiers who followed his car. Their censures have been reiterated, without change, and without abatement, even to this hour; and a close examination of his operations, while it detects many ill-founded objections, and others tainted with malice, leaves little doubt that the general feeling was right.'

The pamphlet-writer seems to think that he has detected Colonel Napier in a marvellous inconsistency, by referring to passages where Marshal Beresford is accused, in one place, of rashness, in another, of deficiency in enterprise. We see no in-

compatibility whatever between the characters. Nothing is more common than for inferior minds to confound the reverse of wrong with right; and none more likely to pass to the opposite extreme, than the unenterprising man, when roused into action by unusual excitement. If the Writer demand illustration, we refer him to the conduct of his favourite general in two remarkable instances. When it was, to all appearance at least, in his power to cut off the retreat of Soult at the *Saltador* of Misarella, he was inert:—when, contrary to all expediency, he engaged the same accomplished commander on the heights of Albuera, he was rash.

Of the Memoir written by the late Sir Hew Dalrymple, our criticism must be brief. It is an exceedingly able and well-written document, containing much valuable information concerning the outbreaking of the Spanish insurrection against Napoleon, and a decisive vindication of his own conduct in connexion with the Convention of Cintra. It exposes the scandalous intrigue which first misled the people of England, as to the real character of that transaction, and then imposed the whole burden of its assumed disgracefulness on the shoulders of Sir Hew. We recommend it as an interesting companion to the work of Colonel Napier.

. The great work, of which the second and third volumes are now before us, proceeds with unabated spirit. Of Vol. II., as it has for some time been before the public, we shall say nothing more than may be sufficient to indicate its contents: the third division, which is just published, will claim from us somewhat more attention. The second volume, commencing with the entry of Joseph into Madrid, details the siege of Zaragoza; the operations in Catalonia, and the movements of Blake; Soult's advance upon the Douro, and the brilliant manœuvres by which Sir Arthur Wellesley drove him over the frontier of Portugal; the marches and battles of the Spanish armies, and the campaign of Talavera. An instance of the cool and imperturbable spirit of the great General who commanded the English troops, during the latter period, *will not* be passed over. It occurred at a critical moment of the battle of Talavera.

‘ The Spanish camp was full of confusion and distrust. Cuesta inspired terror, but no confidence; and Albuquerque, whether from conviction or instigated by momentary anger, just as the French were coming on to the final attack, sent one of his staff to inform the English commander that Cuesta was betraying him. The aide-de-camp charged with this message, delivered it to Colonel Donkin, and that officer carried it to Sir Arthur Wellesley. The latter, seated on the summit of the hill which had been so gallantly contested, was intently watching the movements of the advancing enemy; he listened to this somewhat startling message without so much as turning his head, and



then drily answering—‘ *Very well, you may return to your brigade*’, continued his survey of the French. Donkin retired, filled with admiration of the imperturbable resolution and quick penetration of the man; and, indeed, Sir Arthur’s conduct was, throughout that day, such as became a general upon whose vigilance and intrepidity the fate of fifty thousand men depended’.

Colonel Napier’s third volume commences with the Catalonian campaign in 1809, and proceeds to describe the brave, but injudicious efforts of the Spanish armies in the other provinces, the invasion of Andalusia, and the investment of Cadiz. During these operations, Lord Wellington had remained nearly inert. But a more active season at length arrived, and in the following year, he began that series of movements which were to terminate only in the complete liberation of Spain. It was in July 1810, that the campaign began by the ‘ *Combat of the Coa*’. General Crawford, commanding the light division, could not prevail on himself, notwithstanding Lord Wellington’s positive orders, to withdraw without fighting. His situation was most perilous, and his dispositions seem to have been defective; but the admirable conduct of the inferior officers, with the perfect discipline of the troops, extricated the division from its danger; the bridge of the Coa was passed, and the soldiers formed on the bank for its defence. A gallant attempt was made by the French to carry it by storm; and the following animated passage describes their assault and defeat.

‘ The French skirmishers, swarming on the right bank, opened a biting fire, which was returned as bitterly: the artillery on both sides played across the ravine, the sounds were repeated by numberless echoes, and the smoke, rising slowly, resolved itself into an immense arch, spanning the whole chasm, and sparkling with the whirling fuzes of the flying shells. The enemy gathered fast and thickly; his columns were discovered forming behind the high rocks, and a dragoon was seen to try the depth of the stream above; but two shots from the fifty-second killed horse and man, and the carcasses, floating between the hostile bands, shewed that the river was impassable. The monotonous tones of a French drum were then heard, and in another instant, the head of a noble column was at the long narrow bridge. A drummer and an officer in a splendid uniform, leaped forward together, and the whole rushed on with loud cries. The depth of the ravine at first deceived the soldiers’ aim, and two thirds of the passage was won ere an English shot had brought down an enemy; yet a few paces onwards the line of death was traced, and the whole of the leading French section fell as one man! Still, the gallant column pressed forward, but no foot could pass that terrible line; the killed and wounded rolled together, until the heap rose nearly even with the parapet, and the living mass behind melted away rather than gave back. The shouts of the British now rose loudly, but they were confidently answered, and, in half an hour, a second column, more numerous than

the first, again crowded the bridge. This time, however, the rage was better judged, and ere half the distance was won, the multitude was again torn, shattered, dispersed, and slain; ten or twelve men only succeeded in crossing, and took shelter under the rocks at the brink of the river. The skirmishing was renewed, and a French surgeon coming down to the very foot of the bridge, waved his handkerchief, and commenced dressing the wounded under the hottest fire; nor was his appeal unheeded; every musket turned from him, although his still undaunted countrymen were preparing for a third attempt. The impossibility of forcing the passage was, however, become too apparent; and this last effort, made with feebler numbers and less energy, failed almost as soon as it commenced.

Still, the *tirailade* was kept up; by the French, with the object of favouring the retreat of the small party which had effected the passage; by the English, in reply to the fire of the enemy. At length the fight wholly ceased, and Crawford availed himself of the cessation, to withdraw his troops and place them in safety. During the battle, he had been anxiously looking for support from the troops in the rear; but they were not forthcoming, and his disobedience to the orders of the commander-in-chief, might have been most disastrous. Yet, assistance was at hand,—and the following characteristic description of two most gallant officers, cannot but be gratifying to our readers.

‘During the fight, General Picton came up alone from Pinhel. Crawford desired the support of the third division; it was refused; and, excited by some previous disputes, the generals separated after a sharp altercation. Picton was decidedly wrong, because Crawford’s situation was one of extreme danger; he durst not retire, and Massena might undoubtedly have thrown his reserves, by the bridge of Castello Bom, upon the right flank of the division, and destroyed it, between the Coa and Pinhel rivers. Picton and Crawford were, however, not formed by nature to act cordially together. The stern countenance, robust frame, saturnine complexion, caustic speech, and austere demeanor of the first, promised little sympathy with the short thick figure, dark flashing eyes, quick movements, and fiery temper of the second; nor, indeed, did they often meet without a quarrel. Nevertheless, they had many points of resemblance in their characters and fortunes. Both were inclined to harshness, and rigid in command, both prone to disobedience, yet exacting entire submission from inferiors, and they were alike ambitious and craving of glory. They both possessed decided military talents, were enterprising and intrepid, yet neither were (was) remarkable for skill in handling troops under fire. This, also, they had in common; that both, after distinguished services, perished in arms, fighting gallantly, and, being celebrated as generals of division while living, have, since their death, been injudiciously spoken of, as rivalling their great leader in war. That they were officers of mark and pretension, is unquestionable; and Crawford more so than Picton, because the latter never had a separate command, and

his opportunities were necessarily more circumscribed ; but to compare either to the Duke of Wellington, displays ignorance of the men and of the art they professed. If they had even comprehended the profound military and political combinations he was conducting, the one would have carefully avoided fighting on the Coa ; and the other, far from refusing, would have eagerly proffered his support.'

Massena, at length, having secured the two fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, after various demonstrations for the purpose of deceiving his enemy, moved his whole force upon the heart of Portugal, while the English Commander, induced by urgent reasons to try the effort of a battle, occupied a strong position full in the invader's path. The battle of Buzaco was the result ; and it is, with the aid of a small but clear chart, so distinctly and vividly described, that the reader wholly unversed in military tactics, may understand it. We extract a section.

' General Simon's brigade which led Loison's attack, ascended with a wonderful alacrity ; and though the light troops plied it unceasingly with musketry, and the artillery bullets swept through it from the first to the last section, its order was never disturbed, nor its speed in the least abated. Ross's guns were worked with incredible quickness, yet their range was palpably contracted every round, and the enemy's shot came singing up in a sharper key, until the skirmishers, breathless and begrimed with powder, rushed over the edge of the ascent, when the artillery suddenly drew back, and the victorious cries of the French were heard within a few yards of the summit. Crawford, who standing alone on one of the rocks, had been intently watching the progress of the attack, then turned, and in a quick shrill tone desired the two regiments in reserve to charge. The next moment a horrid shout startled the French column, and eighteen hundred British bayonets went sparkling over the brow of the hill. Yet so truly brave and hardy were the leaders of the enemy, that each man of the first section raised his musket, and two officers and ten soldiers fell before them. Not a Frenchman had missed his mark ! They could do no more ! The head of their column was violently overturned and driven upon the rear, both flanks were lapped over by the English wings, and three terrible discharges at five yards' distance completed the rout. In a few minutes a long trail of carcasses and broken arms indicated the line of retreat.'

Massena was compelled to turn from his line of march, and to gain the main road to Coimbra, by a movement over the mountains on his right. The next halt of the invading army was in front of 'The Lines,' which are clearly described, and illustrated by an engraved sketch of the position. The event is well known ; but much misconception is removed by the shrewd investigations of Colonel Napier, who shews that, instead of experiencing an honest and energetic cooperation on the part of the Portuguese Government, Lord Wellington had to maintain

a constant struggle against the intrigues and factious spirit of the Regency. We cannot, of course, engage in the minute circumstances of this memorable campaign. Whoever wishes to have a clear view of the difficulties and annoyances amid which our Commander was compelled to move, as well as of the profound military and political reasoning by which all his movements were regulated, must give his best attention to the statements of Napier.

The volume closes with the details of the battle of Albuera, to which we have already alluded. The writer of the ill-judged defence of Marshal Beresford, which we have sufficiently characterised in an early part of this article, exults exceedingly in giving a direct contradiction to the prevalent notion, that orders had been actually given for retreat. If the following statement be correct, there should seem to be no great cause for exultation.

‘ In this desperate crisis, Beresford, who had already withdrawn the thirteenth dragoons from the banks of the river, and brought Hamilton’s Portuguese into a situation to cover a retrograde movement, wavered ! destruction stared him in the face, his personal resources were exhausted, and the unhappy thought of a retreat arose in his agitated mind. Yet no order to that effect was given, and it was urged by some about him, that the day might still be redeemed with the fourth division. While he hesitated, Colonel Hardinge boldly ordered General Cole to advance, and then riding to Colonel Abercrombie, who commanded the remaining brigade of the second division, directed him also to push forward into the fight. The die being thus cast, Beresford acquiesced, and this terrible battle was continued.’

Feeling the impossibility of entering at large into the analytical consideration of these complicated campaigns, we have preferred to convey our opinion of Colonel Napier’s work in the way of general criticism, illustrated by such extracts as may support our view of his merits as a military writer. We have perhaps given quite enough in that way for the intended purpose ; but there lies ready to our hand the animated description of the bold movement which decided the bloody struggle of Albuera, and with that we shall close the present article.

‘ Such a gallant line, issuing from the midst of the smoke, and rapidly separating itself from the confused and broken multitude, startled the enemy’s heavy masses, which were increasing and pressing onwards as to an assured victory : they wavered, hesitated, and then vomiting forth a storm of fire, hastily endeavoured to enlarge their front, while a fearful discharge of grape from all their artillery whistled through the British ranks. Myers was killed ; Cole and the three colonels, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawkshawe, fell wounded ; and the fusileer battalions, struck by the iron tempest, reeled, and staggered like sinking ships. Suddenly and sternly recovering, they closed on their terrible

enemies, and then was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights. In vain did Soult, by voice and gesture, animate his Frenchmen; in vain did the hardiest veterans, extricating themselves from the crowded columns, sacrifice their lives to gain time for the mass to open out on such a fair field; in vain did the mass itself bear up, and fiercely striving, fire indiscriminately upon friends and foes, while the horsemen hovering on the flank threatened to charge the advancing line. Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry. No sudden burst of undisciplined valour, no nervous enthusiasm, weakened the stability of their order; their flashing eyes were bent on the dark columns in their front; their measured tread shook the ground; their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation; their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd, as, foot by foot, and with a horrid carnage, it was driven by the incessant vigour of the attack to the furthest edge of the hill. In vain did the French reserves, joining with the struggling multitude, endeavour to sustain the fight; their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion, and the mighty mass, giving way like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent. The rain flowed after in streams discoloured with blood; and fifteen hundred unwounded men, the remnant of six thousand unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill.'

Salamanca, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Bayonne, and Toulouse, still remain; and we await, not without impatience, the volumes which shall commemorate the deeply interesting events connected with those names.

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*Art. V. Outlines of Physiology.* With an Appendix, containing Heads of Lectures on Pathology and Therapeutics. By William Pulteney Alison, M.D., F.R.S. E. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 452. Edinburgh. 1831.

[Concluded from Page 277.]

ONE of the main purposes to which the circulation of the blood is subservient, comes now to be mentioned, viz. Respiration; the physical causes and circumstances of which will be more appropriately considered, when we shall be engaged with Dr. Arnott and others on these especial points. We shall now principally confine our remarks to the effects which are operated in the respiratory process upon the pulmonary circulation, and their consequences, demonstrable or conjectural, on the animal economy.

It has already been intimated, that the chemical changes which are perceptible in the living body, are subordinated by a peculiar power. In some instances, however, the change itself seems almost identical with that which is effected when the chemist mixes, and combines, and separates the elements of

material and unorganized masses. This principle obtains in those changes which take place, when blood circulating through the lungs of an individual, is thereby exposed to the contact of the air exterior to him\*; for, although it is up to this moment a disputable point, what these changes precisely are, we nevertheless, so far as we do go on the road of demonstration, know them to be similar to such as can be brought about in the laboratory of the chemist.

The blood is conveyed to the lungs, (after having circulated through the body,) of a purple, instead of a crimson hue; and it is in the course of transmission through the pulmonary organs, that it acquires this crimson colour. Just so does venous blood, when taken out of the body, become arterialized, or altered in its appearances and condition, when subjected to the influence of that part of the atmosphere which is termed its oxygenous portion. So far, then, the analogy, or rather identity just alluded to, is preserved. But for what purpose, demands the physiologist, is this mutation in colour and essence brought about? and in what manner does the oxygenous principle affect the circulating fluid?

When first the doctrines of Lavoisier came to be applied to the physiology of respiration, it was assumed, that these doctrines, in conjunction with the more radical and leading ones from which they emanated, namely, those of the fixidity of air, and of latent heat,—discoveries made by the philosophical and profound Dr. Black of Edinburgh,—explained in a satisfactory way the cause both of the blood's alteration, and the consequent circumstance of animal temperature. It was stated, that blood, in passing through the lungs, absorbed oxygen from the atmosphere; that the immediate effect of this absorption was the loss of the venous colour, and the assumption in its stead of arterial, crimson brightness; that air becoming in this manner fixed or united with the blood, parted with the latent heat which belonged to it in its aërated condition; and that this heat given out to the body in the course of circulation, constituted that perennial source of interior heat which a living animal maintains amidst all the vicissitudes of external temperature.

Animal heat, thus having its supposed source in oxygenous fixation and the production, or emission, rather, of carbonic acid air, was conceived to be a species of combustion. And

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\* Against this principle, one objection has been suggested even by some physiologists; viz. that blood circulating in the vessels and through the air-cells of the lungs, is not, in point of fact, absolutely exposed to the contact of the air. This statement, however, is not correct; for it has been ascertained by experiment, that the very fine tissue which is between the blood and the atmosphere is permeable to air.



when Dr. Crawford first applied the Lavoisierian principle to the function under notice, it was generally received as a happy and beautiful illustration both of the correctness of the principle and of its adaptation to one of the leading requisites of organized structure.

‘ But there is a difficulty,’ remarks Dr. Alison, ‘ in understanding, how a cause which appears limited to one organ, should produce that elevation of temperature which is general over the body ; for although it appears from the observations of Dr. Davy and others, that the temperature of arterial blood in the chest is about  $1^{\circ}$  higher than that of venous ; and that the temperature of the chest is generally several degrees higher than that of the extremities ; yet this difference is certainly not so great as would be found, if the only calorific charge were at the lungs, and the rest of the body were only warmed by the superior temperature of the arterial blood flowing thence.’

It was likewise suggested by Messrs. Allen, Pepys, and others, that the disappearance of the oxygenous part of the atmosphere, is no proof that the blood has absorbed it ; and they maintained, that the production of the carbonic acid which is exhaled, is the result of the lost oxygen in combination with the carbon of the blood. Mr. Ellis too, who subsequently published on the chemistry of respiration, contends, that there is an excretion of carbon merely from the blood circulating through the lungs, and no absorption by that blood of oxygen. Dr. Prout has advocated the same theory ; and it is stated by this last physiologist, in favour of the doctrine, that when phosphorus mixed with oil is injected among the circulating blood, vapours of phosphoric acid are exhaled from the nostrils and mouth. Phosphorus is supposed, in this instance, to be excreted from the pulmonary blood, and phosphoric acid to be formed by the oxygenous part of the circumambient air. ‘ For if,’ says Dr. P., ‘ the phosphoric acid inhaled under these circumstances, had been formed in the vessels themselves, it would have remained in the blood, and not have been exhaled, as it is not volatile.’

That the oxygenous absorption and condensation are the source of animal heat, was further thought to have been disproved by the experiments of Mr. Brodie, who, having decapitated an animal, found that he could for some time keep up the respiratory act by artificial means, and that he could thereby change the blood from venous to arterial, by abstracting the carbon, as completely as in the case of natural breathing. Were this change then the cause of animal heat, it would be natural to suppose, that, while the action of the heart could be preserved, the temperature of the animal experimented upon would be preserved also ; but, instead of this, the body cooled and became of a lower and lower temperature, till the action of the

heart ceased altogether. The inference, then, of Mr. Brodie, (and in this inference he has been countenanced by the opinion of others,) was, that the chemical theory of animal temperature is untenable.

It is, however, probable, that those physiologists who, on one side or the other, attribute the effect in question to one only source, are equally in an error; and on this controverted point, we shall be doing but justice to our present Author, by extracting his statements and sentiments as we find them in the book before us.

‘ If, as appears most probable, the carbonic acid that is exhaled from the lungs is not formed there, but chiefly, at least, throughout the capillaries of the system, the evolution of heat from this source must be expected to take place generally over the body, wherever the arterial blood becomes venous.

‘ And, even, although the whole calorific charge be at the lungs, if, as Dr. Crawford endeavoured to shew, arterial blood has a greater specific caloric than venous, the blood which becomes arterial at the lungs, will necessarily absorb the greater part of the caloric evolved by the change on the air there, and only set free this caloric in the capillaries of the system, where it becomes venous again. And although Dr. Davy’s estimate of the difference of specific caloric in arterial and venous blood, is much less than Dr. Crawford’s, yet even he has assigned a higher specific caloric to arterial blood; and no great reliance can be placed on any estimate of the exact difference.

‘ But, although there appear sufficient grounds for believing, that the formation of the carbonic acid which is exhaled at the lungs, is one essential element in the process by which the heat of animals is obtained, yet it is very doubtful, whether this is a sufficient cause for the whole caloric which is evolved in their bodies. The experiments of *Dulong* and of *Despretz*, made by inclosing a small animal in a box placed in water, measuring and analysing the air which it inspired, and that which it expired, observing the elevation of the temperature of the water which corresponded to the evolution of a given quantity of carbonic acid from its lungs, obtained in a nearly similar way by *Lavoisier*, of the quantity of caloric evolved by the combustion of a given quantity of carbon,—lead to this result, that the quantity of carbonic acid thrown off in a given time from an animal, is sufficient to account for nearly three fourths of the caloric which the animal evolves, (from 47 to 75 per cent.,) but not for the whole of that caloric.

‘ It is highly probable, that *several* of the chemical changes which are wrought on the blood, during the greater circulation, are attended with an evolution of caloric; and that the application of oxygen to the blood in respiration, is essential to animal heat, not simply by combining with carbon, and so generating heat, but by adapting the blood for the maintenance of the *various processes* (partly chemical and partly vital) by which it is to be changed in the living body; and of which one of the results is, the formation of the carbonic acid which appears in the expired air.

‘ The temperature of the body is not raised by voluntarily increasing or quickening the acts of respiration ; but it is raised by voluntary exertions of other muscles, which accelerate the circulation, and so necessitate an increased frequency of respiration ; and this appears to indicate, that it is dependent not simply on the application of oxygen to the blood, but on the changes which take place during circulation, and to the maintenance of which the oxygenation of the blood is one essential condition.

‘ The evolution of heat in the animal body has been found, in the experiments of Mr. Brodie and others, as well as in numerous cases of disease in the human body, recorded by Mr. Earle and others, to be much influenced by injuries of the nervous system ; being generally diminished in those animals, or in those parts of the human body, in which the chief functions of the nervous system have been lowered or suspended ; but, in a few cases, being increased in consequence of such injuries. But as we know that the circulation, and especially the circulation in the capillaries, and that secretion and nutrition, are easily and variously affected by injuries of the nervous system, we can readily understand this further influence of such injuries, without being obliged to suppose that any influence derived from the brain and nerves is essential to animal heat, or that chemical principles are inadequate to explain it. Accordingly, in numerous experiments by Chossat, (*“ Mémoire sur l' Influence du Systeme Nerveux sur la Chaleur Animale,”*) it appeared as a general result, that the injuries of the nervous system which lower the temperature of animals, are the same which manifestly diminish the process of secretion and nutrition.

‘ In Mr. Brodie’s experiments, after the head of an animal was cut off, and the circulation maintained by artificial respiration, repeated at least as frequently as the natural breathing of the animal, the cooling of the animal was accelerated, although the usual quantity of carbonic acid was thrown off for some time. But, according to the most probable opinion, already stated, as to the source of the carbonic acid in expired air, what was thus thrown off, had been formed previously, and the changes leading to the formation of fresh carbonic acid, were suppressed by the injury.’

Dr. Elliotson, in his edition of Blumenbach’s *Physiology*, is very clear and strong on the point. ‘ A host of circumstances,’ he says, ‘ shew that our temperature depends upon respiration, and, therefore, upon chemical principles. In high temperatures, we have less necessity for the evolution of heat ; in low temperature, more. Accordingly, in the former, the arterial blood remaining arterial, is nearly as florid in the veins as in the arteries, and the inspired air less vitiated. Some have imagined that the body remains at its standard high temperature by the refrigeration of the evaporating sweat. But, though this must contribute, it is not the sole cause ; for frogs lose as much, proportionately to their size, by evaporation, as any other animal, and yet they follow pretty closely the surrounding temperature. Whenever, on the other hand, the body itself

‘ heightens its temperature, as in fever, more oxygen is consumed  
 ‘ by the lungs\*. The temperature of the various classes of ani-  
 ‘ mals, and their vitiation of the air, are always proportional; and  
 ‘ inverse to the length of time they can live without air. . . . .  
 ‘ When animals hybernate,’ (Dr. E. continues,) ‘ their tempera-  
 ‘ ture falls, and their respiration is nearly or entirely suspended.  
 ‘ Their consumption of air lessens as the temperature falls,  
 ‘ whence they consume less in November, than in August. If  
 ‘ hybernating animals, while torpid, and still placed in the same  
 ‘ temperature, are stimulated mechanically to breathe, their  
 ‘ temperature rises with the progress of respiration.’

After adducing several other facts and arguments which our limits preclude us from copying, Dr. E. concludes with the following remarks.

‘ Whether Crawford’s theory be correct or not, the product  
 ‘ of animal heat must be as evidently a chemical process as  
 ‘ changes of temperature among inanimate bodies; yet some as-  
 ‘ cribe it to nervous energy. I cannot imagine nervous energy  
 ‘ to cause heat, any more than to cause chemical affinity. As it  
 ‘ may bring substances together which have an affinity for each  
 ‘ other, and thus produce their union, so it may effect those  
 ‘ changes which are, according to physical laws, accompanied by  
 ‘ changes of temperature; but caloric in the body must, I ap-  
 ‘ prehend, like affinity, follow the same laws, and no others, as  
 ‘ those out of the body. This, however, does not prevent animal  
 ‘ temperature from deserving the epithet vital, because it is re-  
 ‘ gulated by the vital powers of the system, although through the  
 ‘ instrumentality of chemical changes. If the high temperature  
 ‘ of an inflamed part is owing to increased momentum and the  
 ‘ increased sum and velocity of the blood, yet, this increased  
 ‘ momentum is produced by vital powers.’

We are reminded by the latter clause of the above extract, that the incessant *actions* of the living system, peculiar and vital though they may be, are not sufficiently recognized by physiologists as some among the very many sources of animal temperature.

The fact is, that calorification, like the circulation itself, although to a certain extent chemical, and even physical in its processes, is vital in its results; and all explanations of its cause

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\* There seems to us some error in the above statement of Dr. E. Who has not observed the *cooling*—refrigerating influence of pure air. that is, oxygenated air, in fever, the body almost sinking under an accumulated heat, while the patient was breathing an impure and de-oxygenated atmosphere? In fact, fever heat makes, we think, rather against, than in favour of the oxygenous theory of animal temperature

and essence, which do not take the peculiar laws of vitality into their calculation, fail of their purpose. Thus, as just intimated, action is a source of heat in animate bodies; so is it with organized and animal nature; yet, the action and its results are influenced by different laws in the one and the other case. And the chemistry of life—although, so far as it goes, it is chemistry pure and unmixed—is ever under the mandate and control of the vital power. Dr. Wilson Philip and Dr. Prout have both recently intimated, that, when more of the relations are developed between nervous excitation and galvanic influence, the theory of animal heat will be considerably modified, by taking into account the oxidizing of carbon as one of the circumstances which lead to the excitation of galvanic impulse.

The power counterbalancing respiration, or that which has been conceived to keep animal temperature from being raised too high, is usually thought to be perspiration, or, as the French call it, transpiration. But it is sufficiently probable, that the internal secretions, and the different capacities of these for heat, have at least a share in this business. It has been generally said, that is, in the process of inspiration, a gas is absorbed, and heat given out, so, in sweat, a fluid is generated, which having a greater calorific capacity than the blood, cold is produced. Indeed, the production of cold by evaporation from the surface, is allowed on all hands. But Dr. Currie conjectures, that even in the act of *being formed*, before it breaks out on the surface, sweat absorbs heat, and thereby lessens the temperature of the body; and he was led to this deduction, 'from having observed the cooling effect of immersion under some circumstances in the tepid bath, where there could be no evaporation, and consequently no generation of cold from this source.'

The respiratory process is unequivocally concerned in that most extraordinary and most important function called *Secretion*. Nothing can impress the mind with more wonder, than the immediate change operated upon the blood in consequence of its passing through certain vessels denominated glands;—which, indeed, in some instances, appear to be mere tubes or pores, extended from the blood-vessels, and which nevertheless have power to effect an instantaneous change upon that portion of the circulating fluid which is transmitted through them. How different, for example, is the fluid of perspiration, from the blood, in its appearance, its composition, its chemistry, its every thing! But, with an inconceivable rapidity is this perspirable matter manufactured from the blood, and thrown out upon the surface, by means of a mechanical structure which would seem (did we place vitality out of the account) totally inadequate to any such effect. The same, indeed, may be said of secretion, even where the glandular system concerned in the process is

somewhat more complicated. An impression on the nervous system will cause the fluid termed bile, to be evolved copiously and instantaneously from the liver: but what is there in the liver, which would *à priori* lead to the inference that such would be its susceptibility and such its excitation? In the case, then, of secretion, vitality is especially—if in any—conspicuous. To this moment it is a matter of dispute, whether the agency alluded to be a manufacture, so to say, or a separation of the principles of the blood,—in other words, whether secretion brings out matters from the circulating fluid, and places them in new arrangements,—or, whether, by the operation of the gland upon the fluid, actually new matter is formed. The former is the most general supposition, and probably, most in accordance with truth; for we know that chemical processes, even out of the body, will effect in the way of mutation most extraordinary phenomena; and the analyses of the blood prove that much exists in it in a latent manner, or in a manner not obvious to common and unassisted observation; and although some of the secretions are apparently the same, whatever is taken in from without, others are influenced in a marked manner by the nature of the ingesta\*.

We have said, that respiration is subservient to secretion; and it is so in more ways than one. In the first place, arterialized blood is employed in all the secretory processes, excepting one, and that is the one performed by the liver. The bile is formed alone from venous blood, although, even in this case, the arterial fluid keeps in activity and exercise the organ which is destined to the performance of the biliary function. Then, again, without a proper regulation of the interior heat of the animal, secretion does not go on duly; while the act of secretion itself seems one of the main sources by which the internal heat is preserved and regulated.

Of excretion, or the formation of those matters which are thrown out of the system as effete, we need not take any especial notice in the present limited article; since the same principle is in exercise, and the same effect brought about, as in those instances of secretion that are elaborated for the supply, rather than the waste of the frame. But we are called on to descant somewhat more particularly on the *modus agendi* of the nutritive process, or on that function by which matter is first manufactured for the purpose of becoming part and parcel of the living body, and then deposited in different parts of the frame.

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\* The almost immediate effect of turpentine on one at least of the secretions, is a fact familiar to every one.



Change, constant, incessant change, is requisite for the support of a vital being. The hand that directs the pen in the inditing of the present article, is not the same hand at the commencement, as it will be at the termination of the paper. Nay, not a letter is penned without some measure taking place of the transmuting process now referred to. Perspiration, either sensible or insensible, is momentarily going on. Internal transformations, or rather changes, are as incessant. Even the bones themselves become in this manner changed altogether, by the never ceasing change which is operated among their particles. A man takes leave of his friend for a time ;—he sees him again after the lapse of a few years ;—but in that friend, probably not a single particle of the same materials is beheld, as when the last meeting and parting took place.

Now, in order that this principle of mutation should be kept in perfect exercise, it would seem necessary that the blood be not only changed, by aëri-fying, from venous into arterial ; but that a certain measure of what is called the coagulable lymph of the blood be supplied to the parts requiring (and what parts do not require ?) this change to be wrought upon them. On this account, John Hunter used to say, that the blood was alive ; an expression improper in itself, and only at all correct when accompanied with the explanation, that a certain portion—the fibrin or coagulable lymph of the blood—is absolutely necessary to maintain this inseparable connexion between life and organization.

Nothing can more beautifully illustrate this magnificent peculiarity of vital agency, than the circumstances which take place when a bone is broken, or a wound is made in soft parts. From the vessels which are divided, this coagulable lymph is thrown out, which in itself would appear dead and effete matter, but out of which is immediately formed new vessels, that come directly to circulate blood, and to unite, or, as anatomists express themselves, inosculate with the old ones. We have said that this fact beautifully illustrates the general principle of supply from nutrition ; because it seems pretty evident, that a process somewhat if not precisely analogous takes place, in all of these wonderful formations and changes of which we have just spoken. Nay, without something of this intermediate kind obtaining, it is not easy to conceive, how the matter of bone, for example, can be withdrawn from the blood, and applied to the substance of bone, so as to cause its growth and enlargement, or to keep it from suffering under the waste which, without this uninterrupted supply of fresh materials, it would speedily undergo. Even disordered structure has been beautifully generalized under the same laws ; and we cannot perhaps do better, in the way of exemplifying our positions, than by extract-

ing from a book which now lies before us for review, the following illustrative notification of the principle. The book to which we refer, is Dr. Clark on Climate; and the note we extract is by a friend of the Author, Dr. Todd of Brighton.

‘Physiologists are now disposed to believe, that, in the function of nutrition, the constituent particles of each particular structure are not directly secreted or deposited by the nutrient vessels, but that there is an intermediate or previous process, which is the deposition of the peculiar matter well known under the name of coagulable lymph. They find proofs of this intricate process in the growth and development of the embryo, in the formation and growth of the chick *in ovo*, in the process by which, in the more perfect animals, breaches of continuity are united, and lost parts are restored, and entire members regenerated in the lower ones. Of this account of nutrition, the following extract from a paper on the process of reproduction of the members of the lower animals will, perhaps, afford some additional illustration.

‘“The process of growth naturally leads us to consider the more general laws of organization from which it would seem to emanate,—I mean the formation of structures or tissues through the intermediate agency of that substance we call coagulable lymph. Indeed, it would seem that this substance is the matrix of every structure. It is the simplest form of animal existence, and it is the first form of existence of even the most perfect animals. It is the medium through which every breach of continuity is united, and by which every loss of substance is restored; and although it is only on such occasions that its existence and importance are known to us, there is good reason to believe that it exists constantly as a separate and independent part in all animals, in a greater or less degree, and that it is through its means that the whole process of nutrition is carried on.

‘“Coagulable lymph is decidedly possessed of a principle of vitality, and in its healthy state is capable of organization. It is most particularly distinguished by its power of forming blood-vessels. These vessels are entirely independent of those already existing, but they afterwards become united to and contiguous with them. Nor does any other source but this substance present itself for the first formation of the blood in the chick *in ovo*.” *On the Process of Reproduction of the Members of the Aquatic Salamander, by T. J. Todd.—Journal of the Royal Institution.*

‘If the above statement be a correct account of the function of nutrition, it must be readily understood, how this lymph, deficient in the usual degree of vitality, and hence, incapable of organization, instead of becoming the natural structure of a part, may give rise to tubercles under every form and variety in which they present themselves; and, also, how coagulable lymph of such an imperfect nature should be a consequence of a general state of cachexy of the body.’

In a former part of this article, our readers will recollect, that we mentioned the homogeneous fluidity of the blood, and its continuing so, even while not circulating with the general mass,

as a very striking peculiarity. Now, when there is extravasation or separation from vessels, this fluidity very soon ceases,—the red particles forming a mass of solid, a part of the whole separating as a permanent fluid, and the portion of the mass now spoken of lying on the surface of the coagulum. It has been ascertained, that in proportion to the strength of an animal is this principle in abundance;—that the muscular and robust have it in a larger relative quantity than the lax and feeble. And this fact, combined with other circumstances just adverted to, has caused the fibrin to be considered as the basis of muscularity and the intermediate matter, as it were, or bond of connexion, between the organized and the material part of the body. When inflammation is going on in the system, the separation of the lymph is more rapidly effected after extravasation; not, it is said, because there is a more than ordinary measure of the principle, but because it is more loosely combined with the red particles and serum.

But it is not within the scope of the present paper, to proceed from natural to unnatural and morbid circumstances; otherwise, we might go on to offer some useful dietetic hints on the power possessed by the individual, of so regulating the actions and functions of the frame as to check the nascent tendency to altered, and, when thoroughly altered, to irremediable structure.—We might exemplify the influence of the several passions and affections of the mind upon the secretions and consequent functions of the body.—We might engage in the consideration of duly regulated exercise both of body and mind, by way of frightening the reader into compliances which sometimes require forcible impression to produce effect.—We could shew in what manner, and to what extent, errors in diet come to engender disorder, not merely of sensation, but of structure.—And we might not in this way be very unprofitably engaged. But it will be recollected, we only promised, in the present instance, a few remarks on the connected functions of Circulation, Respiration, Secretion, and Nutrition;—and we must hasten to close our lucubrations, by slightly glancing over, first, those functions which form, according to Richerand's tabular view, connexions with surrounding objects, and those which serve for the preservation of the species. And on each of these topics, for obvious reasons, we must be exceedingly brief.

*Sensations.* These cannot well be commented on, without first inquiring into the particular habits of that part of the organization which is devoted to perception generally. But on this head, nothing beyond conjectural matter has hitherto been put forth. The nerves, say some, exercise their peculiar functions through the media of a subtile fluid transmitted with extreme velocity from one portion to another of the system. But

there are several circumstances connected with the sentient function, which by no means accord with this supposed fluid. In the first place, no tubular structure has ever been detected in the nervous branches, even by the most minutely microscopical examination. In the next place, what has been called the reacting communication between the centre or centres of sensation, and the organs of sense, is absolutely inconsistent with all we know of fluid movements. And thirdly, it may be stated, that sensation is produced at different points of a nervous fibril, while, in the intervening portions of such fibril, it is often not excited; and, indeed, the entire hypothesis of the nervous fluid is not merely gratuitous, but highly improbable. The notion of the nerves being vibratory chords, is, if possible, still more untenable, when we consider their pulpy consistence, the modes of their connexion with the brain, and the universality of their presence in every, the remotest fibre of the body. Man is, in a poetical and a moral sense, "a harp whose chords elude the sight"; but he is not organically and nervously a musical machine. Galvanism has recently been thought to be more nearly allied to nervous influence, than any thing else which we observe in the way of analogy between dead and living matter. On this head, a modern author expresses sentiments not far from our own. 'Although vital and other impulses and agencies must always in some measure be regulated upon different principles, I cannot help thinking that more analogy has been traced between sentient excitation and the stimulus now mentioned, than had hitherto been made out.'

*Touch, Sight, Hearing, Smell, and Taste*, are the five orders into which sensation in general is most usually divided: the first residing in the skin and internal membranes; the second, in the organ of vision; the third, in the ear; the fourth, in the membrane lining the nostrils; and the fifth, partly at least, in the *papillæ* of the tongue. On the mechanism and functions of these several parts of the frame, another opportunity will shortly be afforded us of descanting; and here, we can scarcely do more than find space for the bare mention of their several peculiarities.

The sense of touch has been considered as the generic or elementary sense, inasmuch as all the other senses are in some sort excited by the touch or contact of their peculiar excitants. Where this sense is the most acute, there are to be found *papillæ* or elevations, which seem to consist partly of nervous tissue enveloped in a very vascular membrane. The sense of touch resides mainly on the surface of the body; but the internal membranes which communicate with the surrounding atmosphere, or are open to impressions from without, are gifted with a perceptibility somewhat similar to that of the skin; and there

is a remarkable sympathy or relationship with these internal membranes and the superficies of the body,—sometimes direct, and sometimes, as Dr. Darwin calls it, reverse,—which guides the pathologist and medical practitioner in their inferences and operations in reference to disordered action,—especially of the eruptive class. After all, however, there is a great deal of obscurity still hanging over the physiology of cutaneous affections, both natural and morbid; and it is a remarkable fact, that what is more immediately before the senses, is a part of the organization which seems the least understood. The late Mr. Chevalier, a few years ago, read before the College of Surgeons some lectures on the peculiar habits and structure of the skin; which have since been published; but his researches, ingenious and able as they are, excite curiosity to know more and better, rather than prove of themselves sufficient to satisfy the inquisitive genius of modern inquiry. Some writers have imagined, that the extreme muscular fibres which are spread out on the surface, are rather, after all, the organs of the sense of feeling, than the membranes in which they terminate. Mr. Charles Bell's division of the nerves, into those of motion and those of sensation, are conceived favourable to this latter doctrine. The metaphysical laws of touch,—or rather the corrective circumstances by which the sense is guided,—will fall under consideration in a subsequent paper.

*Sight.* The rays of light passing from an object of vision into the organ of vision, are refracted by the dense cornea of the eye, and are thus directed towards its axis. Some pass upon the membrane named the *iris*; and these, being reflected, shew the colour of the eye, such as hazel, blue, grey, &c. When a great deal of light is thrown in upon the retina, (which is an expansion of the optic nerve, and constitutes the seat of the sense of vision,) the pupil or opening of the eye contracts so as to interfere with the admission of light; a circumstance which sometimes does not occur when the retina is in a disordered condition,—as in particular kinds of amaurosis, where the sense of sight becomes obtuse, and eventually lost, from a depravation of nervous susceptibility, even while the whole of the visual organ remains in a state of integrity.

‘Objects’, says a modern writer, ‘are said to be inverted on the retina; (this they are;) and it is further asserted, that “we correct the false impressions thus made, by experience and the assistance of other senses”; but this is a mistake; for it ought always to be recollected, that it is the *sensation* of the image, and not the image itself that is communicated to the sensorium; and the notion of one sense correcting another, has been too vaguely taken up and reasoned upon. Certain it is, however, that the child's progress in vision, and general

‘feeling, is a matter partly of experience; though we believe the inferior animals are our masters in this respect, and conceive of distance, &c. accurately immediately upon seeing the light. We not long since saw the first start of a young bird from its nest in a breeding cage; it was to a perch in the cage, and the young stranger perched as accurately upon the part aimed at, as if it had had months of experience. We are also told by a celebrated naturalist, of a chick breaking from its egg, and immediately obeying the dictates of its nature, by darting upon and seizing a spider, that, unfortunately for itself, was crawling past at the moment of the chick’s entrance upon this world of destruction.’

As on the inversion of the visual image on the retina, so, in reference to the fact of single vision when there are two objects painted,—that is, one on each eye,—much has been started that is far from satisfactory; and much, after all, we are obliged to leave as an ultimate principle in sensual and intellectual circumstance, although it behooves us carefully to trace phenomena, and legitimately to deduce inference. On this curious subject of single vision, we shall extract, at present without note or comment, what we find in Dr. Alison’s book; merely premising, that he follows generally the philosophy of Dr. Reid, as found in that Author’s *Inquiry into the Human Mind*.

‘The condition which is necessary in order that an object at any distance may appear single, although an image of it is formed in each eye, appears to be merely this, that the axis of the two eyes shall be fixed on the same point of the object; for which purpose the motor nerves and muscles of the eye-ball instinctively act together, even from the time of birth. The necessary effect of this is, that the rays coming from all the points of the objects in question, are concentrated upon *corresponding points* of the retina of the two eyes; that is, upon points similarly situated in regard to the centres of the retina of the two eyes; and experience shews, that in these circumstances, objects are seen single; but that when their images are not formed on corresponding points of the retina, they are seen double. Of this, there are several simple proofs. 1st. When the axes of the eyes are fixed on a near object, and the attention at the same time directed to a distant one; this last, the image of which cannot be formed on corresponding parts in the two eyes, is seen double, and *vice versa*. 2d. When pressure is made on the ball of one eye, so as to prevent its axis from being directed to the same point as the axis of the other, any object that may be looked at is seen double; and the same occurs in squinting, or distortion of the eyes, although, as in most of these cases the sensibility of one eye is much feebler than that of the other, the one image only is usually made an object of attention. 3dly. When two distinct objects are placed carefully in the lines of the axes of the two eyes of a person who squints, or whose eyes are distorted, as their images are necessarily formed on corresponding points of the retina.



they are seen to coincide. 4th. When two objects are held close to the two eyes, and exactly in their axes, as the optic axes cannot be directed to the same point in either of them, and as their images, although necessarily very faint from their proximity to the eye, must fall on corresponding points of the retinæ, so they are seen, although indistinctly, yet evidently as coinciding.

'We can go no further, with confidence, in determining the conditions requisite for single vision, than to illustrate the general proposition above stated. It was conjectured by NEWTON, that single vision may depend upon a semi-decussation of the optic nerves at their commissures, whereby the right half of each retina might be in communication with the right hemisphere of the brain, and the left half of each with the left hemisphere; the consequence of which may be easily conceived to be, that the *corresponding points* in the retinæ of the two eyes may be connected with, and their sensibility depend upon, the *same points* in the brain. Different anatomists have agreed as to the semi-decussation of the human optic nerves; and Dr. WOLLASTON has supported the theory, by reference to the known fact, that, in a transient diseased state of vision (the *suffusio dimidians*), one half of each retina is occasionally insensible to the light at the same time. But the anatomical evidence of this theory, as applied to the human species, is defective. In many other animals, it appears certain, that the decussation of the optic nerves is complete; but as most quadrupeds and birds have their eyes placed more laterally than the human eyes, and are accustomed often to regard objects with one eye only, the analogy of their structure is perhaps not to be trusted.'

'The terms 'long and short-sightedness,' are familiar to our readers. The first is caused by too much concavity in the cornea, upon principles easily to be recognized; and the defect increases with increasing years. The short-sighted person, on the contrary, is one whose cornea, from being preternaturally prominent or convex, receives and transmits to the retina, rays in too small a number, or, rather, not from a sufficient distance. This kind of sight becomes improved, rather than otherwise, as the individual gets old, and the eye is proportionably sunk;—that is, improved in respect to the distance with which objects are seen.

*Hearing.* The organ destined for this faculty is very complicated, in its internal structure especially; and the uses of the several portions of it are not so well understood as is the case with the visual organ. Sound is explained on the supposition of vibrations transmitted through the air from a sonorous body put in motion. It is less rapid in its transmission than light. Fire off a gun, and a person at a distance sees the flash first, and hears the report afterwards. So, in a thunder storm, the lightning is first perceptible, then the noise of the thunder. The cavities and canals which are found in the internal parts of the ear, with their contained fluid, have been judged to be

the seat of hearing; but, from some recent experiments of FLOURENS, it has been inferred, perhaps erroneously, that the cochlea and the vestibule are the only parts essentially concerned in this sense.

Hearing, like sight, it has been observed, may be peculiar; 'that is, the individual may be open to the perception of sounds in the one instance, and have his visual organ quite correct in the other; and yet be without what is called a musical ear, or be unable to distinguish the different shades of colour. These varied susceptibilities, without any thing in the organs to explain them, have much puzzled both metaphysicians and physiologists; but the phrenologist tells you, they are referrible to a particular construction of that portion of the *sensorium commune* which is destined to receive the perception of colour and sound; and he marks out the spot on the brain, as denoted by external configuration, which is wanting in development where these faculties are wanting.'\* Dr. Alison says:—

'The circumstances of organization on which a musical ear depends, are quite unknown. By the habit of minute attention to the differences of sounds, it is susceptible of much improvement; but the pleasure derived from it, being complex, and much connected with associations, is probably by no means strictly proportioned to the degree of accuracy in which it is possessed.'

*Smell* and *Taste* are arranged by Dr. Alison under one head, 'on account of the intimate connexion which appears to exist between them'. In the latter, however, the *papillæ* of the tongue seem to be called into especial action. It is into these *papillæ* that branches are sent from the fifth pair of nerves; and according to our Author's own admission, from the experiments of Majendie, and the observations of other physiologists, smell has been lost in consequence of disease at the origin of the first nerve, (the olfactory,) while taste continued, although not perhaps in so exquisite a degree. That the sensation which informs us of what is strictly called the flavour of any substance, bears a strong resemblance to smell, we fully admit with our Author; and some facts adduced by him afford strong evidence in favour of the position. We also allow, that the fauces and the nares are each lined with a continuous membrane. But, that different portions of this membrane are susceptible of different excitants, and are even supplied by branches from different nerves; and that, moreover, the tongue, as just intimated, is provided by a special organization for the perception of sapid bodies, must also be allowed; and this admission

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\* London Encyclopædia.

overturns the doctrine, that smell and taste are, organically, convertible terms.

Both of these senses are very much under the dominion of associated and imaginative circumstances, and are, more than any of the other senses, greatly regulated by habit. 'The disgust' (says a writer whom we have before quoted in the present article) 'which the adult feels in the perception of various odours, is rather, perhaps, referrible to the principle of association, than to any actual difference of the perception itself between him and the boy. This sense is, indeed, very curiously the inlet to impressions both of the delightful and the disagreeable kind in a remarkable degree. Rousseau very happily called it the sense of imagination. We may instance the case of an individual turning away from the offensive breath of another, when that degree of disagreeableness would hardly be perceptible, did it proceed merely from inanimate matter. Like the other senses, it may be much improved by exclusive culture; and it is upon this principle, that, as well in this as in the instance of any other sense, the loss of one is made up by a more than ordinary acuteness in another. Blind persons can sometimes find out, by the sense of smell alone, how many individuals are in the same room with them'. And who does not know that, as it regards taste, there are individual and even national peculiarities which are explicable on no other principles than those of culture, association, and habit?

But want of space, with other considerations, forbids us to proceed further; we might otherwise pass through the several particulars connected with the continuance of organized being in one unvaried state,—inquire into the accuracy of those positions which on the one hand assume, and on the other call in question, what is named equivocal or spontaneous generation—go into the theories of mental, as connected with corporal condition—and trace the series of changes by which the decadence and eventual death of individuals are brought about. These and other particulars are fully treated of in the several works extant on physiology, original or translated; and most of these works may be consulted with advantage by the curious investigator of nature's secrets. For the reader who would confine himself to one, we scarcely know which to select as the best. For reasons already stated, Dr. Alison's cannot be considered as by any means a complete system of physiology. In some parts, however, the matters of which it treats, are illustrated in a masterly manner. The '*Physiology of the Mental Faculties*', is, indeed, rather too good,—too much out of keeping with other portions of his very interesting performance. Dr. Bostock's *Chemistry* is a work of the first order; but the physiological matter scarcely reaches far enough into modern times.

Copland's edition of Richerand is enriched with many valuable notes; but the book is altogether rather too wordy and bulky in its text. Mayo is exceedingly clear and interesting. Upon the whole, however, we are disposed to think that the most satisfactory performance is Dr. Elliotson's Blumenbach. In this last work, in which the original text is principally a peg for the Editor's matter to hang upon, there is to be found so much of what is interesting, both in the way of anecdote and illustration,—so much of touching upon other sciences, (metaphysics and natural history in particular,) without wandering into their mazes,—so lively a manner, with so little of heaviness in the matter,—that, if it be fair thus to compare performances that have respectively their separate merits, our choice and recommendation would certainly incline in favour of Blumenbach's, or rather, Dr. Elliotson's system of Physiology.

Art. VI. *Sketches in Italy, drawn on Stone*, by W. Linton. No. I. Imperial folio. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* London, 1830.

**T**HIS is certainly a clever and interesting work; and yet, there is that about it, which will, we fear, hinder it from becoming popular either with the public or with artists. In truth, it appears to us, in its present state, altogether a misconception; and would seem to have originated, partly in a little of that self-complacency which causes us to look upon our own scratches as perfect specimens of free and finished sketches; but mainly in a want of due consideration respecting the difference between the contents of our own travelling portfolio, and the qualities of that which is fit for general inspection. Of course, we are not now taking into account the high value that is justly attached to the slightest and hastiest memoranda of the great masters; though even among those, we have seen that which, though highly prized, it was nothing less than idolatry to worship. But we are speaking of Mr. Linton and his works,—a skilful artist certainly, but who has, if we may judge from the specimens before us, something yet to learn concerning the very elements and objects of his art.

This gentleman is known to us by a few splendid paintings, poetically but not accurately conceived; fraught with many of the best qualities of art, but defective in that sort of knowledge, without which all the rest is unsatisfactory. A gorgeous array of sumptuous edifices, mingled with rich scenery and striking accompaniments, may please the eye; but, if a deeper search enables us to detect incongruous elements, the mind will be dissatisfied. To all painters of this class, (and we have at this moment several of decided talent,) we would earnestly recom-

mend much and solid reading, before they risk the gross violations of historical fact and scientific principle, of which we have had sometimes to regret the intrusion into compositions otherwise of signal merit.

When the prospectus of these 'Sketches' was put into our hands, we anticipated, from our previous acquaintance with Mr. L.'s works, a publication of—we must say it—more judicious execution than we have found in the inspection. The announcement was exceedingly elaborate, and somewhat overdone. The urgency of brother artists was assigned as the reason for coming before the public; and great stress was laid on the novelty of the subjects. Now, at the hazard of stretching this article rather beyond what the occasion may appear to call for, we shall bestow a few sentences on that commonest, but most absurd of weaknesses,—the propensity to confound courtesy, or thoughtless goodwill, with deliberate opinion and sagacious counsel. How often have we seen a whole array of complimentary correspondence thrust forward as the expression of profound and well-weighed admiration! If the good-natured people who sent scraps of polite eulogy to Thomas Maurice and Percival Stockdale, could have foreseen the use that would be made, by those auto-biographical gentlemen, of their conventional phrases, they would have curbed up and taken the bridle-road more gently. We say this, however, by way of hint to note-writers and note-receivers, that those missives may sometimes be meant, not as notes of admiration, but as acquittals of a debt of courtesy,—rather than as having any direct application to Mr. Linton. The artists who praised him, might do so in all safety and sincerity, for his sketches are clever and characteristic; but we cannot think, that, in recommending him to give publicity to his designs, they contemplated the possibility of their appearing exactly in their present state. The hasty but expressive indications by which the traveller preserves the great features of the scenery through which he passes, bear a twofold character: they are half records of fact and circumstance; half appeals to memory. There are a thousand details which it is impossible to set down while pressing forward *en route*, but which the suggestions of the pencil immediately call up in faithful recollection. Now this is our complaint against Mr. Linton: he has forgotten that, in giving his rough, his *very* rough sketches to the world, he could not give along with them, his vivid remembrance of the localities. To an artist, his lines may speak eloquently; but to the unscientific, their presentation will often be utterly unimpressive. Nor is there any occasion for this negligence: nothing is gained by it, and much is lost. A little more finish would make all the difference in favour of the work, without in the smallest degree

impairing the freedom, truth, and originality of the drawing. But we must go further than this, and caution Mr. L. against slovenly execution. Whether he give more or less of elaboration, he needs not inflict on us such coarse and unmeaning foregrounds as that which he has bestowed on the view of Lugano; not a particularly interesting scene at best, and requiring, if given at all, some advantages of treatment to make it acceptable.

The list of subjects given in the prospectus, seems not to promise quite so much novelty as might be expected from the intimations given in the 'Address'. That the sketches will vary from others in the point of view, amounts to little: we could have wished for the breaking-up of new ground. When will our artists plunge deep into the recesses of the Apennines, and ransack the Salvatoresque scenery of the Abruzzi, or realize for us the yet imperfectly explored magnificence of central Sicily?

Of the eight drawings in this Number, we prefer the spirited view of the Lago Maggiore 'in sunshine and in storm',—the rich scenery of the 'Vale of Terni',—and the *piquant* sketch of the Monastery of Subiaco,—though its romantic effect is not at all aided by the vulgar, strapping figure of a market-woman, which is placed in the very centre of the picture. We conclude with the remark, that Mr. Linton has it in his power to make this an attractive and popular work, without the slightest sacrifice of spirit or truth.

Art. VII. *The Book of the Seasons, or the Calendar of Nature.* By William Howitt. 12mo. pp. xxviii, 404. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1831.

**T**HIS is a very delightful volume: such it will be found, at least, by every observer and lover of nature. The Author is already known to our readers, by his poetical productions; and never is the Poet so usefully or so nobly employed, as when officiating as the priest of nature,—or rather, as the interpreter of the book of Nature, and giving the voice of praise to the works of God. The specific design of this work will best be explained in the Author's own words.

'The species of work to which this volume belongs, while it is not confined to the student of Natural History, but is addressed to all classes of readers, appears to me to be eminently useful in promoting that general acquaintance with Nature, which is so highly to be desired, and for which a taste has of late been strongly and growingly evinced. Many works there are, which lead us incidentally into the country, or which, treating on the aspects and progress of the Seasons, mix up with them a variety of other matters,—feasts, fasts, saints, and



sundries; but a work has long been wanted, to realize the *beau idéal* of a Book of the Seasons, presenting us with all their poetic and picturesque features; which, as a Calendar of Nature, should be comprehensive and complete in itself; which, on being taken up by the lover of Nature at the opening of each month, should lay before him in prospect, all the objects and appearances which the month would present, in the garden, the fields, and the waters; yet confining itself solely to those objects. Such a work I have endeavoured to supply.

‘My plan has been, to furnish an original article on the general appearances of Nature in each month, drawn entirely from my own regular observations through many seasons; and finally, to superadd a great variety of facts from the best sources, as well as such as occurred to myself after the principal article was written. To these, a complete table of the Migrations of Birds; a copious list of Garden Plants which come into flower in the month; a Botanical Calendar, including a select number of the most beautiful and interesting British plants; and an Entomological Catalogue of about three hundred of the most common or remarkable Insects; a notice of Rural Occupations; and, finally, one of Angling, are added. For assistance in drawing up the Botanical and Entomological Calendars, I am indebted to my brother, Dr. Godfrey Howitt.’

The volume is indeed full of what we may venture to call picturesque information,—for the facts which relate to the phenomena of Nature, call up a thousand images; and we cannot better characterize this ‘Book of the Seasons’, than as the *biography* of the year. It is quite evident, that the Author is himself a close observer, as well as an enthusiastic worshipper—almost an idolater of Nature; and the spirit in which it is written, has affixed to his pages an impress, such as will generally distinguish a work undertaken *con amore*, from a book manufactured ‘to order.’ Take, for instance, the description of April.

‘The month of April is proverbial for its fickleness; for its intermingling showers and flitting gleams of sunshine; for all species of weather in one day; for a wild mixture of clear and cloudy skies, greenness and nakedness, flying hail and abounding blossoms. But, to the lover of Nature, it is not the less characterized by the spirit of expectation with which it imbues the mind. We are irresistibly led to look forward, to anticipate with a delightful enthusiasm the progress of the season. It is one of the excellent laws of Providence, that our minds shall be insensibly moulded to a sympathy with that season which is passing, and become deprived, in a certain degree, of the power of recalling the images of those which are gone by; whence we reap the double advantage of not being disgusted with the deadness of the winter landscape from a comparison with the hilarity of spring: and when spring itself appears, it comes with a freshness of beauty which charms us at once with novelty and a recognition of old delights.

‘Symptoms of spring now crowd thickly upon us; however regular

may be our walks, we are daily surprised at the rapid march of vegetation, at the sudden increase of freshness, greenness, and beauty. One old friend after another starts up before us in the shape of a flower. The violets which came out in March in little delicate groupings, now spread in myriads along the hedge-rows, and fill secluded lanes with their fragrance. In some springs, however, though most abundant, yet, perhaps, owing to the dryness of the weather, they are almost scentless. The pilewort or lesser celandine, too, is now truly beautiful, opening thousands and tens of thousands of its splendidly gilt and starry flowers along banks, and at the feet of sheltered thickets; so that whoever sees them in their perfection, will cease to wonder at the admiration which Wordsworth has poured out upon them in two or three separate pieces of poetry. Anemonies blush and tremble in copses and pastures; the wild cherry enlivens the woods; and in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, the vernal crocus presents a unique and most beautiful appearance, covering many acres of meadow with its bloom; rivalling whatever has been sung of the fields of Enna; gleaming at a distance like a perfect flood of lilac, and tempting very many little hearts, and many graver ones too, to go out and gather.

‘ The blossom of fruit-trees presents a splendid scene in the early part of the month; gardens and orchards being covered with a snowy profusion of plum-bloom; and the black-thorn and wild plum wreath their sprays with such pure and clustering flowers, that they gleam in the shadowy depths of woods, as if their boughs radiated with sunshine. In the latter part of the month, the sweet and blushing blossoms of apples and the wilding, fill up the succession, harmonizing delightfully with the tender green of the expanding leaves, and continuing through part of May.

‘ But perhaps the most delightful of all the features of this month, are the return of migratory birds, and the commencement of building their nests. Not only the swallow tribe, the cuckoo, and the nightingale, whose arrival is noticed by almost every body, but scores of other old acquaintances suddenly salute you in your walks with their well-remembered aspects and notes. White-throats, winchats, reed-sparrows, etc., perched on their old haunts, and following their diversified habits, seem as little fatigued or strange, as if they had worn invisible jackets all the winter, and had never left the spot.’

pp. 83—86.

Of all this, few can require to be informed; but, as children like to hear over and over again their favourite story, so there is an untiring charm in the recital of the story of nature's operations, when thus delightfully told. We shall take our next specimen, by way of contrast, from

#### ‘ DECEMBER.

‘ Gawain Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, has given the following most excellent sketch of Winter; which Warton has rendered from antiquated Scotch verse, into good modern English prose. “ The fern withered on the miry fallows; the brown moors assumed a

barren mossy hue; banks, sides of hills, and bottoms grew white and bare; the cattle looked hoary from the dank weather; the wind made the red reed waver on the dyke. From the crags and the foreheads of the yellow rocks, hung great icicles, in length like a spear. The soil was dusky and grey, bereft of flowers, herbs, and grass. In every hold and forest, the woods were stripped of their array. Boreas blew his bugle-horn so loud, that the solitary deer withdrew to the dales; the small birds flocked to the thick briars, shunning the tempestuous blast, and changing their loud notes to chirping; the cataracts roared, and every linden-tree whistled and brayed to the sounding of the wind. The poor labourers, wet and weary, draggled in the fen. The sheep and shepherds lurked under the hanging banks, or wild broom. Warm from the chimney-side, and refreshed with generous cheer, I stole to my bed, and lay down to sleep, when I saw the moon shed through the window her twinkling glances, and wintry light; I heard the horned bird, the night-owl, shrieking horribly with crooked bill from her cavern; I heard the wild geese with screaming cries fly over the city through the silent night. I was soon lulled to sleep, till the cock, clapping his wings, crowed thrice and the day peeped. I waked, and saw the moon disappear, and heard the jackdaws cackle on the roof of the house. The cranes, prognosticating tempests, in a firm phalanx, pierced the air with voices sounding like a trumpet. The kite, perched on an old tree, fast by my chamber, cried lamentably, a sign of the dawning day. I rose, and half opening my window, perceived the morning, livid, wan, and hoary; the air overwhelmed with vapour and cloud; the ground stiff, grey, and rough; the branches rattling, the sides of the hill looking black and hard with the driving blasts; the dew-drops congealed on the stubble and rind of trees; the sharp hail-stones deadly cold, hopping on the thatch and the neighbouring causeway."

The volume is pleasingly interspersed with flowers of poetry, culled from our English bards, and some originals. We regret to miss the name of Cowper, a name dear to every lover of nature; and we feel at a loss to account for the preference given to poetry in every respect inferior. What purpose of illustration can be served by citing such perverse namby-pamby trash as—

'This sweet May morning the children are pulling on every side, in a thousand valleys far and wide, fresh flowers.'—(*Wordsworth*.)

We think as highly of Wordsworth's genius, as, perhaps, Mr. Howitt himself does; but these lines might have been written by any clever child of six years old. We hope that we are not so intolerant in matters of taste, as not to allow every one to indulge his poetical preferences; and we can readily excuse, in a lover of nature, a somewhat blind admiration of one who has described her so well. But we do not the less regret the effect of such partiality, when it appears to warp the judgment or vitiates the taste. Wordsworth may be read with delight, but he

is not to be imitated with impunity,—at least in his lyrics. But we did not mean to deviate into criticism in the present article; nor should we have made these remarks, had they not been in some degree called for by the Writer's enumeration of Scott, Southey, Wordsworth, and others, as among the first to call back our poetry from art to nature,—to the exclusion of Cowper, with whom this reform really originated, and of Thomson, who, notwithstanding the splendid vices of his style, must be considered as having set the example.

Mrs. Howitt, to whom the volume is affectionately inscribed, has supplied some pleasing 'Lays of the Seasons', the last of which we must transcribe.

‘ WINTER.

- ‘ There's not a flower upon the hill,  
There's not a leaf upon the tree ;  
The summer-bird hath left its bough,  
Bright child of sunshine, singing now  
In spicy lands beyond the sea.
- ‘ There's silence in the harvest field,  
And blackness in the mountain-glen,  
And cloud that will not pass away  
From the hill-tops for many a day ;  
And stillness round the homes of men.
- ‘ The old tree hath an older look ;  
The lonesome place is yet more dreary ;  
They go not now, the young and old,  
Slow wandering on by wood and wold ;  
The air is damp, the winds are cold ;  
And summer-paths are wet and weary.
- ‘ The drooping year is in the wane,  
No longer floats the thistle down ;  
The crimson heath is wan and sere ;  
The sedge hangs withering by the mere,  
And the broad fern is rent and brown.
- ‘ The owl sits huddling by himself,  
The cold has pierced his body thorough ;  
The patient cattle hang their head ;  
The deer are 'neath their winter-shed ;  
The ruddy squirrel's in his bed,  
And each small thing within its burrow.
- ‘ In rich men's halls the fire is piled,  
And ermine robes keep out the weather ;  
In poor men's huts the fire is low,  
Through broken panes the keen winds blow,  
And old and young are cold together.

- ‘ Oh, Poverty is disconsolate!—  
Its pains are many, its foes are strong :  
The rich man, in his jovial cheer,  
Wishes ’twas winter through the year ;  
The poor man, ’mid his wants profound,  
With all his little children round,  
Prays God that winter be not long.
- ‘ One silent night hath passed, and lo!  
How beautiful the earth is now!  
All aspect of decay is gone,  
The hills have put their vesture on,  
And clothed is the forest bough.
- ‘ Say not ’tis an unlovely time!  
Turn to the wide, white waste thy view;  
Turn to the silent hills that rise  
In their cold beauty to the skies ;  
And to those skies intensely blue.
- ‘ Silent, not sad, the scene appeareth ;  
And fancy, like a vagrant breeze,  
Ready a-wing for flight, doth go  
To the cold northern land of snow,  
Beyond the icy Orcades.
- ‘ The land of ice, the land of snow,  
The land that hath no summer-flowers,  
Where never living creature stood,  
The wild, dim, polar solitude,  
How different from this land of ours !
- ‘ Walk now amongst the forest trees,—  
Said’st thou that they were stripped and bare ?  
Each heavy bough is bending down  
With snowy leaves and flowers—the crown  
Which Winter regally doth wear.
- ‘ ’Tis well :—thy summer-garden ne’er  
Was lovelier with its birds and flowers,  
Than is this silent place of snow,  
With feathery branches drooping low,  
Wreathing around thee shadowy bowers !
- ‘ ’Tis night ! Oh now come forth to gaze  
Upon the heavens, intense and bright !  
Look on yon myriad worlds, and say,  
Though beauty dwelleth with the day,  
Is not God manifest by night ?
- ‘ Thou that createdst all ! Thou fountain  
Of our sun’s light—who dwellest far  
From man, beyond the farthest star,  
Yet ever present ; who dost heed  
Our spirits in their human need,  
We bless thee, Father, that we *are* !

- ‘ We bless Thee for our inward life ;  
For its immortal date decreeing ;  
For that which comprehendeth thee,  
A spark of thy divinity,  
Which is the being of our being !
- ‘ We bless Thee for this bounteous earth ;  
For its increase—for corn and wine ;  
For forest-oaks, for mountain-rills,  
For cattle on a thousand hills ;  
We bless Thee—for all good is thine.
- ‘ The earth is thine, and it thou keepest,  
That man may labour not in vain ;  
Thou giv’st the grass, the grain, the tree ;  
Seed-time and harvest come from Thee,  
The early and the latter rain !
- ‘ The earth is thine—the summer-earth ;  
Fresh with the dews, with sunshine bright ;  
With golden clouds in evening hours,  
With singing birds and balmy flowers,  
Creatures of beauty and delight.
- ‘ The earth is thine—the teeming earth ;  
In the rich, bounteous time of seed,  
When man goes forth in joy to reap,  
And gathers up his garnered heap,  
Against the time of storm and need.
- ‘ The earth is thine—when days are dim,  
And leafless stands the stately tree ;  
When from the north the fierce winds blow,  
When falleth fast the mantling snow ;—  
The earth pertaineth still to Thee !
- ‘ The earth is thine—thy creature, man !  
Thine are all worlds, all suns that shine ;  
Darkness and light, and life and death ;  
Whate’er all space inhabiteth—  
Creator ! Father ! all are thine !

The object of this work is one which we have much at heart, in common with its amiable Authors ; and although we might not entirely accord in opinion as to the moral efficiency, the sanative virtue of a love of nature, apart from higher influences, and could adduce both facts and reasons against such a supposition,—we fully admit the great importance of cherishing a spirit of attachment to what is called nature, or, in other words, an intelligent admiration of the beauty and goodness lavishly displayed in the phenomena of the material world. The heavens, and the earth too, are telling the glory of God. But man will not hear. The harmony between the soul of man and the



beauty of the universe has been interrupted. If the principle be, as is asserted, implanted in every breast, it is one which requires, as Mr. Howitt justly remarks, like all others, cultivation. 'Let it once be lit up, and it will never die'. We shall rejoice to know that this volume has been instrumental in developing a love of the beautiful works of God in the minds of any of its readers. It is at all events adapted to cherish this principle, and to afford instruction of the most pleasing and beneficial kind. On this ground, we are happy to give the volume all the benefit of our cordial recommendation. To many persons, it may possibly open new sources of pure enjoyment; and never can that enjoyment rise so high as in the bosom of the 'heir of 'God', who, restored to the Divine fellowship by the Spirit of Christ,

' Can lift to Heaven an unpresumptuous eye,  
And smiling say, My Father made them all.'

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**Art. VIII. 1. *The Believer's Prospect and Preparation*, described in a Discourse delivered in Broadmead Meeting-house, Bristol, on Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M. By Joseph Hughes, A.M. To which is annexed, the Address delivered at the Interment, by the Rev. T. S. Crisp. 8vo. pp. 64. Price 1s. 6d. London, 1831.**

**2. *A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the late Rev. Robert Hall, M.A.* Preached at Harvey Lane, Leicester. By J. P. Mursell. 8vo. pp. 44. Leicester, 1831.**

**3. *Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Robert Hall, M.A.* By J. E. Giles, Minister of Salter's Hall Chapel, Cannon Street, London. 8vo. pp. 32. Price 1s. London, 1831.**

**4. *Posthumous Testimony*: a Discourse delivered at Mare Street Chapel, Hackney, on Occasion of the much lamented Death of the Rev. Robert Hall, M.A. By the Rev. F. A. Cox, LL.D. 8vo. pp. 44. London, 1831.**

**T**WO, at least, of these discourses were prepared for delivery without any view to publication; they appear at the request of friends,—a request which might have been anticipated, and could scarcely be refused. Under these circumstances, had we even been disposed to criticism, we should refrain from it. But, indeed, our only object in noticing these appropriate tributes of public grief and veneration for the memory of the great man to whose death they relate,—in his own department at least the greatest man of our own day,—is to advert to the loss which the Christian world has sustained. On such an occasion, any display of eloquence, any attempt at rhetorical effect, would have been singularly indiscreet, as suggesting overwhelming comparison. It was the happy art of him for whom we all

mourn, one of the characteristic marks of his transcendent eloquence, to make himself, in his public addresses, forgotten in his subject. And this was not merely the proof of his having attained that consummation of art which conceals itself, but was not less the result of his genuine simplicity, and singleness of mind, and fervour of spirit,—qualities in which at least he may be imitated. And on such an occasion, it might seem not to have been difficult for the preacher to emulate, without an effort, in the characteristic circumstance we have alluded to, the eloquence of Mr. Hall himself,—we mean, in concealing himself from attention. But this was not easy. The language of eulogy derives its force and emphasis, not from its mere appropriateness and truth, but greatly from the dignity and authority of the speaker. Who then would not be placed in a disadvantageous position, that should attempt to pronounce an elegiac panegyric on Mr. Hall?

We agree with Mr. Giles, (whose sermon does him great credit in every respect,) that the Church at large ‘has had ‘cause for thankfulness in his being spared so long. It was ‘mercy for him to die *so soon*, and for us, that he died *so late*.’ Still, we have sustained a loss not easily reparable.

‘It is true, the world has never been without its lights. Nor was all the genius of the land buried in the grave of Mr. Hall. Not only much of talent, but much of talented piety still remains. But when will both be blended in such high degrees again? First-rate genius, through a thousand transmigrations, will keep its being in the world; but when will it re-assume that useful, godly form which it has just abandoned? When again will the purest living literature take the shape of a simple evangelical piety, that shall “not shun to declare the whole counsel of God?” There may be another Hume, to poison the fountain of knowledge, that those who would slake their thirst for information may drink a death-draught of infidelity; there may be another Voltaire, whose genius, like the lightning wrapt in an element of tempestuous darkness, shall never shew itself but to appal, to blacken, or destroy; there may be another Byron, who, with an archangel’s harp, but a satanic inspiration, shall utter sentiments for devils to applaud, in a poetry that seraphs may admire:—these, and far less appalling forms of intellectual greatness, may revisit the world. The bar and the senate, as they are stages in the road to power, may still display a throng of genius; but when shall we see another Hall, a voluntary exile from worldly greatness, with the hopes of no other reward than the Divine approbation and the luxury of doing good, expending his mighty powers in the lowly sphere of ministerial labour, to instruct and comfort the wretched and the lost?’ *Giles*, pp. 27, 28.

Other opportunities will be afforded us, of dwelling upon the character of Mr. Hall as a preacher, a writer, and an eminent servant of God. In the mean time, we may refer our readers to Mr. Hughes’s Discourse, for a very just delineation of its

marking features,—too long to extract, and which it would be unfair to abridge. Some interesting details will also be found in Dr. Cox's Sermon. Mr. Mursell, who succeeded to Mr. Hall's pulpit at Leicester, on his removal to Bristol, has produced an eloquent sermon, the evident effusion of strong feeling and a vivid imagination, which will be read with interest, and, were the occasion different, would both deserve and provoke criticism. We shall simply furnish a specimen, as no inappropriate close to this brief notice.

‘ The death of a righteous man is attended by *circumstances of great glory*.—The sensible aspect of death is, even under the most auspicious circumstances, deeply humiliating, and frequently it is painful and distressing to the last degree. The resistance which nature offers, whether in the reluctancy with which it yields to gradual decay, or in the fearful struggles with which, at the immediate season of dissolution, it sometimes attempts to assert its rights, proclaims with terrible eloquence the origin of death, and sufficiently indicates that it is not a primitive law of our being, but the result of some awful derangement, the fruit and offspring of the curse. A very slender portion, however, of the circumstances which are attendant on the departure of a good man, are cognisable by spectators and friends, and these are such as for the most part they would be willing to forego ; but the gloomy side is turned towards the earth, and the pains, the convulsions, and the strife, are but the frown which gathers on the monster's brow, the last tragedy, designed to illustrate the solemn truth, that “ it is an evil and a bitter thing to sin against God ”. It is permitted us sometimes, in relief of these, to witness the triumph of faith, the serenity of hope, and even the sprightliness of joy, but these are but faint tokens of the real condition of the departing spirit ; the solid peace, the holy anticipations, the mental song, dimly discerned and indistinctly heard by many, are *felt* only by one ; the delighted intercourse with God, the estimate formed of his favour and his love, the flush of conscious stability though heart and though flesh are failing, with the last sublime act, “ Into thine hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth,”—invest this event with a glory which can be but partially disclosed : these are sacred exercises, conducted frequently in the silence of thought, the noiseless pluming of those wings on which the spirit is just about to ascend. There is a beautiful simplicity impressed on the conduct of the saint in the season of death. His thoughts, however discursive they may have been during the period of life, are gathered home ; and any tendency to derange or distort the Christian scheme, is corrected ; he occupies a position from which he sees things as they are, from which truth is to be beheld in all its various and beautiful proportions ; he discerns with a vividness peculiar to his circumstances the things that are excellent ; his eye rests on the bright centre of the Christian scheme ; he is absorbed in the contemplation of “ Christ and him crucified ” ; he no longer speculates, but acts, and loses sight of the attendant splendour of the Gospel in its inestimable worth, and simply boasts in that name by which “ life and

immortality are brought to light". A mysterious change, moreover, passes upon his soul; if he has imbibed error in his career, it is dispersed; if he has contracted defilement, it is cleansed and removed; he draws so near the confines of heaven, that whatever is gross and uncongenial with it can no longer survive; he is in collision with eternity, and the dross of time cannot sustain the shock. The work of the Holy Spirit is consummated, and he ascends from earth morally prepared for his high destination, a fit companion for the "spirits of just men made perfect".

'But further than this, the Scriptures teach us to believe, that the scene attracts the notice, and engages the attention of angels; these ministering spirits, who may have often smiled on him in his course, descend to guard the servant of God in his final conflict. The last effort of the malignant powers is about to be made; that contest which in the estimation of the expiring saint has so often appeared doubtful, is about to close, the destination of an immortal being to be decided; the scene is carried on under the eye of a great cloud of witnesses; and the messengers of Jehovah will not abandon their trust, until they have watched the last effort, and crowned the combatant with success. Under the same auspices, we are taught to believe, that the liberated spirit ascends to the presence of the Saviour,—“and it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom,”—although the pleasures of the ascending saint, the delight of his benevolent convoy, and the holy and august solemnities which are attendant on their entrance to the multitude of the redeemed, are enchanting parts of the stupendous subject which are concealed from us, as by a veil of light; but to imagine that such events occur unnoticed, or that they are but slightly felt, is at variance with their significance and magnitude, as well as with the interest which, as we are instructed to believe, the angels of God are accustomed to take in the previous history of the faithful. And may we not suppose, without presumption, that this law extends to the Son of Man himself, and that he of whom the prophet testifies, “He shall see of the travail of his soul and shall be satisfied”, experiences an augmentation of bliss when the purchase of his agonies first appears before him? And surely if there be seasons of unusual joy, if there be occasions of deeper gratitude and of more rapturous welcome, such a season has recently occurred in heaven, and may not the elevation of their praises form a brilliant contrast to the profundity of our regret?’

We are happy to understand, that a complete and arranged edition of Mr. Hall's Works has been undertaken for the benefit of the family.

## NOTICES.

**Art. IX. *Maps, and Tables of Chronology and Genealogy* ; selected and translated from Monsieur Koch's *Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe*. 4to, half-bound. Price 8s. 6d. London. 1831.**

WE are glad to see that the chasms of which we have repeatedly complained, are rapidly and satisfactorily filling up. The cheap and unpretending publication now lying before us, is one of the very best and most useful companions to early reading that has ever passed through our hands. Nor will it be found unacceptable as a ready and convenient manual for reference in more advanced studies. It contains seven maps, upon a small scale, but neatly and distinctly engraved and coloured ; exhibiting the distribution of European governments, 1. Under the Western Empire. 2. Late in the fifth century. 3. Under the reign of Charlemagne. 4. Towards the close of the ninth century. 5. About the year 1074. 6. About the year 1300. 7. In the year 1453. This is followed by a Chronological Table of the Revolutions of Europe, from the overthrow of the Western Empire to the peace of Paris in 1814. A series of thirty-eight genealogical Tables, comprising the succession, connexion, and derivation of all the European dynasties, during the same period, closes the book. The value of these genealogies is exceedingly increased by the dense compression of historical facts and dates, which pervades the tables, without injuring their distinctness. Koch's excellent work on the Revolutions of Europe has, we believe, been translated for Constable's Miscellany, but, for the sake of cheapness, without the tables : these are now supplied. It is not, however, in conjunction with Koch alone that this atlas is valuable : it elucidates all the great works on modern history and the middle ages ; and it will be found usually available for the purposes of general reference.

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**Art. X. *A Dictionary of the Architecture and Archæology of the Middle Ages* ; including the Words used by Old and Modern Authors, in treating of Architectural and other Antiquities ; with Etymology, Definition, Description, and historical Elucidation. Also, Biographical Notices of Ancient Architects. By John Britton, F.S.A. Royal 8vo. Part I. Price 12s. Four Sheets and twelve Engravings. London. 1830.**

WE have given nearly the whole of Mr. Britton's title-page ; and we might dismiss the work with the simple observation, that it appears, so far as executed, fully to keep the promise there held out. We shall, however, add, that such a publication was exceedingly wanted, and that it would have been worth comparatively little, had it come forth without an extensive apparatus of illustrative engravings. In its

present state, it will be found to supply a somewhat inconvenient deficiency ; and we hope that a large sale may indemnify the publishers for their liberal outlay. Mr. Britton has done his part well. His selection of subjects is judicious, his theories are sound, and his explanations will be found comprehensive and clear. We have, in particular, been much pleased with the article on the Arch : it contains much and clever discussion, skilfully compressed. The facts are amply stated, and authorities freely cited, without verbiage on the one hand, or obscure brevity on the other. We wish Mr. B. all the success that he deserves ; he need not ask for more.

## ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Nearly ready, *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty, including the Constitutional and Ecclesiastical History of England from the Decease of Elizabeth to the Abdication of James II.* By Robert Vaughan, Author of "The Life and Opinions of Wycliffe." 2 Vols. 8vo. In composing the above work, the Writer has given careful attention to the most authentic sources of information ; and has endeavoured to separate the story of our liberties and religion, under the Stuart Princes, from the partial colouring so frequently bestowed upon it.

In the press, *A Text Book of Popery, comprising a brief History of the Council of Trent, a Translation of its Doctrinal Decrees, and copious extracts from the Catechism published by its authority ; with Notes and Illustrations ; the whole intended to furnish a correct and complete View of the Theological System of Popery.* By J. M. Cramp. In one Volume, 12mo.

In the press, *A new Edition, in one Volume, 12mo, of the Memoirs of the late Jane Taylor, by her Brother Isaac Taylor.*

Preparing for the press, in 12mo, *The Truths of Revelation demonstrated by an Appeal to existing Monuments, Sculpture, Gems, Medals, and Coins.* By a Fellow of several learned Societies.

In the press, (to be published by Subscription,) *Original Hymns ; composed chiefly during Seasons of Mental Trial and Bodily Affliction.* By Mrs. S. Cocks. 18mo.

Preparing for publication, a short Series of interesting Essays, adapted to the Understandings of young Persons, on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, the Immortality of the Soul, and the great and manifold Advantages which have accrued to Mankind from Christianity ; with the supposed Reflections of an Enlightened Heathen in Judea, in the time of Christ. By Mr. R. Ainslie, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, Author of the "Father's Gift."

In the press, *A new Edition of the Works of the late Rev. Andrew Fuller, which will contain several Pieces not before published, and an Original Life.* To be comprised in five Volumes, 8vo.



Preparing for publication, *A Second Series of Tales of a Physician.* By W. H. Harrison.

Preparing for publication, the Canon of the Old and New Testament ascertained; or, the Bible complete without the Apocrypha and unwritten Traditions. By Archibald Alexander, D.D., Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. With Introductory Remarks by John Morison, D.D., of Trevor Chapel, Brompton.

Dr. Uwins is preparing for the press, a Treatise on Mental Derangement, in which the subject of Insanity will be considered in all its Bearings, Statistical, Pathological, Preventive, and Curative. In this Work, Dr. U. will treat generally on Nervous Ailments, and their Connexion with Disorders of the Stomach and other organs.

In the press, a Posthumous Volume of Sermons. By the Rev. Andrew Thomson, 8vo. Also, a Posthumous Volume of Sermons, by Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart, D.D., one of the ministers of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh.

In the press, *The Cabinet for Youth*, containing Narratives, Sketches and Anecdotes, for the Amusement and Instruction of Youth. Edited by the Authors of the Odd Volume, &c. 18mo.

In the press, *Popular Reflections on the Legislative Support of Parochial Schools and a Parochial Ministry.* By Rev. J. Wilson, minister of Irvine. 12mo.

Mr. J. W. Morris is preparing a brief Memoir, in 1 Vol. 8vo., of the late eminent and deeply-lamented Robert Hall, which will be published in the month of May.

Preparing for publication, a complete and arranged Edition of the Works of the late Rev. Robert Hall, A.M., comprising some unpublished Manuscripts, and a Selection from his Letters: to which will be prefixed, a Memoir of his Life and Writings. This Work will be published for the benefit of the family.

Shortly will be published, Part I. of a Dictionary of Scriptural Types, accompanied with Essays, illustrative of the application of them in the Explanation of the Scriptures. By Mrs. Sherwood, Author of "Little Henry and his Bearer," &c.

In the press, an Essay on the Influence of Temperament in modifying Dyspepsia, or Indigestion. By Dr. Thomas Mayo, Physician to H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex.

A new edition of Mr. Babbage's Table of Logarithms is nearly ready for publication.

On the 1st of April will be published, Richard Baynes's General Catalogue of Books in all Languages and Classes of Literature, con-

sisting of above Nine Thousand Articles, many curious and rare, in one large vol. 8vo.

In the press, the *Records of a Good Man's Life*. By the Rev. Charles B. Tayler, M.A. Author of "*May You Like It*," "*The Fire Side Book*," &c.

A new edition is preparing, of *The Deliverance of Switzerland*, &c. By H. C. Deakin. In post 8vo.

Also, by the same Author, a Second Edition of his *Portraits of the Dead*. In one volume, foolscap 8vo.

A beautiful little work, entitled "*The Rectory of Valehead*;" written by the Rev. Mr. Evans, of Cambridge, is again at press. This Third Edition will have considerable additions, and is expected to be ready early in April.

In the press, the *History of Abraham*, in a course of Lectures. By the Rev. H. Blunt, A.M., Curate of Chelsea, &c. Author of "*The History of Jacob*," "*The History of Peter*," &c.

## ART. XII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### BIOGRAPHY.

*Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin*, Pastor of Waldbach. New Edition. 12mo. 7s.

### EDUCATION.

*A Treatise on Decimal Parts and Vulgar Fractions for the Use of Schools*. By Alfred Day, A.M. 12mo. 2s.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

*A Narrative of the Appointment of the Rev. Thomas Blundell, to the Chaplaincy of the Protestant Dissenters' Grammar School, Mill Hill, and the cause of his Removal*. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

*Reply to the Rev. John Dyer's Letter to John Broadley Wilson, Esq.* By J. Marshman, D.D. Together with Thoughts upon the Discussions which have arisen from the Separation between the Baptist Missionary Society and the Serampore Missionaries. By W. Carey, D.D. Also, a Communication on the same Subject, By the Rev. W. Robinson, of Calcutta, and an Appeal by the Serampore Missionaries. 8vo. 1s.

*Review of Two Pamphlets by the Rev. John Dyer, and the Rev. E. Carey and W. Yates. In Twelve Letters to the Rev. John Foster*. By J. C. Marshman. 1s.

### THEOLOGY.

*The Destinies of the British Empire*,

and the Duties of British Christians at the present Crisis. In Four Lectures. By the Rev. William Thorp, of Bristol. 8vo.

*A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M.* By Thomas Swan, of Birmingham. 1s.

*Pietas Privata. The Book of Private Devotion. With an Introductory Essay, &c.* Chiefly from the Writings of Hannah More. 2s. in cloth. 3s. in morocco.

*Discourses on Subjects connected with Prophecy*. By Dr. J. Pye Smith, Dr. J. Fletcher, Rev. W. Orme, Dr. Collyer, Dr. H. F. Burder, Rev. R. Vaughan, Rev. J. Morison, Rev. J. P. Dobson, Rev. A. Reed, Dr. R. Winter. 1 vol. 8vo. 12s. boards.

*The Prosperity of a Christian Church. A Sermon delivered at Chelsea, on commencing the Duties of the Pastoral Office*. By Joseph Belcher. 8vo. 1s.

*On the Personality and Divinity of the Holy Spirit*. By J. Pye Smith, D.D. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

*Counsels for the Communion Table; or, Persuatives to an Immediate Observance of the Lord's Supper, with Directions and Encouragements to stated Communicants. To which is added, an Appendix, containing many Important Suggestions on the Subject of the Eucharist*. By John Morison, D.D. Author of "*Counsels to a Newly Wedded Pair*," "*Sunday School Teachers*," &c. &c.

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MAY, 1831.

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- Art. I.—1. *A Practical Exposition of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark*, in the form of Lectures, intended to assist the Practice of Domestic Instruction and Devotion. By John Bird Sumner, D.D. Lord Bishop of Chester. 8vo. pp. 624. London, Hatchard. 1831.
2. *Explanatory and Practical Comments*; being a Series of short Lectures upon the New Testament, designed as an assistant in Family Worship, and suited to the Capacity of all ranks. By a Clergyman of the Established Church. Vol. I. containing the Gospels and Acts. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 666. Price 10s. 6d. Dublin, 1829.
3. *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. With a plain Exposition for the Use of Families. By the Rev. Thomas Boys, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. 4to. Price 1l. 1s. London. Seeley. 1827.
4. *The Devotional Testament*, containing Reflections and Meditations on the different Paragraphs of the New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; designed as a Help for the Closet and for Domestic Worship. By the Rev. Richard Marks, Vicar of Great Missenden, Bucks. 4to. pp. 500. Price 16s. London. Nesbit. 1830.
5. *A Daily Expositor of the New Testament*: with a practical Exposition especially intended as Morning and Evening Portions for pious Families and private Christians. By Thomas Keyworth. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 922. Price 19s. London, 1828.
6. *A Commentary upon the Holy Bible, from Henry and Scott*, with occasional Observations and Notes from other Writers. Vol. I. Genesis to Deuteronomy. 12mo. pp. 476. Price 5s. in cloth. London, Religious Tract Society. 1831.

THE multiplication of familiar and practical expositions of the Sacred Scriptures, must be regarded as a satisfactory indication of an increasing demand for such helps to the intelligent and profitable use of the inspired volume; and it is a very pleas-

ing circumstance, that such works should be more particularly called for in order to assist the practice of domestic instruction and family worship. The time was, when commentaries upon the Scriptures were compiled chiefly, if not exclusively, for the use of the student or the theologian. Even Henry's invaluable Exposition, though of a familiar and popular character, is scarcely adapted for family use, or for the mass of readers who have but little leisure. Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor is encumbered by the paraphrase and the apparatus of critical notes. An edition was published many years ago, by the Rev. Samuel Palmer of Hackney, in which, conformably to a design entertained by Dr. Doddridge himself, the text, according to his translation, and the practical reflections, without the paraphrase and notes, were printed in two octavo volumes. This edition has been long out of print, and we have often wondered that no one has undertaken to republish it. Scott's Commentary is, in like manner, inconveniently swelled by a critical apparatus intended for the assistance of ministers and students; and it is more valuable for its copiousness and the judicious character of the doctrinal exposition, than appropriate for domestic perusal. With the Bishop of Chester we should say, that 'the best commentary to accompany such reading of the Scriptures, would be such remarks as would naturally occur to the head of the family who was well instructed in the Scriptures, and had consulted the various practical expositions with which our libraries are furnished. Such remarks, though not the best possible, would probably be the most applicable to the party assembled, and therefore the most effective. But adds the right reverend Author, 'this requires more energy than is always possessed, and more leisure for reflection than the business of life universally allows. In reality, the practice of reading Scripture in the family, is often neglected, from the acknowledged difficulty of selecting an exposition.'

We pause on this last remark. Is the New Testament, then, after all, so obscure, so ambiguous, so inefficient for the purpose of popular instruction, that, apart from an exposition, it can be regarded as unsuitable for reading in the family? Surely, the Bishop must be mistaken in ascribing the neglect of this practice, in any considerable number of instances, to so strange a misapprehension or so hollow a pretence\*. Portions at least of the Sacred Scriptures might without difficulty be selected, that should not afford any room for such objection. What

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\* Yet we find Mr. Boys complaining that, in some instances, 'the whole exercise consists of prayer alone, and the Scriptures are not used at all,'—for want of a suitable exposition!

becomes of the great Protestant principle, the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and in what light must we view the distribution of the Bible without note or comment, if an exposition be thus indispensable to the profitable reading of the word of God? Valuable as is the aid of learned annotation or devotional commentary, some jealousy may reasonably be expressed of their usurping an undue importance, when the difficulty of selecting an exposition is adduced as a reason for neglecting the reading of the inspired volume.

What is the proper design of an Exposition of the Scriptures? This question, it may be said, admits of a varied answer, according to the specific design of the commentator. Thus, we have expositions designated as 'practical,' 'devotional,' or 'critical,' implying their adaptation to different classes of readers. Still, such works must all have, in great measure, a common object, or one of two objects; namely, either to facilitate the better understanding of the text, or to subserve a devout meditation upon its contents, and a practical application of its doctrines. The latter is, however, not the proper business of the commentator, so much as of the expository lecturer, or preacher. Or rather, it is the common purpose of all practical theology. Every sermon, every book of devotion, the great mass of religious publications, must be considered as partaking, in this point of view, of the character of expositions of the Scriptures, the only fountain of all sacred knowledge. Expository lectures differ from other practical religious works, chiefly in form, as treating of certain books or sections of the Scripture in series, or in larger portions, or in a different style of remark. The usefulness of works of this character, rests on the same grounds as that of other sorts of theological publications; or they may be considered as ranking, in importance, with the oral instructions of the pulpit. But, as we should deprecate even preaching itself, to the exclusion of the public reading of the word of God, and still more the perusal of the best theological works to the neglect of the Bible itself, so, there is nothing in the name, or in the nature of practical expositions of the Scriptures, that should exempt them from being regarded as mere subsidiary vehicles of religious instruction, never to be substituted for the inspired volume. In saying this, we shall not be thought to undervalue either the merit or the utility of the class of works to which the publications before us properly belong.

It is no disparagement to the sufficiency of the Scriptures, to regard them as furnishing inexhaustible materials for expository lessons of a practical character; it would be, however, both erroneous and pernicious to represent their usefulness as absolutely dependent upon such helps and guides. But it is neces-

sary that the Scriptures, in order to their having their designed effect, should be understood ; and the same reason that requires their translation into the vernacular tongue, renders it not less expedient that they should be made intelligible in that language, by whatever explanatory process may be requisite for the interpretation of the meaning of the inspired writers. The proper business of the annotator is, equally with that of the translator, to interpret the sacred text. Upon this point, much misconception and some confusion of ideas seem to us to prevail. The words exposition, commentary, annotation, have come to be used as convertible terms, taken in a loose acceptation, as comprising not merely the interpretation of Scripture, but also extended doctrinal comments or practical homilies upon the text. In respect to other ancient writings, the office of the translator and that of the expositor are regarded as the same. He who edits a translation of an ancient classic, feels himself responsible for its being rendered intelligible either in his version or by means of brief commentary. In most of the versions of the sacred writings, on the contrary, the aim of the Translator appears to have been, to leave as much work and as wide a scope as possible for the expositor, who, in cases where the version itself is obscure or ambiguous, must be regarded as the real interpreter. Suppose the case of two individuals of different nations, holding conversation through the medium of an interpreter who was but imperfectly acquainted with the idiom of one of the languages: it might so happen that he would give a literal rendering of some speech or phrase used by one of the parties, that should fail to convey any intelligible meaning, or might even suggest a wrong idea to the other. Were a by-stander to interpose, in such a case, with an explanation of the idiom, would he, or would he not, be the real interpreter? In like manner, if a translator does not clearly interpret his original, but leaves the meaning to be defined and expounded by another, surely the latter is the real translator.

Whether our Biblical Translators have been right or wrong in confining themselves so religiously to a verbal rendering of the letter of Scripture, the fact ought to be borne in mind, as accounting for much of the alleged obscurity of the sacred text. The honour of the Bible itself requires that this circumstance should be understood. We appreciate and participate in the jealousy which is felt by all sound Protestants in reference to intermingling uninspired note and comment with the inspired text ; but what is the main source of that jealousy? It is that commentators are not to be trusted ;—that the anxiety to make the word of God speak their own doctrines, or favour their preconceived opinions, is supposed to be so strong in the mind of all Biblical translators and commentators, as to deprive them



of our confidence, and to disqualify them for what would otherwise be their proper business. It is not that notes and comments are undesirable, for, by the common consent of the whole Christian world, they are held of the highest, of indispensable utility; but it is because they have so often been rendered, especially by the Church of Rome, the insidious vehicle of error, and that by such glosses the word of God has been made of one effect, that they are naturally viewed with suspicion. As to intermingling uninspired comment with the inspired text, the objection, if closely examined, will be found to involve a fallacy. The text is a version, which is as uninspired as the annotation. The matter of inspiration is the truth of God; and even admitting a plenary inspiration to have extended to the original expression of the truth conveyed, the interpretation of the original, whether by a literal rendering of the words, or by an explanation of their meaning, (which is all that an annotator ought to aim at,) can pretend to no such character. No translation, in fact, can claim to be deferred to as an ultimate authority. One of the grossest errors of the Church of Rome consists in her putting forth this claim on behalf of the Vulgate, and in preferring the authority of that Version to the inspired text. All translations and all annotations on the sacred volume demand to be scrutinized with the most rigid severity, on account of the infinite importance of any material error in such representations of the substance of revealed truth. But nothing in the shape of comment, that is necessary to the genuine interpretation of Scripture, can be justly regarded as more superfluous, or less authoritative, than translation itself. The appeal from the mistakes of either translators or commentators, must equally lie to the Hebrew or Greek originals.

One chief design of Biblical commentaries, then, would seem to be, to supply the deficiencies, or to remedy the ambiguities of our received Versions. We admit, indeed, that there is a wide range of critical, historical, and descriptive illustration, that comes within the province of the Biblical commentator; and that, in many cases, the actual meaning and allusions of the sacred writers can be fully understood only by means of such illustration. Works of this description, however, properly class under the head of Biblical literature, and, although invaluable as an apparatus for ministerial instruction, ought to be clearly distinguished from that species of exposition which may be denominated textual or interpretative. The former opens a wide field for learned ingenuity, for critical acumen, and even for the eccentricities of fancy; and the sacred text has sometimes been as much incumbered as elucidated by this sort of explanatory comment. Genuine exposition deals but very sparingly in such illustration, though it will often avail itself of its results; and it



is, after all, the beauty of the inspired writings, rather than the meaning of the text, which is chiefly elicited by such means. Unlike the Koran, the Bible rests no part of its intrinsic evidence or authority upon the mere sublimity of its poetry or the graces of its diction. While these have commanded the admiration of the learned sceptic and the irreligious man of taste, the living and life-giving qualities of the Scriptures are those by which they come home with power to the conscience as truth and good tidings. The main object then ought to be, to give '*the meaning of the voice*' that speaks from Heaven.

But, judging from the common practice of expositors, it would seem to be quite forgotten, that, under the name of the Bible, is comprised a collection of writings differing as widely, in the character of the composition, and in the difficulties it presents to the translator and commentator, as the Odes of Pindar, the Sanscrit Vedas, and the writings of Cicero or Tacitus. A commentary upon the Bible, is a commentary upon writings in two, or rather three languages, comprising very ancient historical annals, the lyric poetry of remote and widely separated eras, ethical writings, collections of maxims and proverbs, didactic poetry of the sublimest order, historical writings of a more recent date by various authors, argumentative treatises in an epistolary form, more familiar letters, and unfulfilled prophecies. Yet, on opening the pages of Henry, Scott, or any other commentator, we should be led to infer from the mode of exposition adopted, not merely that the Bible has in truth one common Author, as being given by inspiration of God, but that it is one homogeneous composition, simply divided into different books. It seems as if a given quantity of remark was thought to be due to every portion of the text, or rather, was to be extracted from it; which average quantity, in some cases, ingenuity is taxed to supply, while, in passages of real difficulty, the meagre annotation balks the inquirer. An exposition of all the books of Scripture, on the usual plan, may be compared to an atlas in which the same scale is adhered to in laying down a map of Palestine and one of Persia. Surely nothing can be more unreasonable, than to submit the various books of both the Hebrew and the Greek Scriptures to the same mode of expository treatment.

Let us take the New Testament,—a collection of tracts in the same dialect, although a dialect greatly modified by the circumstances of the respective writers. In this volume, we find writings which may be distributed into the following classes. I. The evangelical narratives of Matthew, Luke, and Mark. II. The biographical memoir of our Lord, supplied by the Beloved Disciple. III. The argumentative writings of St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews. IV. The Apostolic letters of

St. Paul to the Churches he had planted, and those of the Apostles Peter, John, James, and Jude. V. The shorter and more familiar letters of St. Paul and St. John. VI. The prophecies of St. John. No one, we presume, will deny that a distinctive and very specific character attaches to the writings comprised in these several classes. Yet, how little has this been attended to, much less has it been properly illustrated by our most popular expositors. May we rely upon the candour of our readers, while we attempt, very briefly and imperfectly, to indicate what we conceive to be the distinguishing features of the various books.

The first three Gospels and the Book of Acts form our first class. In this class, however, are comprised narratives of a very different character. That of Matthew is more a didactic than an historical writing: as a history, it is essentially incomplete. After giving Our Lord's genealogy, and noticing the circumstances of his birth, and the events which led to his being brought up at Nazareth, though born in Judæa,—this Evangelist passes over all the intervening period, and commences his narrative with Our Lord's public ministry, of which he was an eye and ear witness, and to which he almost entirely confines his relation. So little does he concern himself with historical facts, that he does not even mention Our Lord's ascension; and in narrating occurrences, he is more brief and concise than even St. Mark, who has been absurdly represented as having abridged a narrative less copious than his own. On the other hand, the sayings and discourses of Our Lord are given by St. Matthew more at large than by either of the other two evangelists under consideration. Immediately after relating the Saviour's induction to his ministry, and the probationary temptation, the former proceeds to give, in what is usually called the Sermon on the Mount, a specimen of His teaching and doctrine, who spake as never man spake. The others, on the contrary, commence their account of Our Lord's ministry by recording the miracles he wrought. Upon these, St. Matthew lays apparently less stress, while he, on the other hand, continually adduces another species of evidence, that derived from prophecy, in a manner that may, at first view, seem far from direct or conclusive. The key to these peculiarities is, that the object of this evangelist, whose Gospel may be regarded as, in a sense, an Apology for Christianity, is to establish the Messiahship of Our Lord, and to combat the objections of the Jews. The miracles He wrought, were notorious, and admitted by his enemies; but we see in the narrative itself, how the Jews disposed of this species of proof, which, though it left the unbeliever without excuse, was far from compelling belief. "He casteth out devils by the prince of devils." On the other

hand, the genealogy of Our Lord, as establishing his being the Heir of David \*, his being born of a Virgin, his character as a Teacher, and the entire correspondence of his conduct, circumstances, and sufferings to the predictions of the Jewish Scriptures, are points on which this Evangelist insists on all occasions, because it was necessary for his immediate purpose. In some instances, the *formula*, 'that it might be fulfilled,' cannot be connected with any distinct prediction, but is apparently intended to refer to Old Testament *precedents*, as a valid answer to objections founded on what might be regarded as ominous and unparalleled circumstances in Our Lord's history,—such as his being driven, an infant exile, into Egypt, the massacre of Bethlehem, and his becoming an inhabitant of a frontier town of Galilee, notorious alike for its impure dialect and rudeness of manners. The first of these circumstances is sufficiently met by the citation of the language of the Prophet Hosea, both as pointing to the striking coincidence between the history of the Jewish nation and the early life of Our Lord, and as intimating that it was no new thing for those whom God regarded as his children, to be "called out of Egypt." The second circumstance is in like manner shewn to have a parallel in the Jewish history;—as if the Evangelist had said, 'It was not the first time that the bereaved mothers of Benjamin had wept for their little ones.' And the third circumstance, the greatest stumbling-block of all, is shewn to have been in entire accordance with the general tenor of the predictions which foretold that Christ should be despised and rejected, to which his being mistaken for a Galilean or Nazarene by birth, so much contributed, that it furnished the very emphasis of opprobrium.

St. Luke's object, as stated in the preface to his narrative, was to furnish an authentic and orderly relation of the facts believed among Christians; and he exhibits throughout both his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, which forms the sequel, the character of the careful historian. He both begins earlier, and carries on the history further, than any other evangelist; and he not only mentions many remarkable facts which are not recorded by the others, but describes far more circumstantially several occurrences to which they slightly advert. Our Lord's discourses are generally reported by Luke with little regard to time and place, or to the precise phraseology employed; at which we need feel no surprise when we recollect,

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\* St. Luke, as an historian, shews Jesus, the Son of Mary, to have been lineally descended from David. St. Matthew cites the accredited genealogy to prove that 'he who is called Christ' was, even as Joseph's adopted and legal son, the heir of the House of David.

that his object was merely to state historically the nature and substance of what Our Lord taught, and that, as he did not write for Jews, there could be no reason for his adhering to Jewish forms of expression and Jewish allusions. Several parables, however, not preserved by St. Matthew, (the Prodigal Son, the Wise Steward, Dives and Lazarus, the Unjust Judge, and the Pharisee and Publican,) are ingrafted into his narrative by the inspired historian.

St. Mark's Gospel is a brief and rapid outline of the leading facts and characteristic features of Our Lord's public ministry; drawn up, apparently, for the use of the Christian Church. It is neither, like Matthew's, an apology, nor, like Luke's, a regular history. Few of Our Lord's discourses or parables are given; but occasionally, this Evangelist is more circumstantial in his relation of striking incidents, and throws in some interesting touches; as in his account of the Syrophenician Woman, of the Young Ruler, and of the Fall of Peter; he is also more specific in naming several individuals referred to\*; and he mentions Our Lord's ascension, which is not recorded by either Matthew or John.

We have not attempted to discriminate the respective styles of these Evangelists, although, between the Greek of Matthew, strongly tinged with Syriac idioms, and the purer composition of Luke, critics discover a marked difference. But we proceed to inquire, what is the sort of exposition proper to the class of writings under consideration. The matchless simplicity of the narrative can scarcely require the aid of comment to render it intelligible to the humblest understanding. The discourses of Our Lord are, with the exception of some of the parables, more easy to be understood than much of what has been written upon them. Simple marginal references, when once the specific design and character of each evangelist is understood, will answer nearly all the purpose of a harmony in aiding their mutual illustration. The critical or philological difficulties are few and inconsiderable. The Authorized Version, or, indeed, almost the rudest version, is adequate to convey the sense of the Evangelists with sufficient clearness and precision. Each Gospel, however, may be advantageously illustrated by annotations of a somewhat different description. That of St. Luke chiefly requires historical and chronological comment, with a view to explain some of the allusions, to clear

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\* See, for instance, Mark xv. 21, from which it may be plausibly inferred, that St. Mark, when he wrote his gospel, was resident where Alexander and Rufus were personally known; probably at Cyrene or Alexandria. That he compiled his Gospel for 'the Romans', is not merely a gratuitous hypothesis, but in the highest degree improbable.



up certain alleged difficulties, and to harmonize his account of Our Saviour's birth and early history with the statements of Matthew and the profane histories of the same period. The Parables sometimes require their drift and scope to be pointed out; (yet, what comment would not weaken the force and pathos of the Prodigal Son?) and a few annotations explanatory of the customs of the East, are requisite to prevent serious misconception as to some of the circumstances introduced in these 'Similitudes'. The Gospel of St. Matthew, consisting so much of didactic matter, affords more abundant scope for expository lectures, or what is termed practical exposition. The obscurities which demand elucidation arise, 1. from the citations from the Old Testament, to which we have already referred as demanding explanation; 2. from the axiomatic and paradoxical style of Oriental teaching as exhibited in some of Our Lord's sayings; 3. from the enigmatic character of some of the parables; 4. from the figurative language of the prophecy in chap. xxiv.; and 5. from the extreme conciseness of this Evangelist in noticing circumstances more fully explained in the other gospels. These, we think, include all the points which particularly require interpretative annotation. Upon the whole, if the comment took its character from the spirit and tenor of the text, an exposition of Matthew's Gospel would be more didactic,—of Luke's, more historical.

The Gospel of St. John we have classed by itself, as more a biographical memoir, supplementary to the evangelical narratives previously extant, than a strictly historical document. In this most delightful book of the four which go under the common name of Gospels, we seem to have unfolded to us, more of the private life, and, if we may use the expression, more of the heart of the Saviour as man, as well as his ineffable glory as the Only-begotten of the Father. In the record of Luke, we have the public history of Jesus of Nazareth; in the pages of Matthew, He to whom the Prophets bare witness, appears evidently as the Messiah; John shews us the affectionate Master of his disciples, the friend of Lazarus, the "Word made flesh",—"made like unto his brethren that he might be a "merciful and faithful high-priest",—the Mediator\*. Here, the critical annotator finds little or nothing that requires the aid of his elucidations. This, of all the four Gospels, is most independent of expository comment. It is the richest, indeed, in

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\* — *Cum omnibus communiter propositum sit Christum ostendere, priores illi corpus (si ita loqui fas est) in medium proferunt, Johannes vero animam. Quamobrem dicere soleo, hoc Evangelium clavem esse quæ aliis intelligendis januam aperiât.* CALVIN. 'Argumentum in Evang. s. Johannem'.

matter for devotional reflection and theological commentary, but it seems to repel the impertinence of frigid verbal criticism, and demands in him who undertakes the task of exposition, a more than ordinary measure of the Spirit of Christ. We may accept the aid of such commentators as Benson, Michaelis, and Campbell, in illustrating St. Luke's Gospel; or of learned Hebraists, such as Lightfoot and Gill, in clearing up the Jewish allusions or idioms of St. Matthew; but, highly as we estimate Calvin as a commentator, we are not acquainted with any exposition of the Gospel of St. John, which fully meets our ideas of what ought to be the specific character of such a work.

Our third class comprises the Epistles to the Romans, to the Galatians, and to the Hebrews. The first and last, more especially, though in the epistolary form, must be regarded as dialectical treatises. Now, in respect to these, it appears to us, that comment ought to be in a great measure superseded by more efficient translation; since nothing can be more awkward and unsuitable than a treatise upon a treatise,—a sermonizing commentary upon an argumentative discourse, breaking perpetually the thread of remark and reasoning, or substituting, it may be, theological glosses for the simple and genuine scope of the text. Yet, no part of the New Testament, as it appears in our version, stands so absolutely in need of annotations to render the text intelligible to ordinary readers. We can scarcely wonder that the Epistle to the Romans should be judged unsuitable for family reading without the aid of exposition; but this arises far less, we must contend, from any intricacy or ambiguity in the Apostle's statements or reasonings, than from the highly elliptical character of his phraseology, and the peculiar use of certain terms, which it is the proper business of a translator to make intelligible and perspicuous by equivalent, rather than literal renderings. Were we, however, to fix upon any one of the books of the New Testament as more incompetently translated than the rest, it would be that very one which, more than any other, demanded a masterly hand,—we mean the Epistle to the Romans. Although the text is happily settled, the meaning of the text remains, in many parts, entirely unsettled, being exhibited in that indistinct, indefinite form by our Translators, that affords the widest latitude to theological dispute, and serves to keep alive an endless logomachy. Were St. Paul to rise from the dead, and to translate his own epistle into English, we have no doubt that his version would produce not a little surprise, if it even escaped condemnation from Biblical critics and commentators. In the present state of things, the task of an expositor is a delicate one, for he must be, to a considerable extent, the actual interpreter of the text.

We have classed the Epistles to the Corinthians with the

shorter apostolic letters, which require little other comment than such as Paley has furnished in his admirable '*Horæ Paulinæ*,' or, here and there, some verbal corrections or explanations of the text as exhibited in the received Version. There are, however, parts of the letters addressed to the Church at Corinth, which certainly demand the especial aid of a competent Expositor. But it will not be necessary for our purpose, to go over the other classes above enumerated. Our object has been to shew, that the distinctive character of the several books has been too generally overlooked by commentators; that the various classes differ in style and matter, so widely as neither to require nor to derive advantage from the same mode of treatment; that our Harmonists and Expositors have been in this respect greatly at fault; that the obscurity charged upon the volume of Inspiration, which has sometimes been made the pretence for withholding the most popular of writings from the people, and at other times an excuse for neglecting the perusal in the domestic circle,—is not inherent in the Scriptures, but greatly results from the imperfection of the philological process by which it has been rendered; that, in short, the cumbrous machinery of Exposition, which hitherto has been the only remedy for the disadvantages of a literal Version without note or comment, requires to be superseded by a more efficient *editing* of the inspired volume. Most of our remarks will apply *à fortiori* to the various writings comprised in the Hebrew Scriptures, many of which are as much injured by superfluous commentary, as others are unintelligible without copious illustration.

In offering these general remarks, we cannot intend to disparage the utility and excellence of such works as are now before us. Expository lectures have always appeared to us the very best vehicle of Scriptural instruction, although we must repeat our objection against substituting extended exposition for the Scriptures themselves, in either family or private reading. Short devotional and practical reflections, as well as occasional explanatory notes, may serve, indeed, as a valuable aid both to the profitable study of the Scriptures in private, and to the effective use of them as a means of domestic instruction. Much depends, as regards the latter object, on their judicious use. To excite and interest attention without wearying it,—to prevent a listless and unintelligent hearing of the words of Scripture, yet not to distract or confuse the memory by too long or frequent an interruption of the thread of the text,—to obviate misapprehension without creating distrust,—to rouse inquiry without suggesting doubt,—in short, to make the whole strain of remark subservient to promoting among our children and domestics a higher reverence for the Word of God, as well as a

more intelligent and diligent use of it,—calls for much Christian wisdom, such as we need and are encouraged to ask of God, and nothing less than which will be requisite for the adequate discharge of the duty which these volumes are intended to facilitate. We shall now proceed to lay before our readers a few specimens, by which they may judge of the general design and execution of the several publications.

The Bishop of Chester has here trodden in the steps of an excellent prelate who once occupied the same see. His Exposition differs, however, from Bishop Porteus's Lectures on Matthew, both as being more brief, familiar, and studiously plain, and as being also more richly evangelical. The general strain not unfrequently reminds us more of the highly interesting commentary on the first nine chapters of Matthew by Archbishop Leighton. May we be permitted to say, that the Right Reverend Author has done himself far greater honour, as well as rendered to his generation a more important service, by this self-denying employment of his talents for the sake of the young, the humble, and the uninstructed, than he would have done by the most splendid display of mere scholarship and criticism, whether lavished on a Greek tragedy, or devoted to the service of polemics.—We take our first specimen almost at random.

Matt. ii. 3. ‘ Herod *was troubled*, expecting some rival to his power ; and Jerusalem, knowing his character, and fearing some new cruelty ; not without too good reason, as soon appeared.

V. 4—6. ‘ The sense of this prophecy (Micah v. 2.) seems to have been well understood by the Jews. We find them arguing (John vii. 42.) “ Hath not the Scripture said, that Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was ? ” They did not, however, understand the nature of his kingdom, or the object of his government. Had they known that he was to be a spiritual, and not a temporal ruler, Herod would not have been troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.

V. 9—11. ‘ In this narrative, an example is set us, which it is our duty to follow. God intimated the birth of his Son to the wise men, by a new appearance in the heavens. So, to us, a Redeemer is made known by early education, by the ministry of the word, by the Scriptures which we enjoy.

‘ The philosophers of the East were not inattentive to the heavenly vision, but came to Jerusalem, saying, “ Where is He that is born King of the Jews ? ” Thus they made the birth of the Messiah their own personal concern ; and, that they might not be disappointed in their search, applied to those best able to instruct them. We are bound to do the same. We hear his gracious offers, and must “ come and worship him ” as our Saviour and our Lord.

‘ God does not leave unnoticed and unrewarded those who desire to discover his will, and comply with the suggestions of His Spirit upon their hearts. You observe how the star which they had seen in the

East, appeared again to the wise men, as they pursued their search from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, and went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. This illustrates the way in which the "Spirit prevents us, that we may have a good will, and works with us when we have that good will." The star which advertised these strangers of the birth of Christ, is like the Spirit warning us, as we hear or read the word, that the same Jesus is the author of eternal life to all them that obey him. Are our hearts awakened by this truth? Do we desire to know Him of whom Moses and the prophets did write? Do we desire more fully to understand "what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance?" Here again the star appears, and guides us on our way: the eyes of our understanding "are gradually enlightened;" and "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, gives unto us the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him." The Spirit does not leave us, till it has conducted us safely to the Son of God; as the star did not desert the wise men, till "it came and stood over where the young child was." "The mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh," is more and more unfolded to us, and its wonderful adaptation to the circumstances and wants of our state, is more and more perceived, till we entirely and cordially receive him as "made unto us of God, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

'Has the Spirit done this for you? Is he thus leading you? Has he brought you to acknowledge Christ as the author of your salvation, by whom you "have access to the Father"?' pp. 8—11.

The following is an admirable practical exposition of a passage extensively misapprehended.

Matt. xix. 13—15. 'The mistake of the disciples here, as in the preceding instance, furnished occasion for a lesson of divine wisdom. You are forbidding little children to come unto me. "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones." They are examples of what all must be, who are admitted into God's heavenly kingdom.

'This is a proper subject for consideration. For, undoubtedly, there is much in children, which we know to be displeasing to God. There is wilfulness. A child does not naturally submit to be restrained and contradicted. It does not yield up its own will to the will of those whom it ought to obey; but shews by perverseness and selfishness, the corrupt stock from which it springs, the corrupt nature with which it is born. There is also in children a recklessness of every thing beyond the present time, and an ignorance of things most needful to be known, which, though not to be imputed to them as a fault, because it belongs to their tender years, still must not be suffered to remain; for the Apostle has left it written, that we "be not children in understanding," but "add to our faith, knowledge."

'Yet, we are told, "of such is the kingdom of heaven." There are many qualities, we know, which must be found in those who enter that kingdom, some of which do naturally belong to the tender age of children, and others, of which a tender age is naturally incapable. But what our Lord seems here to have had especially in view, is their free-

dom from gross and presumptuous sins. For of such are the heirs of the kingdom. Certainly, a child has no active obedience to his Maker; but, then, he has no open defiance to His will. Certainly, a child has the seeds of all sin within him: but those sins have not grown up, and flourished, and ripened their poisonous fruit. We behold the playful infancy of a child; we know well that, in the strict sense of the word, it is not innocent; but still, if we were told that God would take such a being to dwell with himself in a purer state, we should see in that nothing to contradict our ideas of God or of heaven. But, when we look upon a wicked man, in full bearing of the fruit of his natural corruption, polluted with uncleanness, intemperance, malice, hatred, profaneness, covetousness, we perceive at once, that such an one, unless he turn away from his wickedness and be converted, must needs "be punished," as Scripture declares that he will be, "with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord." We are not surprised when St. Paul assures us, that no adulterer, nor unclean person, nor drunkard, nor malicious, nor revengeful, nor covetous man, "hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." Nay, we should be surprised if he said that they could be admitted there, unless they repent and be converted.

' In this, then, the kingdom of heaven is for such as little children. Its inheritors, like them, must be free from the pollution of sin. They must be cleansed "from all filthiness of the flesh and of the spirit." They must be bearing the image of God in righteousness and true holiness. The Apostle says: "In malice," though not "in understanding," yet, "in malice be ye children;" that is, be without malice, as they are. And so we might go on to say,—in all "the works of the flesh,"—in adultery, fornication, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like, "be ye children:" be like those, the happiness of whose infancy it is, that they cannot be guilty of those sins, on account of which the wrath of God cometh upon the wicked. The disposition, indeed, may be lurking within; the evil propensity may remain; as the seeds of all evil are in the hearts of children; there is "a law in the members, warring against the law of the mind;"—a law which nothing but Divine Grace restrains from prevailing. Still, "he that is born of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not." "He cannot sin;" he cannot yield to wilful and presumptuous sin, "because he is born of God." "Sin has no more dominion over him;" he is "led by the Spirit, and through the Spirit does mortify the deeds of the body."

' Every thing is important—so important that every thing else is trifling in comparison—which assists in shewing us what those must be, who belong to the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, let all examine themselves, and see whether they possess those qualities which Christ approves in children. Our dependence—and we have daily reason to thank God for this—is not in our own righteousness or holiness. Still, there is no proof that we are entitled to trust to the righteousness of Christ, unless we are clothed in the robe of innocency, which is a part of that wedding garment which he bestows, and expects to find on all who are to sit down as guests at the marriage supper of the Lamb.'



We can make room for only one more extract, and we must take it from the exposition of St. Mark.

Mark ix. 25—29. ‘ Whatever was out of the course of nature or beyond human power, was alike impossible to the disciples ; and we cannot discern a difference between one miracle and another, one evil spirit and another. In a subject confessedly mysterious, there may be something which we do not apprehend.

‘ Probably, however, they were allowed to fail in this instance, that they might perceive the necessity of depending entirely on Him from whom their power proceeded. And the mode in which this dependence is shewn and exercised, is left as a general lesson to Christians, in the words, “ This kind can come forth by nothing, but by prayer and fasting.” Only an habitual course of prayer and self-denial can lead to that state of heart, that true and lively faith, to which every thing gives way ; to which God denies nothing.

‘ And what we practically learn from the example, is to this purpose. The disciples could not change the course of nature, but through the power of that faith, of which prayer and self-denial are inseparable attendants. Christians can only change their moral nature by the same means.

‘ As of evil spirits, some are represented in Scripture as more pernicious than others ; so, of moral habits, some are worse than others ; are more deeply rooted in the constitution, or more strengthened than others by the habits of life. We may justly say, where a vice has been long indulged, has come upon a man from a child, “ this kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting.”

‘ We are also led to conclude, that, though all Christians must “ watch unto prayer,” must “ pray without ceasing,” there are some occasions when more urgent, continual, and particular prayer is needed. And though all Christians must be temperate in all things, there may be some by whom more special and careful abstinence is required. Where the faith is such as leads to the persevering use of these means, we have reason to hope that “ all things are possible ;” that there is no kind of evil which does not “ come forth by prayer and fasting.”

‘ St. Paul lived in this course of self-denial. He describes it when he says, “ All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient.” “ I will not be brought within the power of any.” “ I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection.”

‘ Those Christians have approached, those Christians will approach, nearest to St. Paul, in personal religion, and in spiritual usefulness, who have most closely followed his example ; who have most truly been able to say, “ The world is crucified to me, and I unto the world.”

pp. 520, 1.

These specimens will be sufficient to shew the judicious, apposite, and instructive character of the expository remarks, which, without affecting originality, never sink into commonplace, and are uniformly such as naturally arise from the text they are employed to illustrate. It is the distinguishing merit of the work, that it is thoroughly adapted for its purpose, both

in the character of its actual contents, and in respect to what it does *not* contain. It must be recollected, that the volume is not intended to supersede more copious and elaborate commentaries; nor can any reader have reason to feel disappointed, at finding some points of difficulty slightly glanced at. The admirable good sense which pervades the work, is conspicuous in the abstinence from all critical or curious discussion. The Exposition is, in this respect, a model of domestic instruction; and we have sincere pleasure in cordially recommending it to Christian families.

The second work on our list, we should have had more satisfaction in bringing under the notice of our readers, had we not found it interspersed with the mistaken and unscriptural notions respecting the personal reign of Christ and two judgement-days, which have of late been so strangely spreading among clergymen of a certain party. Between publishing the first and second editions, the Author professes to have gained new light upon this subject, which has led him to alter, not for the better, several passages relating to the second advent of our Lord. We have, we presume, a specimen of this acquired wisdom in the following interpretation of Matt. xxi. 19.

‘ Our Lord not only states the fact of his coming, but urges us to a diligent watchfulness for it; nay, he gives us signs whereby to judge of its near approach; and unless our minds are blinded by ignorance or prejudice, we must surely acknowledge that it is “ nigh, even at the doors.” We learn this from the budding of the fig-tree—*an emblem of the Jewish nation*, which has, assuredly, borne no fruit to its Lord during the whole of this *age* or dispensation, agreeably to the curse which was passed upon it; (Matt. xxi. 19.) *but this Jewish fig-tree is now putting forth buds, daily.*’ p. 107.

Again: on Matt. xxiv. 14., the Author remarks:—

‘ Christ says, that before the end comes, his Gospel is to be preached among all nations, not for their general conversion, but “ for a witness” unto, or against them, and for the gathering of his elect from among them; (Acts xv. 14—17.) so that *we can expect no universal spread of the Gospel before the second advent, and reign, of the Lord Jesus.*’ p. 104.

The extreme rashness of this assertion, grounded on a perversion of the text, shews how singularly enthusiasm disturbs the judgement of even a good man. What we may or may not expect, it would be the part of wisdom and modesty to state as an opinion which can have no certain basis; but this is obvious, that until the universal spread of the Gospel takes place, it cannot be considered as a witness even ‘ against’ all nations. The tendency of the notions espoused by the Writer is, to paralyse and discourage all active exertions for the propagation of

the Gospel; and the following cold and inadequate comment upon the concluding paragraph of St. Matthew's Gospel, is, we must say, very unlike what would have been dictated by a sympathy with the spirit of the Apostles.

‘ Our Lord's last words to his disciples previous to his ascension, contain a command to preach the Gospel throughout the world, with the promise, that a blessing should attend that Gospel to the end of time. We now enjoy the benefit of the apostles' preaching, by their written words; and if we value those writings, we should endeavour that they be made known to other nations who are in the same darkness as once enveloped our land.’ p. 130.

Miserable gloss on the glorious promise, ‘ Lo, I am with you ‘ always, even unto the end of the world’,—a promise resting on that actual reign of Christ ‘ in heaven and earth’, which the advocates of what is absurdly called the personal reign, in fact deny, by postponing its commencement to a visionary era. To the edifying piety which breathes throughout these lectures, we bear our willing testimony. The remarks are often pithy, and what our forefathers would have termed savoury; and the Writer discovers an excellent spirit. The only failure is in point of judiciousness; but, with the exceptions already intimated, we can safely commend the publication.

The design and plan of Mr. Boys's Exposition will best be learned from his own words.

‘ The present publication was undertaken with the view of supplying a New Testament expressly calculated for domestic worship. The object of the Editor has been, not to furnish detached criticisms upon every single verse, or even a running Commentary; but to take, in each chapter, or portion of a chapter, some prominent feature or single topic, and on this to offer a short practical exposition bearing upon the subject chosen, and devoid of every thing extraneous. . . . . A Commentary like this, which professes to take up only portions of the sacred Text, may not meet the views of those who are accustomed to Expositors that take up the whole. But the principal reason for adopting the present plan, was, that such a work was wanted. Something of the kind has been much asked for; and that by persons who have access to the various excellent works of our established Commentators, and yet at the same time declare, that, for domestic worship, they do not find them answer their purpose. They earnestly wish to introduce the profitable reading of the Holy Scriptures; but, not having, themselves, the gift of expounding, they know not how to begin, and their design is never put in practice. True it is, that the works referred to are most valuable in themselves as manuals of divinity and as patterns of sound exposition; and no family ought to be without some of them. But still, the fact is this; that there are many families, and those religious families, in which no exposition of the Scriptures takes place in domestic worship, even with the best com-

mentators that our language offers standing upon the shelves of the book-case.'

The only objection we have to make against Mr. Boys's plan, is, that the title of an Exposition, prefixed to such a work, is a misnomer. The volume comprises in fact, together with the sacred text, a series of short lectures, or practical reflections, on the several portions of Scripture. These are sometimes of a striking, and always of a profitable cast; but they appear to us better adapted for private meditation than for family reading, owing both to their diffuseness and length, and to the want of the requisite simplicity of thought and plainness of style. We shall make room for two specimens, one taken from the Gospels, and one from the Epistles.

John xvi. 'It is a remarkable fact, that the followers of Christ attained to higher degrees of Christian edification after their Master had left them, than when they had him with them. It is equally remarkable, that their joy and exultation in Christ were greater after his departure than before. How shall we account for this? How was it that the disciples found more happiness and comfort in Christ taken away from them, and sitting at the right hand of God, than in Christ walking with them in the land of Judea? The answer to this question will be found in a circumstance to which Our Lord several times adverts in his final conversation with his disciples; namely, that, after his departure, he was to send down his Holy Spirit from above, to be with them until the end of time. And accordingly, as often as Our Lord mentions this subject in his present discourse, he speaks of the Holy Spirit by the same title—that of the Comforter. . . . .

'All Christian comfort lies in the knowledge of Christ, and in union with him; and therefore the Holy Spirit is called the Comforter of God's people, specially because it is his office to manifest and testify of Christ. Thus it is that believers are established in the joy of the Lord, though now they see him not. Jesus being now bodily absent from his people, though spiritually present with them, it is one part of the Comforter's office, to instruct us in the *words* of Christ. "He", says Our Lord, "shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." Would we, then, rightly understand the sayings of Christ, and indeed all the words of Divine wisdom, we must seek the illuminating influences of the Holy Spirit. It is another part of the blessed Comforter's office, to conform us to the *example* of Christ. "He", said Our Saviour, "shall testify of me"; that is, he shall bear record of my person, performances, and sufferings. And be it remembered, the record of the Spirit concerning Christ, is not merely an historical record: it is altogether a spiritual process, the image of Christ recorded, nay stamped upon the heart. It is the Spirit sealing our souls for eternal life, and Christ is the impression. So that, by this record of the Spirit testifying of Christ, we not merely know him, but, in knowing, become conformed to him.'

We cannot forbear to remark, that Mr. Boys is not always strictly accurate in his use of Scripture. The seal of the Spirit is not, 'the image of Christ', but the spirit of Christ,—the 'spirit of adoption'. Sometimes, too, we meet with hazardous and incorrect statements; among which we must class the strange assertion, that 'Christ attained his highest degree of glory 'upon the cross'. Again, Mr. Boys tells his readers, in language singularly inappropriate to a plain exposition for the use of families, that, 'as the Son is begotten of the Father by an 'eternal generation, so the Spirit is communicated from the 'Father and the Son by a continual procession.' In fact, much as we have been pleased with the general tenor of the Author's remarks, we cannot say, that he is always to be trusted to as an expositor: he is a better divine than commentator. We shall take for our second specimen, the excellent practical remarks on 2 Peter, chap. i.

'The privileges and duties of believers go together, and in fact arise out of one another. This is a truth which is not borne in mind so generally as it ought to be. We are too much disposed to regard the two things as opposite. Those who rejoice in their Christian privileges, dislike to hear of duties; while those who see the full obligation of Christian duty, are apprehensive lest too much should be said respecting privileges. The feeling is unscriptural, in both cases; and as a proof of this we may observe, that the practice of Scripture is quite of a different kind. There is no place besides, where our privileges are so fully set forth, as in the Bible; yet, there is no place besides, where our duties are so urgently and so plainly pressed. Here we have both, privileges and duties, in one chapter: our privileges most fully stated, yet our duties most earnestly inculcated. . . . .

'Such being the state in which, as believers, we are placed (ver. 3, 4), let us next consider what is the conduct which is in this state required of us. Now, to know what the world would deem right under such circumstances, we have only to look to the usual way of reasoning upon them, which is to the following effect. Since so much has been done for sinners, they on their own part need do nothing. So much having been endured for their sake, they may make themselves easy. Every thing being secured to them, exertion on their part is uncalled for and needless. Hence, though it is an untruth to represent believers as holding such sentiments as these \*, yet, it is most cer-

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\* 'If any impute to them such sentiments', Mr. Boys says, 'the Apostle admonishes them that their "damnation is just".' This is another instance of incautious misapplication of Scripture, which, in an Expositor, is doubly offensive. It is, assuredly, of those who maintain the abominable sentiment in question, not of those who impute it to others, how criminal soever be such misrepresentation, that the Apostle says—'Of whom the condemnation (*κριμα*) is just.'

tain, that such are the imputations which the world delights in throwing out, and that such are the inferences which the enemies of religion allege as the necessary results of evangelical principles. Thus have believers of the present day an additional assurance, that theirs is the doctrine which was held by believers in the primitive ages of the church, by the same false imputation attached to their tenets now, which was attached to them then: namely, that they led men to do evil, in order that good might come, and to continue in sin, that grace might abound.

‘ But, if this be what the world would deem right, in the state of the believer, that which is really required of him is far different. What is here required by the Apostle? “ And besides this ”, he says, “ giving all diligence ”:—“ Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence ”. Yes, diligence, diligence: the very last thing, under such circumstances, which the world would think to be required of us. Give heed, O believer, to these words. With all thy high attainments, with all thy high expectations, give diligence. “ The rather ”, from every motive, from every token of thy Saviour’s grace and love, give diligence. For this very reason, because thou hast every advantage and every encouragement, give all diligence. Go on, as the Apostle here teaches thee, adding grace to grace. Go on with this divine accumulation; which begins with faith; advances by the way of virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, and brotherly kindness, and is made perfect in charity. Wouldest thou reach the heavenly mansions, if at all, hardly bestead and weary? Rest easy in thy privileges, and neglect thy duties. Wouldest thou have an entrance ministered unto thee, **ABUNDANTLY**, into the everlasting kingdom of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? Then give diligence, to make thy calling and election sure: “ for, if thou do these things, thou shalt never fall ”. Let others make distinctions. Do thou give thyself fully to the Lord, that thou mayest accomplish his will; and look for and experience the full help of his grace, in the Spirit, the cross, and the gospel of His Son, unto all holy obedience.’

Mr. Marks’s ‘ Reflections and Meditations ’ will certainly neither weary by their diffuseness, nor be objected to for any want of simplicity. Those persons who are acquainted with the Author’s useful and unpretending writings, will know what to expect in this transcript of his private family instructions. The work had its origin in ‘ the simple and humble circumstance of the wants ’ of his own household; and ‘ the Writer’s aim has been, not only to avoid criticism and disputation, as things foreign to his purpose, but to give such a direct and devotional turn to the different paragraphs, as the sacred Text evidently and naturally furnished. This he has endeavoured to do, with the view of throwing back the mind from time to time on the Word of God itself, and thus leading it to meditate on what is therein written; at the same time compressing his thoughts into as small a compass as the nature of the subject would allow.’ In this, we think that he has succeeded;



and two or three brief specimens will sufficiently shew the character of this truly devotional Commentary.

Mark ix. 38—50. ‘Alas! how apt are all denominations of Christians to overlook this admonition of Christ’s, and to drink into the arbitrary spirit of this hasty disciple. When, O Lord, when will the time come, that all who profess to love Thee, shall love each other as brethren? Hitherto, the smallest shades of difference in things not essential unto salvation, have kept them at a distance, or only brought them together, to rend and tear each other. Thus have they offended and stumbled many young beginners, and have turned many a hopeful character away from seeking and finding the truth as it is in Jesus. O Lord, thou God of peace, thou lover of concord, enable us to act as Thy followers and servants ought to act. Cut Thou off every beloved sin; pluck out of our hearts and affections every cause of evil, and fill us with charity and tender affection to all Thy people in every part of the world.’

John xvii. 20—26. ‘What abundant consolations do these words afford to us, who are strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, and Gentiles dwelling in the isles of the sea! Yes, even we are made the objects of the Saviour’s compassion, and the subjects of this His wonderful and gracious prayer! Oh, may we each and all believe in Him unto everlasting life; then shall we be one with the apostles and prophets, and numbered among the children of the Eternal Father, and of his blessed Son, Jesus Christ. Holy and blessed Jesus, Thou most high God, Thou most worthy Judge Eternal, how can we worms and dust, and ashes, sufficiently admire and adore that love and compassion which caused Thee to will and determine that ransomed sinners shall be with Thee where Thou art, to partake, as well as to behold Thy glory! May our souls be lifted above this perishing earth, and above all its grovelling pursuits. Let Thy Holy Spirit so dwell in and sanctify us, that Thy love to us may every day constrain our hearts to love Thee more, and to serve Thee better.’

Phil. iv. 1—3. ‘O Lord, if Thou, in Thy grace and mercy, shalt write our poor unworthy names in the book of life, we need not care how soon they are forgotten, or how much they are despised among men. Alas! how many names are written in history, and engraved on marble and brass, and held up to honour in this world, which are not written in the book of life! How few individuals see or desire to have this honour, in comparison to that which cometh from man: hence it is, that few of the great and mighty are saved.

V. 4—7. ‘Well may souls rejoice, who have made the Lord their trust, their shield and buckler. With their hearts and hopes in heaven, they will neither sorrow nor rejoice, like other men, at the changes of this vain and sinful world. O may this peace of God, which passeth the ungodly world’s understanding, keep our hearts at all times, through Jesus Christ!

V. 8—23. ‘How amiable and lovely is real Christianity! It strives to abound in all things that are true and honest; in all that are just and lovely, and of good report. May it be so with us; and may we continue in the active performance of all we have learned

from, and seen in, the servants of Christ, which is agreeable to His word and will. May we learn, like St. Paul, in whatever state Providence hath placed us, therewith to be content. May grace teach us effectually, how to bear a full portion with humility, and to meet a scanty one with resignation. This, O Lord, Thou canst enable us to do; for, weak and insufficient as we are in ourselves, we can do all things through the grace and strength of Christ. And as Thou, our God and Father, shalt supply all our need, according to Thy riches in glory, by Christ Jesus, we will ascribe the glory to Thee for ever and ever. Amen.'

Mr. Keyworth's volumes have been so long before the public, that we feel it to be unnecessary to say more, than that the work blends, to a considerable extent, the genuine character of an explanatory comment with that of a practical exposition; that it is brief, simple, and devout, and well adapted for the perusal of children and servants, or of the lower orders of society.

Of the Commentary which the Religious Tract Society have undertaken to furnish, the announcement that it is chiefly compiled from Henry and Scott, will explain the general character; the 'occasional observations and notes from other writers' are, however, numerous. We observe in the present volume references to the following writers: T. H. Horne; Faber; Dwight; Poole; Lightfoot; Bishop Hall; Fuller; Robinson; Hawker! Bishop Newton; Yonge; Wall; Gill; A. Clarke; Greenfield; Buddicom; &c. We cannot but applaud the evident pains which have been taken with the compilation; and indeed, the fault which the Editors seem in most danger of falling into, is that of over-doing. That Solomon first taught the doctrine of the circulation of the blood, and that the Hunterian theory respecting the vitality of the blood, is a doctrine of revelation, is not precisely that kind of information, original and ingenious as it may be, which we should expect to find in a popular commentary, designed for 'the Sunday-school teacher, 'and the visiter of the sick.' Against the statement, that 'Nebo and Pisgah were different names of a part of the mountains of Abarim,' we should make no objection, had it been stated, where the mountains of Abarim were situated. The map can only mislead, as it is purely absurd, and illustrates nothing. We throw out these hints, not in a captious spirit, but merely by way of caution. We do not think that the publication promises to be adapted for family reading; but it may be very acceptable, as a cheap commentary, to poor ministers and students. We do not doubt that it will sell, or that its sale will be beneficial; but we cannot say that it comes up to our ideas of what a popular Biblical commentary ought to be, in point of plainness, conciseness, and specific information.

Having pointed out, however, at the commencement of this article, what we deem the common error and marked deficiencies of our best Expositors, we shall not invidiously dwell upon the imperfections of this well-meant compilation. We shall be truly rejoiced, if our remarks should lead, in any quarter, to a mature re-consideration of the best means of promoting the intelligent and profitable perusal of the Holy Scriptures.

Art. II.—1. *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq. M.A. R.A.*

The former written, and the latter edited, by John Knowles, F.R.S., his Executor. In three Volumes. 8vo. pp. 1254. London. 1831.

2. *The Lives of the most eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects.* By Allan Cunningham. Four Volumes. fcap. 8vo. pp. 1386. Price 20s. London. 1829—1831.

**I**T is impossible to refrain from assigning its appropriate praise to the admirable skill with which the reasonable contents of two fair octavos, are here attenuated into three. We use the word advisedly, for the more common term, *expanded*, is in this case altogether inadmissible, since the matter itself undergoes no expansion, while the type is spread out, and the margin *racked*, with a dexterity beyond all eulogy. Yet, all the advantages of a substantial paper, a sagaciously selected type, a judicious *heaving of the lead*, and a closely calculated allowance of pages, have failed to give satisfactory dimensions to the volumes. Still, such is our admiration of Fuseli as a writer, that we cannot quarrel heartily with any shape in which his compositions may be placed before us; although we do not quite like the necessity for repurchasing lectures of which we already possess the first and second editions, and which might have been so connected with the work as to give an option to the buyer. Artists will, assuredly, be anxious to procure this (to them) invaluable publication; but artists are not, in general, a wealthy tribe, and even the sternness of bibliopolical assessment might have been relaxed in their behalf. But, with all this, Mr. Knowles is only indirectly concerned; and he has done his part in the volumes before us, so unpretendingly and so agreeably, that we will not commence our criticism on his editorship, at the tail of a paragraph, in the course of which we have been in some danger of getting into ill humour.

Henry Fuseli was the son of John Caspar Füessli, a native of Zurich, and an artist of repute. The Italianized name was adopted by the son, partly, perhaps, from the unpleasant effect on his own ear of the original, but chiefly from its difficulty of correct pronunciation by foreign organs. Henry was born Fe-

bruary 7, 1741. In his early years, he enjoyed that greatest of all educational advantages, the tuition of an intelligent and accomplished mother. He was designed for the clerical profession; but the master-passion refused to be controlled, and the young theologian, while deriving all possible benefit from the classical instruction which was given him as an ecclesiastical qualification, was preparing to apply it in a very different career. He seems to have made considerable acquisitions; since he not only took his master's degree, at the college of his native city, but exhibited throughout life, an intimate acquaintance with the languages and literature of antiquity. His hours of relaxation were employed in entomological pursuits; and these never ceased to be with him a favourite occupation. Then, as always, he was of a sarcastic and satirical turn; and both pen and pencil were made subservient to his ridicule. He was a poet, moreover, in the higher strains; he discussed both ode and tragedy; but after what fashion, his Biographer has (very prudently, we suspect) abstained from supplying us with the means of judging. Toward the abstract sciences he had no propensity: he lacked that power of fixing the attention, which is the secret of their acquisition. 'Were the angel Gabriel', would he say, 'sent expressly to teach me the mathematics, he would fail in his mission.' In the year 1761, Fuseli, and his intimate acquaintance Lavater, received ordination; and the former immediately set about the business of sermon-making. The Swiss pulpit seems to have been, at this period, in a wretched state; alternating between the frigidity of Dutch analysis, and the allegorizing bewilderments of German mysticism. Men who were, unhappily, incapable of estimating the right character of evangelical ministrations, were yet fully aware that the true style of pulpit eloquence must be something very different from this; and Fuseli, aided by the suggestions of Klopstock and other individuals of conspicuous talent, set about the difficult task of correcting, by example, this prevalence of bad taste. For the arrangement and ground-work, he took Saurin as his model. His language was that of his literary associates,—men of ability, and admired by their contemporaries, but partizans and patterns of a style extravagant alike in its ornate and in its simple forms. Hence, his effusions were applauded by his friends, and unpopular with the multitude. Nor can we think it of the slightest consequence, excepting in a moral view, whether they were acceptable or otherwise, when the Preacher himself was so little sensible of the high character and objects of his ministry, as to commence his service in the sanctuary with a barren jest. Aware of the curiosity with which his audience awaited the result of his experiment, he took for his first text, Acts xvii. 18. "What will this babbler say?" His theological career was not,

however, to be of long duration: it was cut short, at its very beginning, by a spirited and praiseworthy act of disinterested resistance to oppression, which, although entirely successful, made it expedient that he should exile himself, for a season, from his native place. In this high-minded interposition, Lavater was his chief associate; and the two friends launched into the wide world together. While residing at Berlin, circumstances occurred which induced him to visit England, under the patronage of Sir Andrew Mitchell, the British minister to the court of Prussia; and in company with that diplomatist, he reached this country towards the close of 1763.

‘Fuseli took lodgings in the house of a Mrs. Green, in Cranbourn Street, then called Cranbourn Alley. He lived here from prudential motives,—those of economy, as well as being near to the house of a gentleman (Mr. Coutts) to whom he had been introduced, who resided at this time in St. Martin’s Lane. No sooner was he fixed in this place, than he wrote to his father, to give him an account of his voyage and journey from Berlin to London, and of the prospects which appeared to be open to him. Stranger as he was in the great metropolis of England, separated from his family, and nearly unknown to any of its inhabitants, his sensitive feelings were aroused, and in a gloomy state of mind he sallied forth, with the letter in his hand, in search of a post-office. At this period, there was much greater brutality of demeanour exercised by the lower orders of the English towards foreigners, than there is at present. Meeting with a vulgar fellow, Fuseli inquired his way to the post-office, in a broad German pronunciation: this produced only a horse-laugh from the man. The forlorn situation in which he was placed, burst on his mind;—he stamped with his foot, while tears trickled down his cheeks. A gentleman who saw the transaction, and felt for Fuseli, apologised for the rudeness he had received, explained its cause, and told him that, as a foreigner, he must expect to be so treated by the lower orders of the people: after this, he shewed him where he might deposit his letter. This kindness from a stranger, in some degree restored tranquillity to his agonised feelings.’

His first employment was that of a translator; but his leisure hours were directed to the sedulous cultivation of his favourite art. In 1766, he accepted an advantageous invitation to accompany the eldest son of Lord Waldegrave as travelling tutor; but his irritable temper and independent spirit soon made this engagement intolerable, and he returned to England. ‘The noble family of Waldegrave’, he said, ‘took me for a bear-leader, but they found me the bear.’ All these various enterprises in the great business of procuring a livelihood, at length settled down into the one steady purpose to pursue his original bent; and he laid aside all regular occupation but that of an artist.

‘He sought for and obtained an introduction to Mr. (afterwards

Sir Joshua) Reynolds, to whom he shewed a portfolio of drawings, and some small etchings, which he had recently made from subjects in the Bible, and an etching on a large scale from Plutarch,—“Dion seeing a female spectre sweep his hall.” Sir Joshua, who was much struck with the style, grandeur, and conception of his works, asked him how long he had been from Italy? Fuseli answered, “he had never seen that favoured country;” at which the former expressed much surprise; and to mark how highly he estimated his talents, requested permission to have some of the drawings copied for himself. This was readily granted, and he was induced by the solicitations of Fuseli, to accept some of the etchings. The interview ended by Reynolds assuring him, that, “were he at his age, and endowed with the ability of producing such works, if any one were to offer him an estate of a thousand pounds a-year, on condition of being any thing but a painter, he would, without the least hesitation, reject the offer.”

At the suggestion of Reynolds, Fuseli tried, for the first time, painting in oil; and he succeeded so well, that his adviser cheered him by the assurance that ‘he might, if he would, be a colourist as well as a draughtsman’. The prophecy did not, however, as some others have done, produce its own completion; for Fuseli, though he, at times, effected enough in this way, to shew that he laboured under no defect of eye for the beauties of tint, was always slovenly in this department of his art. He never ‘set a palette’; we suspect that he was very little solicitous about the state of his brushes; and he appears, almost invariably, to have applied his colours at the suggestion of the moment, rather than from the dictate of principle. In 1770, he visited Italy; and it is remarkable, considering how intently he studied, and how correctly he estimated, the works of the old masters, that he should have been so utterly unsuccessful in attempting (if indeed he did attempt) to transfuse their spirit, and feeling, and execution into his own productions. Yet, the wildness and energy of his manner called forth the admiration of the Italians; and one of the native artists is said to have exclaimed, at the sight of his bold drawings—‘Michael Angelo has come again!’ Never was there a greater mistake: between the substantial grandeur of the Florentine, and the *piquant* extravagance of the Switzer, there is no alliance. Fuseli might satirize ‘the bloated forms of Spranger and Goltzius’, but their style was essentially his own; and with all its defects and all its excesses, it is far superior to that of many an artist of more accredited name than those highly gifted men. It is justly and profoundly remarked by Fuseli himself, in his lecture on design,

‘that even the extravagant forms and, if you will, caricatures of Goltzius, seduced by Spranger, are preferable to those of Albert Durer or Caravaggio, though recommended by the precision of the one and



the chiaroscuro of the other, when applied to a pure heroic or symbolic subject ; for, though eccentric and extreme, they are eccentricities and extremes of the great style, in which meanness of conception is of all blemishes the least excusable.'

Fuseli is represented by his Biographer to have been 'always very susceptible of the passion of love'. He had a flirtation with Miss Moser, the flower-painter; he seems to have been deeply captivated by Angelica Kauffman; and he talks, in a letter from Italy, of his 'lacerated heart and boiling brains'. On revisiting his native place, after an absence of sixteen years, he fell desperately in love with the daughter of a magistrate; and the lady seems to have regarded him with 'an eye of favour. But that inconvenient personage, a prudent father, interfered: the artist again fled from Zurich to England, 'almost in a state of frenzy', and his idolized 'Nanna' consoled herself with the substitution of a Monsieur Schinz. Fuseli, by the way, though a violent, does not seem to have been an intrepid man. The Italian dames frightened him: they and the men were animated and amusing, but there was the 'slight drawback of never feeling one's life safe in their presence'. On one occasion, a damsel who served him as a model, while adjusting her drapery, permitted the hilt of a poniard to be seen. Fuseli eagerly inquired the meaning of so formidable an ornament, and was expressively answered: '*Contro gl' impertinenti*'.

It was in April 1779, that Fuseli left Zurich for his final return to England, which he thenceforward considered as his home. He found Sir Joshua in the highest popularity as a painter of portrait, but West in higher estimation as the great historical master of his day. Of the latter, Fuseli was not, at any period of his life, an admirer. He gave him due credit for facility of hand, and an extensive acquaintance with the common-places of his art; but he held him wanting in all its higher qualities: invention, bold and decided drawing, originality, feeling, and intellectual vigour,—these he in vain sought in the productions of West. Satisfied, therefore, that he had no formidable competitor, he started at once in the career, and exhibited, in 1780, three pictures. Ezzelin musing over the dead body of Meduna, 'slain by him for disloyalty during his absence in the Holy Land', was the designation of one of them; and we particularize it as an instance of the dexterity with which Fuseli adapted his materials to his wants. When a composition struck him in idea, and the historical fact to which it might be referred, was not in existence, he would invent the subject. When Lord Byron made the inquiry—'I have been looking in vain, Mr. Fuseli, for some months, in the poets and historians of Italy, for the subject of your picture of Ezzelin; pray where is it to be found?'—the artist, vastly amused at

having puzzled the gifted querist, replied, 'Only in my brain, my Lord, for I invented it'. This picture, with the two others which appeared in the Exhibition of 1780, Mr. Knowles tells us, with that vague and exaggerated eulogy, than which nothing can be more weak or mischievous, 'raised him, in the opinion of the best judges, *to the highest rank in art.*' They did no such thing, but they assuredly gave him, in many of the higher qualities of design, a great superiority over West,—a triumph over whom would not be deemed by Fuseli any signal achievement, if the following anecdote be correct.

'At the election of West to the chair of the Royal Academy, in the year 1803, after a secession of twelve months, the votes for his return to the office of President were unanimous, except one, which was in favour of Mrs. Lloyd, then an academician. Fuseli was taxed by some of the members with having given this vote, and answered: "Well, suppose I did, she is eligible to the office—and is not one old woman as good as another?"'

In 1786, he was engaged by Boydell to paint for the Shakespeare Gallery; and some of his most successful efforts appeared in that collection. His fairy scenes were full of fancy and fraught with 'infinite variety'; and his Ghost of Hamlet, floating in the most admirably conceived medium of supernatural appearance that was ever before realized on canvas, swept athwart the scene with unearthly energy and majesty. His share in the getting up of the splendid edition of Lavater's Physiognomy, his contributions to the Analytical Review, and his assistance given to Cowper in the translation of Homer, we must pass by without more particular notice. In June 1788, he married; and in November of the same year, he was elected Associate of the Royal Academy. About two years after his marriage, the strange attachment of Mary Wollstonecraft occasioned a transient interruption of domestic harmony; and it was in connexion with this, that Fuseli, who was an habitual and extravagant swearer, made the whimsical reply to his wife, who was warmly expostulating with him on the subject:—'Now do, my dear Sophia, swear a little—you have no idea how it will relieve your mind.' Miss Wollstonecraft was accustomed to dress with an exclusive regard to personal convenience, and to injure the effect of a person not unattractive, by a dress of coarse cloth, with the accompaniments of black worsted stockings, beaver hat, and hair 'hanging lank about her shoulders'. This was not at all to Fuseli's taste; and the 'philosophical sloven' condescended to assume a more feminine exterior. It is believed, that this amour never proceeded to criminal lengths; but Miss W.'s passion for the hero's mind, grew so excessive, that she actually proposed to Mrs. Fuseli, a compact of parti-

cipation, in which the intellectual part was to pertain to the former, while all the rest was to remain, in full property, with the latter. Mrs. F., however, expressed her sentiments on the business, by a peremptory request that the intrusive *illuminée* would never repeat the visit. Mary Wollstonecraft sought forgetfulness in France, where a less refined passion cured her platonics.

In 1790, Fuseli became entitled to place in front of his name the designation R.A. He was at this time, and during several successive years, diligently elaborating the grand series of paintings which he exhibited in 1799 and 1800. The attempt was daring; the success equivocal; the speculation a total failure. Yet there was great power, and, as we should have thought, much attractiveness, in that strange, but wild and stimulating exhibition. In his choice of subject, Fuseli was always eminently happy; and never did he succeed, in this respect, more decidedly: there was nothing of common-place, no evasion of difficulties, no treading in other men's steps, from the first to the last picture in the catalogue. The reasons of his general failure are, however, obvious; and, as our view of them agrees generally with that of Mr. Cunningham, we shall adopt his explanation, though we have the vanity to think we could give a somewhat better.

‘The genius of Fuseli was of a different order from that of Milton. To the severe, serene majesty of the poet, the intractable fancy of the painter had refused to bow; the awful grandeur of the realm of Perdition, and the sublime despair of its untameable Tenant, were too much for him—though he probably thought them too little. He could add fury to Moloch, and malignancy to Beelzebub; but he fell below the character of terrible daring, enduring fortitude, and angelic splendour, which mark the arch-apostate of Milton. The most visible want is in that grave and majestic solemnity with which the poet has invested all that he has touched; and the chief excellences to be set against this prevailing defect, are a certain aerial buoyancy, and a supernatural glow of colour, which, in some of these pieces, fill the imagination of the observer, and redeem in so far the reputation of Fuseli.’

Many years, of course, have now elapsed since we saw the Milton Gallery; and our judgement, at that time youthful and immature, we have not had any subsequent opportunity of correcting. But, though we agree with Messrs. Knowles and Cunningham in their general criticism, we remember to have been struck most forcibly with a picture which the latter does not mention at all, and the former only as an item in the catalogue. ‘The Lubbar Fiend,’ though a small painting, appeared to us most admirably conceived and expressed. We have seen a bold fore-shortening in a wood-cut by Baldung, which might

have suggested the idea of the thwart figure of the 'crop-sick' demon. Still, notwithstanding the unquestionable power of fancy and execution displayed in this noble collection, it was pervaded by one grand defect,—the essential fault of the great artist who schemed and completed this spirited plan; it failed to stand the test, when fairly brought into comparison with the beauty and majesty of nature. Well might Fuseli, with his usual expletive, complain of nature, that *she put him out*.

We have now touched upon the leading events of Fuseli's life; and the incidental criticisms which we have offered and cited, may supersede the necessity for an elaborate estimate of his genius and character. It remains for us to notice a few circumstances of his later years, and then to describe the closing scene. In 1804, he was elected Keeper of the Royal Academy; an office which ensures a respectable salary and commodious apartments. Two years afterward, the students expressed their sense of his vigilance and ability as the director of their studies, by the donation of an elegant silver vase. In 1810, he was re-appointed to the Professorship of Painting, which he had vacated on receiving the appointment of Keeper. He died April 16th, 1825; and the following extract describes the last interview which he had with his Biographer.

'The attentions of the Countess of Guilford and her family to Fuseli, were unremitting; every thing was done by them to promote his comfort, and even to anticipate his wishes. The question constantly asked was, "Can nothing further be done to keep him a little longer with us?" But it was too apparent, notwithstanding these kindnesses, and the skill and attention of his physicians, that life was fast ebbing. I saw him every day, and I have reason to believe that, from the commencement of his illness, he did not expect to recover; for, on the Wednesday, he put his hand into mine, and said, "My friend, I am fast going to that bourne whence no traveller returns." But he neither displayed regret at his state, nor, during his illness, shewed any despondency or impatience. I left him at a late hour on Friday (the evening before he died); he was then perfectly collected, and his mind apparently not at all impaired, but his articulation was feeble, and the last words which he addressed to his physicians, the death guggles being then in his throat, were in Latin: so perfect was his mind at this time, that he said to me, "What can this mean? when I attempt to speak, I croak like a toad."'

Concerning the works of Fuseli, it is not necessary that we should repeat the criticisms and quotations which we have from time to time put forward in illustration of our views respecting subjects of art. Mr. Cunningham prefers Fuseli's paintings to his writings: we prefer his writings to his pictures, and we have often had occasion to prove our admiration, by referring to them as authorities in matters of pictorial discussion. We shall,

therefore only say, that these volumes contain his Lectures, complete, to the number of twelve; Aphorisms on the Fine Arts; and a History of Art in the Schools of Italy. A highly finished and exceedingly characteristic portrait is prefixed.

We have appended Mr. Cunningham's highly interesting volumes to this article, not because they are undeserving of a distinct critique, but in consideration of our own convenience, which will not allow us to enter on so wide a field. They are full of anecdote, excellently told, and of *piquant* criticism, of questionable correctness. Mr. C. seems at times more anxious to produce effect, than concerned to secure that scrupulous accuracy without which the ablest work can never become a text-book. We do not accuse him of deliberately drawing on his invention; but we cannot divest ourselves of the suspicion, that his authorities have, sometimes, been but lightly dealt with. We shall illustrate our meaning by an extract from a small volume lately published, of some interest, but which scarcely claims from us more distinct notice as the subject of regular review. In the pleasant table-talk of the veteran Northcote, as reported by his friend Hazlitt, occurs the following comment on certain representations made by Mr. Cunningham.

‘Cunningham gives a wrong account of an anecdote which he has taken from me. Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, had said at a meeting of the Society of Arts, that “a pin-maker was a more important member of society than Raphael.” Sir Joshua had written some remark on this assertion in an old copy-book which fell into my hands, and which nobody probably ever saw but myself. Cunningham states, that Sir Joshua was present when Dean Tucker made the speech at the society, and that he immediately rose up, and with great irritation answered him on the spot; which is contrary both to the fact and to Sir Joshua's character. He would never have thought of rising to contradict any one in a public assembly for not agreeing with him on the importance of his own profession. In one part of the new *Life*, it is said that Sir Joshua, seeing the ill effects that Hogarth's honesty and bluntness had had upon his prospects as a portrait-painter, had learned the art to make himself agreeable to his sitters, and to mix up the oil of flattery with his discourse as with his colours. This is far from the truth. Sir Joshua's manners were indeed affable and obliging, but he flattered nobody; and instead of gossiping, or making it his study to amuse his sitters, minded only his own business. . . . . His Biographer is also unjust to Sir Joshua, in stating that his table was scantily supplied out of penuriousness. . . . . Sir Joshua never gave the smallest attention to such matters; all he cared about was, his painting in the morning, and the conversation at his table. . . . . It is insinuated that he was sparing of his wine, which is not true. . . . . If I had any fault to find with Sir Joshua, it would be, that he was a very bad master in the art. Of all his pupils, I am the only one who ever did any thing at all. He was like the boy

teaching the other to swim. "How do you do when you want to turn?" "How must you do when you turn?"—"Why, you must look that way!" Sir Joshua's instructions amounted to little more.'

We shall only add concerning Mr. Northcote's "Conversations," that the book is adorned by a portrait of that shrewd 'observer,' full of expression, and beautifully engraved.

Mr. Cunningham's volumes form part of the Family Library, and are profusely illustrated by well executed likenesses, and by certain wood-cuts which claim very little of our admiration. We shall trespass on their contents for one more fact, which we cite for the purpose of aiding to set right the public mind respecting a character which has, we have reason to believe, been exceedingly misunderstood. Edward Bird had been appointed painter to the Princess Charlotte; and on the occasion, presented her Royal Highness with a picture—'The Surrender of Calais.' After his death, for the purpose of completing an exhibition of his works, his widow applied to Prince Leopold for the loan of the painting. He went beyond the request; for he requested her acceptance of the picture, and accompanied the gift with a cheque for a hundred pounds.

Art. III. *Poems, devotional and didactic*, from the Poetical Works of Bishop Ken. 24mo. pp. 207. Price 3s. 6d. London, 1831.

**I**T seems not to have been suspected until of late, that Bishop Ken's poetical authorship extended beyond the three justly celebrated hymns for Morning, Evening, and Midnight; and it has only very recently become generally known, that his poetry, or rather his verse, fills four substantial octavos, of some five hundred pages each. For this oblivion, it is by no means difficult to account. We are sufficiently acquainted with the Bishop's effusions, to pronounce them, as a whole, utterly unreadable; nor can we but admire the simplicity of his worthy relative and editor, who seems to have had no idea that anything further could be necessary, than to give 'the entire, unsifted mass' of Ken's rhyming papers to the world. Our readers would not thank us for attempting an analysis of the strange farrago whence the present Editor has contrived to extract the materials of the very neat and attractive volume in our hands; but, before we proceed to give an opinion as to the merits of what he has preserved, we shall lay before them a specimen or two of the kind of stuff which he has felt it expedient to reject. At the visit of the three Magian princes to Bethlehem, Melchior thus addresses the Saviour:—



‘ Great, Gracious Sir, do not despise  
 The gifts of foreign votaries ;  
 Mean as they are, they are the best  
 With which our native country's blest.  
 Our finest gold we hither bring,  
 To crown our pretty, mighty King.’

Ken's grand epic, *Edmund*, is full of strange conceits,—the efforts of a man without high poetical genius, to attain its loftiest realizations. Aiming at the sublime, he reaches only the turgid and absurd. He has a strange fancy for the construction of ethereal cars and magical chariots: we shall give a sample or two.

‘ For Beelzebub awhile the rest did wait,  
 Who in a chariot rode in horrid state :  
 Of *Assa-fætida* the whole was built,  
 With glimmering flame of hell all over gilt.’

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Of guards around him, clad in coats of clouds,  
 Lined through with fire, there marched disordered crowds.’

Edmund, while on a voyage, is overtaken by a diabolical storm.—

‘ Aerial fiends, who the horizon crowd,  
 Shot red-hot bolts from catapults of cloud :  
 Their deadly arrows enter the ship's sides,  
 With thunderbolts she palisadoed rides.’

Satan disguising himself :—

‘ His curled, combed periwig he made of hair,  
 Which from their heads the damned wretches tear.’

In another poem, combining epic, lyric, and didactic forms, Satan constructs an aerial vehicle after the following fashion.

‘ On wings rent from a dragon, through the skies,  
 He with full speed to Taprobana flies ;  
 Where, viewing all the tortoises marine,  
 He chose the largest for his dire design :  
 Turning it up upon the sandy shore,  
 He from its shell the trembling creature tore.  
 ’Twas in diameter a fathom wide ;  
 Mother-of-pearl walled it on either side ;  
 With trees of coral pillared, and the head  
 Was with their branches intermixed, o'erspread.  
 Two wing'd sea-monsters by his charms dismayed,  
 Swam with obsequious terror to his aid ;  
 Whip, harness, reins, he formed of ocean weeds,  
 To govern or chastise his scaly steeds.

The seats of downy moss compounded were ;  
 And thus equipped he drives it through the air :  
 On the smooth waving clouds it swifter glides,  
 Than on the snow a sledge Laplandian slides.  
 Himself he in aped regal robe attires,  
 Sceptred and crowned with glittering meteor fires.  
 Swiftly he moved, and all the voyage flings  
 The humid air upon the monsters' wings ;  
 Still frightened with the thought, that should they dry,  
 The chariot would fall headlong from the sky.'

The transition from this extravagance and false taste, to the richness, vigour, and occasional beauty of his happier efforts, is extreme. Who would have imagined that the following noble lines are from the same pen as the preceding specimens ?

' God.

' Holiest of Holies, Thou art God alone,  
 On thy all-glorious, everlasting throne !  
 Thou, Rock of Ages ! dost the same abide,  
 While our durations by short minutes glide.  
 Thy wondrous works Thy mighty power declare,  
 Which yet faint sketches of Thy glory are.  
 Thy majesty ten thousand suns outvies,  
 A sight too radiant for the seraphs' eyes.  
 Thy deity, uncircumscribed by space,  
 Fills heaven and earth, and extramundane space,  
 Above all change unchangeably abides,  
 And as it pleases, casual changes guides.  
 Thou present art in this terrestrial sphere ;  
 Where'er we fly or hide, Thou still art near :  
 Thou present art when sinners dare thy stroke,  
 Thou present art when saints thine aid invoke ;  
 Thou, in all sin's recesses, dost survey  
 Pollution with an unpolluted ray ;  
 Thou present art all creatures to sustain,  
 And influence thine universal reign ;  
 Thou in the temple of the world dost dwell,  
 All blessings to confer, all ills expel ;  
 Benign, or dreadful, Thou still present art,  
 In every saint, in every sinner's heart :  
 Thy saints there for thy Godhead temples build,  
 Which with thy gracious Shechinah are filled ;  
 And from thy presence sinners feel within,  
 Anticipation of wrath due to sin.

' Thou searcher of my heart ! my heart possess,  
 Thine own idea deeply there impress.  
 O purify me, Lord ! as Thou art pure ;  
 From the polluting world my soul secure ;  
 Thine image re-engrave ; to copy Thee,  
 Is my chief prayer—shall my ambition be.'—pp. 36, 37.

Still more graceful, pleasing, and even touching are the following stanzas. We wonder that they escaped Mr. Montgomery's eye, in making his selections from Ken, for his 'Christian Poet.'

' FRIENDSHIP WITH DEATH.

- ' When I on Death approaching think,  
My soul begins to shrink :  
My powers would fain that thought postpone,  
Till towards my dying groan :  
Belshazzar's tremblings on me seize,  
And I together smite my knees.
- ' Soul ! thou infallibly art sure,  
That death I must endure ;  
Thou canst not the set time descry,  
But know'st that it is nigh.  
Since then I shortly Death must see,  
Why should we now such strangers be ?
- ' Blest Jesus deigns to taste for all,  
Death's bitterness and gall ;  
And sweetens death, to saints who tread  
The footsteps where He led :  
As faith and hope in votaries fail,  
Death's terrors by degrees prevail.
- ' When Jesus gained his throne on high,  
Death itself seemed to die :  
His opened grave shewed how the saints  
Shall force all Death's restraints :  
And opened heaven assured their eyes,  
Their bodies from the grave should rise.
- ' In the expanse Jehovah placed  
A pillar double-faced,  
Which through the sea the tribes should guide  
Safe to the adverse side ;  
Which should appear to Israel bright,  
And to Egyptians, dismal night.
- ' Thus double-faced, Death always flies,  
Race human to surprise :  
To the impious, dreadful he appears,  
Darting outrageous fears ;  
To souls to Jesus reconciled,  
His looks inviting are, and mild.
- ' The wicked at Death's look may quake ;  
Saints friendship with him make.  
May I, when he draws near my bed,  
Toward Jesus raise my head ;  
And joyfully embrace my friend,  
By whose kind dart I heaven ascend.'

‘ DYING TO THE WORLD.

- ‘ My soul lives but a stranger here ;  
 My country is the heavenly sphere :  
 While God here wills my stay,  
 His grace my powers shall sway.  
 Death ! when for me you are designed,  
 But little work in me you'll find.
- ‘ My all is God's possession grown :  
 I nothing keep to call my own.  
 If any self you see  
 Remaining still in me,  
 O ! that should long ago have died,  
 Had I the lurking ill descried.
- ‘ Perhaps you'll at my body aim,  
 But that's devoted to God's name ;  
 God there is pleased to build  
 A temple with God filled ;  
 Dare you to ruin that design,  
 Which temple is of Godhead trine ?
- ‘ By God's permission yet you may  
 Dissolve this house built up of clay :  
 In ruins when it lies,  
 It glorious shall arise,  
 And rise to a much nobler height ;  
 Than the first temple much more bright.
- ‘ Should you my heaven-born soul attempt,  
*That*, from your terrors lives exempt ;  
 You ne'er, with all your skill,  
 Could souls immortal kill.  
 You need not me and world divide ;  
 I long ago the world denied.
- ‘ I have prevented all your force,  
 Which from my friends might me divorce.  
 To friends, though truly dear,  
 My heart dares not adhere :  
 No perfect friend but God I know ;  
 For God I all the rest forego.
- ‘ Should you invade me, armed with pain,  
 And make me numerous deaths sustain,  
 My will, to God resigned,  
 Sweet ease in God will find ;  
 God's love will all my pains endear,  
 With joy my dissolution's near.
- ‘ Death ! when you shall approach my head,  
 You'll nothing see but what is dead ;

Yet do not me forsake ;  
 Care of my body take ;  
 Lay me with gentle hand asleep.  
 God in the grave my dust will keep.'

pp. 140—142.

The following fragment (not in the present Selection) may serve as a specimen of the manner in which Ken sometimes alembicates a thought.

‘ DIVINE SKILL.

‘ From glorious God an angel sent,  
 His vial on Euphrates spent.  
 Should he his empty vial fill  
 With Hermon dew, and thence distil  
 One drop on every stream which glides,  
 Till it in ocean last abides ;

‘ Yet every drop Omniscience knows,  
 And when it in each billow flows ;  
 Can every drop entirely lave,  
 From its transfusion into wave ;  
 Though distant as each polar shore,  
 Can to the vial them restore.

‘ Should every drop in vapour rise,  
 Turn rain, hail, snow, when in the skies,  
 Thence falling, into earth be sunk,  
 And up by vegetables drunk,—  
 God all their shiftings can compute,  
 And into dew them re-transmute.’

We transcribe the lines entitled, ‘ The Blessedness of the Saints in the intermediate State ’, on account of the striking and somewhat unusual thought.

‘ Above all sin and sorrow they are placed,  
 And with the sight of God Incarnate graced.  
 In outward courts at present they reside,  
 And at a distance from the throne abide :  
 There, longing for re-union to their dust,  
 For the full congregation of the just,  
 To hear the awful trump to judgement sound,  
 To be eternally absolved and crowned ;  
 With bodies glorified to be arrayed,  
 Inhabitants of the bright temple made ;  
 Their morning bliss no thought can comprehend,  
 Which their meridian beams shall far transcend.’

p. 55.

We must make room for one more admirable specimen.

‘ THE VISION OF THE HEART.

‘ Is this the heart breathed from Jehovah's breath ?  
 Or did all-gracious God breathe sin and death ?  
 Is this the heart where reason sovereign reigned,  
 And all propensions of the will restrained ;  
 Formed every sense, each passion, to control,  
 And keep sweet peace in the harmonious soul ;  
 Whose realm with this vast globe should co-extend,  
 And make all creatures to its empire bend ?  
 I see my hated self impure and vain ;  
 I, judge and witness, my false heart arraign :  
 My odious sins my trembling soul confound.  
 O that I might in my own tears be drowned—  
 But, woe is me, my flinty eyes are dry ;  
 My tears away, when most I want them, fly.  
 My sighs ! my tears ! O whither are ye flown—  
 Why to my heart are ye such strangers grown ?  
 Return, return, and these two cisterns fill,  
 That in ne'er-ceasing streams they may distil.  
 Ah ! not my eyes, it is this heart of stone,  
 Which I should rather in this drought bemoan.  
 Some Moses strike it with his powerful rod,  
 Till seas gush out for my offended God.  
 Lord ! to thy dreadful wrath, to endless woes,  
 I every moment my own soul expose :  
 I am a leper, odious and impure ;  
 How can thy purest eyes this wretch endure !  
 Thou art my Father, I the impious son,  
 Who from thy tenderest arms away have run.  
 Thou art my Saviour, and wouldst die for me ;  
 I am the Jew who nailed thee to the tree.  
 Thou art the boundless source of love and joy,  
 And I to grieve thee all my powers employ.’ pp. 63, 4.

We are indebted, it seems, for this well-judged and tasteful selection of what may be styled, in hackneyed phrase, ‘ the beauties’ of Ken, to a passing criticism in an article on Sacred Poetry, in No. lxiii. of the *Quarterly Review*. ‘ The simple and touching devoutness of many of Bishop Ken's lyrical effusions,’ it was remarked, ‘ has been unregarded, because of the ungraceful contrivance and heavy movements of his narrative.’ This criticism first directed the Editor's attention to the four volumes of the Bishop's poetical works, in which he found, ‘ mixed up with a large alloy of unreadable material, much that appeared to him rich and beautiful in sentiment and expression.’ The task of extracting the more precious produce from the crude ore, was one that required no ordinary combination of patient labour and poetic feeling and tact. Indeed, to toil through ‘ four



substantial octavos', the average of which is either in bad taste or of common-place quality, and much of which is positively worthless, for the sake of detecting and bringing to light the rich vein that here and there discovers itself,—demanded, one would have thought, a very powerful incentive, or singular perseverance; and that this should have been accomplished with a vigilant exercise of discretion and sound judgement, from no other motive than a chivalrous sense of literary justice, stimulated by a keen appreciation of Ken's real merits as a writer, is actually a 'curiosity in literature.' Often, in the same poem, the Editor says, 'stanzas of great beauty are mingled with others ' of absurd and even offensive expression.'

' In the very midst of a verse, a line or phrase will present itself, so much at variance with the spirit and grace of its companions, as to render extirpation absolutely necessary. At the same time, it was felt to be utterly inadmissible that there should be the slightest tampering with the original text. Right feeling and correct taste alike forbade the substitution of other words, even where such alteration might be an improvement. The following selection, then, has been scrupulously transcribed from the originals: where chasms occurred, they were filled up by lines or stanzas from other portions of the Author's writings. Unless the Editor have grossly failed in judgement, this little volume will be acceptable to all who have a true relish for "simple and touching devoutness," set forth in language always expressive and often highly poetical.'

It may account, perhaps, in some degree, for the extreme inequality of Ken's poetry, that 'the entire publication was post-humous;' and 'it is evident,' we are told, 'from numberless instances of incorrect transcript, as well as from the strange absence of all discrimination on the part of the (original) Editor, that the entire, unsifted mass of the Bishop's poetical papers was committed most impartially to the press.' We must admit that, under such circumstances, a writer claims, in common fairness, to be estimated by his success, rather than by his failures. Still, it must be regarded as not a little remarkable, (although the case is by no means singular,) that so ready a versifier should have contented himself with so slovenly and unequal composition, and that one who was capable of attaining high excellence, should have produced so much of an inferior and worthless quality. From the errors of taste and judgement which abound throughout his works, the present Editor admits it to be questionable, how far the Bishop's poems would have derived any material advantage from his own revision. Are we to ascribe this defective judgement to the incapacity of the Author, or to the erroneous standard of taste in those times? Ken was born thirty years after Waller, and was the contemporary of Dryden, Parnell, and Addison. Our language had at that

period attained what has, by many competent judges, been considered as the era of its greatest purity and forcible simplicity. Criticism, however, was in its infancy; and if English versification had become more polished and harmonious than in the days of Donne and Cowley, it is evident that the true principles and laws of poetry were but very imperfectly understood. The popular models were adapted, by their very success, to mislead the taste; and it is probable that erroneous notions of poetic inspiration had some share in producing the copious inundation of indifferent verse which the press at that time was continually pouring forth. While *Paradise Lost* was lying comparatively neglected, the age teemed with voluminous epics; and among others, Ken aspired, in unlucky hour, to the epic crown. His "Edmund" is a signal failure. 'The plot,' the present Editor remarks, 'is without ingenuity; the machinery, mere clumsy *diablerie*; and nothing is tolerable but the versification and the sentiments, with the exception of a few of those vigorous passages which Ken never fails to mingle with even his worst compositions.' The failure of Ken in epic or narrative verse, is not, however, more striking than the absence of all talent for lyrical poetry in Dryden, whose faults are not less characteristic of the age.

'Late, very late, correctness grew our care,  
When the tired nation breathed from civil war.  
Ev'n copious Dryden wanted, or forgot,  
The last and greatest art,—the art to blot.'

We are told, indeed, that even

'——fluent Shakspeare scarce effaced a line.'

But Shakspeare's minor poems breathe the true lyrical spirit, while his genuine dramatic works exhibit not only the highest powers of invention, but the most consummate taste and judgment, and a perfect mastery of all the resources of the language. Between the age of Shakspeare and that of Pope, English poetry suffered, in fact, a positive decline; and when our writers returned to correctness, it was learned in the worst of all possible schools,—a foreign and a French one.

'Exact Racine and Corneille's noble fire  
Shew'd us that France had something to admire.'

And in the new admiration which they excited, the love and study of Nature were forgotten. Thomson, indeed, chose the Seasons for his theme, and so made himself immortal; but his diction, ornate, gorgeous, and entirely artificial, is marked by the vicious taste of the day; and he seems more the courtier of Nature, than her child and pupil, or confidant.

But to return to Bishop Ken. Were the good Prelate's lyrical effusions distinguished throughout by an excellence not found in his narrative verse, it might be set down to his not having a turn for the latter description of poetry. We have had more than one instance in our own day, of a lyric poet of the first order, failing in narrative. But Ken's lyric poems are singularly unequal; and we must suppose that his facility and readiness were to him, as they have been to many, a snare, by indisposing him to the labour of revision. It is probable too, that he deemed the mechanism of verse wholly subordinate to the sentiments he wished to express. A writer may, without excess of vanity, attach a value to his verse, as the record of devout feelings and the vehicle of instructive sentiments, even though he may have failed to render it intrinsically attractive. Yet, he who employs verse as a medium for his thoughts, shews that he is anxious to gain for them the advantage of pleasing and harmonious expression; and if he fails of pleasing, he has lost his pains. We must then conclude that no man of real genius would publish what is vapid or worthless, but from an illusion of judgement, which must be explained again by the preponderance of poetic enthusiasm over the faculty of taste. It is certain that a very high order of original genius is always associated with that fine instinct which works by rules above all criticism, secret and undefinable, but securing the perfect result which we witness in the master-pieces that form the eras of literature. Judgement forms an essential element of true genius. But, in minds not of the highest order, a considerable degree of real talent and strong feeling is often found associated with a feeble judgement, which yet, affecting as it were the independence of original genius, disdains the aid of the artificial rules of criticism. The productions of such writers will always be unequal and defective. After them will arise writers less warmly inspired, perhaps, by poetic feeling, and not possessed of a higher order of original talent, but who, warned by their failures, make excellence their study, and attain it by the assiduity and laborious refinement of art. In the history of our poetical literature, there would seem to have been, as it were, stages answering to this classification. After all, however, genuine feeling almost always provides for itself natural and graceful expression; and improprieties invariably proceed from defective art, in connexion with a want of entire simplicity of object, springing from a solicitude about effect. Between the high intellectual inspiration which supersedes acquired art, and the perfect mastery of art which approaches the highest genius, there is nothing that can achieve sustained or consistent excellence.

Bishop Ken was certainly gifted with a portion of this genuine

inspiration; and his compositions are interspersed with 'pure and bright touches of poetry,' such as disarm all criticism. As might be expected, where he is most devout and affecting, he is most correct and graceful. When didactic, he becomes languid: when occupied with a conceit, a figure, or a paradox, he loses himself. There is little, however, in the present selection, that can offend against a fastidious taste, and much that will, by its spirit, interest every lover of sacred poetry. The public are, we think, much indebted to the Editor, who has shewn his taste, not more in the competent execution of his delicate task, than in the style in which the poems are printed. The publication is, in fact, a typographical gem.

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Art. IV. 1. *Remarks upon the Present State of the Dissenting Interest; with Hints for its Improvement by Means of a Consolidated Union.* By One of the Laity. 8vo. pp. 68. London. 1831.

2. *A Comparative View of the English and Scottish Dissenters.* By the Rev. Adam Thomson, A.M., Coldstream. 12mo. pp. 296. Edinb. 1830.

3. *The Church of England and Dissent.* An Article corrected and enlarged from the xlviii<sup>th</sup> No. of the British Review. By John Cawood, M.A., of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. Second Edition, with Additions. 12mo. pp. 67. London. 1831.

4. *Dissent and the Church of England; or a Defence of the Principles of Nonconformity, contained in the "Church-Member's Guide"; in Reply to a Pamphlet, entitled, "The Church of England and Dissent."* By John Angell James. 8vo. London. 1830.

5. *Remedies for the Church in Danger; or Hints to the Legislature on Church Reform.* By the Rev. John Acaster, Vicar of St. Helen's, York. 8vo. pp. 104. Price 4s. 6d. London. 1830.

6. *Reasons for seceding from the Dissenters, and for conforming to the Established Church of England.* 18mo. pp. 22. London. 1830.

**T**HESE are not times in which it can be politic or safe for either Churchmen or Dissenters to shut their eyes to notorious abuses, or even to imputed defects, in the systems to which they are respectively attached. Noisy, thorough-going partizans on either side, may succeed in gaining the plaudits of their friends, but they will be of small benefit to the cause they are anxious to uphold. The Church of England has other enemies to fear, than the Dissenters. The Dissenting Interest had never less to fear from either Church or State; yet is that Interest far from being in a condition in which its most enlightened friends can satisfactorily acquiesce, when viewed in relation to the present aspect and prospects of society. Under these cir-

cumstances, might it not be wise,—since, for the last two hundred years, Churchmen and Dissenters have been vainly striving to convert or reform each other,—for each party to bend its attention to its own concerns?

Were we disposed to renew a useless and prejudicial warfare, seldom has a more tempting occasion presented itself, than is afforded by two or three recent publications by some ill-advised eulogists of the Established Church. This pamphlet of Mr. Cawood's is, indeed, a strong provocative to controversy; not on account of any novelty or force in the arguments, but from the cool hardihood of its allegations, and the utter disingenuousness by which it is characterized. Rarely have we met with a more flagrant exhibition of the perverting influence of party spirit. At a time when clergymen of his own Church are coming forward in the most manly and uncompromising manner, to point out the evils which loudly call for remedy, this gentleman takes occasion to reprint a furious attack upon a Dissenting Minister, for incidentally commenting on the very same features of the Establishment. What Mr. Acaster, Mr. Nihill, Mr. Cox, Mr. Riland, and Mr. Hurn have advanced, Mr. Cawood dares not deny, and prudently omits to refer to, although their publications supply an ample answer to all his virulent abuse of Mr. James. For example, if Mr. James asserts that 'the Church of England retains many of the corruptions of her relation to Rome,' he is 'dogmatical, uncandid, and unchristian.' But Mr. Acaster may say: 'Well would it have been for this country, if it had never been united with Rome; and still better for our holy religion, had every vestige of popery been extirpated at the reformation of religion in this land. Unhappily, however, this was not the case.' If Mr. James ventures to intimate that, in the Absolution Service, the Church of England teaches, that her priests have power to absolve sins, his language is 'false and offensive'; and equally false and offensive, according to Mr. Cawood's reasoning, (if reasoning it can be called,) would be such a charge, if brought against the Church of Rome. But he well knows that ministers of his own Church have deplored and condemned 'the unguarded language of the Absolution;' that it has fallen into disuse, because its language is felt to be indefensible; that its *effect* is to deceive; and yet, dishonestly concealing these facts, he has the assurance to charge Mr. James with uttering what is false. As a defence of his Church, nothing can be more impotent in argument; nor does Mr. Cawood seem to aim at any thing beyond turning the tables upon Dissent, and shewing that it has its abuses, as well as the Church. But then, 'the abuses of the Church are *extraneous* to the Establishment,' while 'the abuses of Dissent are inherent in the system.' Bravely said. Here is no flinch-

ing, no weak compunction in the tone ; but the flat assertion comes upon us in a way that admits of no answer consistent with the laws of courtesy. To courtesy, however, this chivalrous gentleman can have little claim, as his language is as coarse and rude as his conduct is disingenuous. Thus we have, ' that ' infamous and turbulent bigot, Robert Brown, the father of ' Independency ' ;—Cromwell, ' the bloody usurper ' , from whose hands, we are told, Dr. John Owen accepted a deanery, though he ' would have spurned at one from the hands of a legitimate ' sovereign ' ;—that ' mendacious manual,' Palmer's Nonconformist's Catechism. But Mr. James comes in for the largest measure of his vituperation, for which he has nobly revenged himself by a Reply, as mild, dignified, and temperate, as his Adversary's language and spirit are the reverse. Unhappily, Mr. Cawood's pamphlet will circulate, and is designed to be circulated, where no Reply is likely to reach.

' Meantime, he trusts the checks his arms receive,  
But few will hear of—fewer still believe ;  
Hopes the dry record will be little sought,  
And feels a Jesuit pleasure at the thought.  
It seems the choicest secret of his art,  
To ward invasions from the weaker part ;  
To veil all blemishes, and make the most  
Of what he has, or thinks he has, to boast.  
Of full exposure more than all afraid,  
He trusts to neat manœuvres to invade  
That thorough search, in every hole and nook,  
Which unencumbered truth alone can brook ;  
And labours hard, by hiding all the traces,  
To intimate that there are no such places.  
But he who finds it needful, on his part,  
To ply the mean artillery of art,  
And sharpen every arrow that he draws,  
May well suspect the soundness of his cause.  
Suspect he may, but vain that lucid doubt,  
Devoid of nobleness to search it out.'

Such is the portrait of the thorough-going, reckless partizan, as drawn by no mean artist. We leave our readers to trace the likeness.

We cannot profess towards Mr. Cawood that gratitude which he affects to feel towards Mr. James, for his having disclosed, ' for ' the first time in something like official form, the defects, dis- ' tractions, and abuses of Dissent ;' yet we think that some good may be extracted even from *his* performance. It ought to teach Dissenters, that how susceptible soever their cause may be of *defence*, if it is devoid of attraction, it is not likely to gain accessions to the number of its friends and supporters. Opponents



may be put down by arguments, but no one was ever yet argued into liking what was disagreeable to him. The evils of Dissent are the strength—are felt to be the strength of the advocates of the Established system. And if the abuses of the Church be indeed the only reason for Dissent, the abuses of Dissent must be admitted as a fair counter-plea; and who, in weighing one set of arguments against the other, will hold the balance with an even hand? Dissent, abstract dissent, is indeed ‘a cold negation.’ Such too, it may be said, is Protestantism itself, considered as the negation of Popery; and, in fact, we have among us too many negative Protestants. The religion of Protestant Dissenters, however, is no abstraction, but, under a negative name, constitutes a system of faith and practice, as positive, and tangible, and well defined as that of any church in the world. It is our intention, in the present article, to take a brief review of some of the alleged advantages and disadvantages of this grand modification of the Protestant faith.

It cannot be necessary to inform many of our readers, to what, under the name of the Dissenting Interest, (a phrase we extremely dislike, and use merely to avoid circumlocution,) it is meant specifically to refer. We understand it as designating that great body of orthodox dissidents from the Established Church, who, holding the same faith and polity, are united by a common religious and political interest,—political, that is to say, so far as regards their continued enjoyment of religious liberty, and so far only. It is to the *churches* (or organized congregations) of the Protestant Dissenters, that the awkward phrase is invariably intended to apply. These are sometimes individually spoken of under the technical phrase of ‘an interest at such or such a place;’ and collectively, they form the Dissenting Interest. But this language, though understood by Dissenters themselves, is not so clearly intelligible to others. Many persons may be led to suppose, that all who are called Dissenters must have a common interest, and that all that interests them is included under the phrase. But not less mistaken would be the notion, that ‘the Protestant Interest’ is a phrase employed to designate the common interests of true Protestants, instead of the close designs of a faction. Those churches which are really comprehended under this technical phrase, are, in fact, the Protestant congregations of England, holding substantially the doctrines of the Westminster Confession, and the Independent form of church-government,—that is to say, the mutual independency of congregations under their respective pastors. Were we to call this aggregate body, the Congregational Church of England, in contradistinction from the Established Episcopal Church of England, we should doubtless give great offence,—to the Dissenters, by using the

term Church in so *undissenting* a sense; to Churchmen, by calling any thing a Church of England, save *their* Church. We must nevertheless contend, that the Church of Christ being composed of all who call upon the name of Our Lord, 'in whom' none but the Church doth believe, and whom none but the 'Church doth worship,' \*—the Church of Christ in England (if not the Church of England) must denote and include all orthodox denominations of Christian believers; and that the aggregate body of Congregationalists or Independents form a very large section of that Church in England. We will not quarrel, however, about phrases: we only mean to say, that 'the great Congregation' of orthodox dissenting congregations in this country, form, in fact, a compact 'Interest,' or body ecclesiastical (though not corporate), of well defined tenets, principles, and polity,—albeit a body, as it may be said, without any visible head, in the shape of Synod, Conference, Pope, Patriarch, or Primate.

Now this ecclesiastical system is sometimes called, for shortness, 'Independency,'—another unlucky and ill-omened term, to which Hume has laboured to give a political meaning, as foreign from its real import as would be a political sense attached to the word Protestant or Evangelical. But we must take the word as we find it; and in the pamphlet noticed at the head of this article, 'the evils resulting from Independency, as practised in the present day, are unfolded in the following particulars:

' 1. The want of a principle of adhesiveness, to give consistency to the body, and a more efficient, as well as uniform character to its proceedings.

' 2. The insufficient character of its ministry.

' 3. The defective mode of education pursued in theological seminaries.

' 4. The unfavourable state of dissenting congregations.

' 5. The tendency to division in congregational churches.

' 6. The objectionable character of church-discipline.'

It is to remedy more especially the first of these alleged evils, that the project of a general congregational union, which has been repeatedly proposed, has been recently revived with considerable zeal and sanguine expectations of success. Eight years ago, the subject was discussed at some length in our pages. We hope, indeed, that we may claim credit for having uniformly advocated every species of Christian union, whether the 'model' be old or new, that rests upon Catholic principles. We are decided friends to a Congregational Union, on grounds

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\* Hooker.

which we shall hereafter specify ; but we must in the first place examine the allegations respecting the evils it is designed to correct, and which, in the opinion of ' One of the Laity,' it would fail to remove.

The first evil is, ' the want of a principle of adhesiveness ' in the body ecclesiastical ; and our Layman asserts, that the essential features of Independency are of too democratical a character to admit of such a union as would give form and consistency to the whole.

' Among the Independents, every congregation is a little republic, too inconsiderable in itself to exercise much influence, but of too much imaginary importance to concede a particle of authority to any superior power. Yet, without a controlling influence, where would be the efficiency of a union ? With the exception of an annual meeting, that would be without business, and might make a noise for a time, things would go on just as they do now ; contempt would continue to be the lot of Dissenters, and they would be left in the back-ground in society. . . . The genius of Independency is hostile to those connecting links which are essential to the preservation of order and good government ; although, without them, it is impossible to govern large bodies of men with any uniformity of purpose. Separate interests, feeble energies, and discordant operations, are amongst the consequences inseparable from an ecclesiastical democracy, which becomes responsible for all the ignorance, vulgarity, and disorder that may be associated with the system. If Dissenters wish for instruction in this matter, they may go to the Moravians and Quakers ; to that useful body, the Wesleyan Methodists ; but, above all, to their brethren of the Church of Scotland, with whom their fathers most nearly assimilated.'

We give this Layman full credit for knowing a great deal about ' the Independents,' as well as for having the improvement of the Dissenting Interest sincerely at heart ; but we cannot but think that he has, in attempting to put the case strongly, somewhat over-stated the facts ; and we disagree with him entirely as to the remedy he prescribes for these desperate disorders. First, as to the facts. Is it true, that these little republican bodies are so entirely disconnected, as to be incapable of harmonious operations, and of exercising a collective influence ? What then are our county unions or associations of congregational churches ? Surely, they must be admitted as evidence that these ecclesiastical republics are not wholly indisposed to confederation, although they might not very readily submit to be deprived of their separate jurisdiction. Surely, too, there have been occasions upon which the Independent churches of this kingdom have appeared to act with no feeble energy or discordant operation. Not merely are they capable of so acting under the pressure of any common grievance or danger, in which circumstances their principles become the

medium of an electric impulse ; but they are found steadily and harmoniously concurring in the great enterprises of religious zeal, in the support of our missionary societies, and on every emergency which calls for the public expression of the sense of the body. Upon any worthy occasion, the Independents are just as able to act unitedly and efficiently, as the Quakers, or the Wesleyan Methodists ; nor would it be at all more difficult to predict of the one body, than of the other, how, under given circumstances, it would collectively act. We cannot, therefore, agree with this Writer, that the genius of Independency is utterly hostile to unanimity of feeling or uniformity of purpose.

Ecclesiastical Independency may be viewed either in relation to the pastors of churches, or to their congregations. It is clearly a very different thing for pastors to have no ecclesiastical superior, and for congregations to be under no foreign control. The latter species of Independency prevails to a very great extent in the Church of England itself as by law established. Every parish forms a distinct and *independent* congregation, which, in the management of its own church affairs, is subject to no controlling interference. Every parish 'is a little republic, 'too inconsiderable in itself to exercise much influence,' but very jealous of its rights; democratic also in its constitution, and liable to 'the consequences inseparable from an ecclesiastical 'democracy,' in the 'ignorance, vulgarity, and disorder' that sometimes manifest themselves in popular assemblies, whether parish vestries or dissenting church-meetings, but less frequently, we believe, in the latter. And some few parishes are so thoroughly 'independent', as to have the right to choose their own vicar or lecturer, which right they exercise very independently. The fact is, that people are very much disposed, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, to act upon independent principles, in all cases involving the raising or disbursement of money. Dissenting church-members, who support their own minister, and parishioners who support their own poor, are equally apt to think that they have a right to manage their own affairs, without foreign interference or dictation. So long as each congregation among Dissenters defrays its own expenses, and provides for its own wants, independent of other congregations it will justly and properly remain ; and good reason will it have to resist any 'controlling influence.' Let the Dissenting clergy be paid by the State, or supported in any other way than by the voluntary contributions of their people, and their congregational independency may easily be converted into Presbyterianism, Wesleyanism, Diocesanism, or any other mode of government ; but not till then.

Strange as the assertion may sound to some of our readers, it is undeniable, that Independency is, in some respects, less directly opposed to the Episcopal, than to the Presbyterian

polity. The founders of the Congregational Interest in this country were no Brownists, as has been most falsely stated; but they were of opinion that, if the ancient rights of the *Presbyters of the Church* were not duly attended to in the constitution of the Established Church in England, neither were the *primitive rights of the people* duly regarded in the constitution of the Church of Scotland. Neal represents their scheme as 'a middle way between Brownism and Presbytery.' They maintained, 'that every particular congregation of Christians has an entire and complete power of jurisdiction over its members, to be exercised by the elders thereof within itself. This, they are sure, must have been the form of government in the primitive Church, before the number of Christians in any city were multiplied so far as to divide into many congregations, which it is dubious, whether it was the fact in the Apostles' times. . . . *Not that they claim an entire independency of other churches*; for they agree that, in all cases of offence, the offending church is to submit to an open examination by other neighbouring churches, and, on their persisting in their error of miscarriage, they are then to renounce all Christian communion with them till they repent; which is all the authority or ecclesiastical power that one Church may exercise over another, unless they call in the civil magistrate, for which they find no authority in Scripture.'\* In the same important document, the Independents of 1643 profess their agreement in doctrine with the articles of the Church of England, and other reformed churches; and state, that their officers and public rulers in the Church are, pastors, teachers, ruling elders (not lay, but ecclesiastical persons), and deacons. This 'Apology,' the rigid Presbyterians attacked with vehemence and 'bitter invective.' Baxter, who was no friend to the Independents, mentions, among the reasons of his dislike, their 'too much exploding synods,' and their popular form of church-government, which made excommunication, absolution, &c. to depend on the votes of the people, instead of the power of the 'church-governors.' He admits, however, that most of the Independent ministers were 'learned, discreet, and godly men'; that 'a commendable care of serious holiness and discipline' was exhibited 'in most of the Independent churches; and I found', he adds, 'that some episcopal men, as Bishop Usher himself, did hold, that every bishop was independent as to synods, and that synods were not proper governors of the particular bishops, but only for their concord'†.

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\* Apologetical Narrative of the Independents, presented to the House of Commons. Neal's History, Vol. III. (8vo.) p. 118.

† Orme's Baxter, vol. II. p. 96. Neal, vol. III. p. 123.

One main point of difference between the Presbyterian and the Congregational divines, respected Ordination. The Independents held it to be requisite, that 'ordination should be attended by the previous election of some church.\* The Presbyterians ordained all approved candidates to the ministerial office, without reference to any local charge. Here, again, Independency is not so directly opposed to Diocesan Episcopacy as to Presbyterianism, differing, as we admit that it does essentially, from both systems. Ordination without view to a particular charge, and not in consequence of such designation, in ordinary cases, appears, it has been remarked, so little agreeable to reason and usage, that the Church of England herself, in the xxxiii<sup>d</sup> canon, forbids ordination 'without a certain title, presentation to some ecclesiastical preferment, where he may attend the cure of souls, or some minister's place in the cathedral, or some other collegiate church, where he may exercise his ministry.' And it declares, that such were the decrees of more ancient times.† What were the opinions of the Founders of the Church of England on this point, we learn from an important document, printed by Bishop Stillingfleet in his "*Irenicum*," containing the Answers to certain questions propounded to a select assembly at Windsor Castle, in the reign of Edward VI., and which was subscribed by Archbishop Cranmer himself. In this paper, it is expressly declared, that 'a bishop may make a priest, by the Scriptures; and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them; and *the people also, by their election*. For, as we read that bishops have done it, so Christian emperors and princes usually have done it. And the people, before Christian princes were, did commonly elect their bishops and priests. In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.'‡

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\* Neal, vol. III. p. 125. In the Savoy Platform of Order, A. D. 1651, the Congregational or Independent divines thus explain their opinions on this point. § 15. 'Ordination alone, without the election or precedent consent of the church, by those who formerly have been ordained, by virtue of that power they have received by their ordination, *doth not constitute any person a church-officer*, or communicate church-power unto him.' But, in the "Heads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational," it is thus stated (Ch. II. § 3): 'That *ordinarily* none shall be ordained to the work of the ministry, but such as are called and chosen thereunto by a particular church.'

† See Harmer's Remarks on the Ancient and Present State of Congregational Churches, in Miscell. Works, p. 169.

‡ Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, Pt. II. Ch. vii. § 2.



In the Church of England, no person is made a curate or parochial minister by ordination: 'holy orders' are a qualification for exercising the specific functions of deacon or priest; but the appointment to the charge or cure, which constitutes the pastoral office, is derived from nomination, which nomination is in the place of popular election. Election and ordination, then, being confessedly distinct, the point at issue between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists was, not whether election *superseded* ordination, but whether ordination might precede election to a particular charge. Dr. Goodwin and his colleagues, regarding a Christian minister in the capacity of a pastor or church-ruler, argued, that 'it appeared absurd to ordain an officer without a province to exercise the office in, nor did they 'see any great inconvenience in re-ordinations.'\* Their opponents viewed the Christian ministry more as an order, invested with certain inherent powers,—a faculty, or profession, endowed with certain privileges, the admission into which required to be jealously guarded; and this inherent power or authority, they conceived, could only be transmitted by those who were of the order. In this point of view, the pastor's office might be considered as a mere accident of the ministry. The Independents viewed it, on the contrary, as the essential condition and purpose of the institution of a ministerial order. The Presbyterians contended, that 'the essence of a call to office doth not consist 'in election, but in ordination, and that it belongeth to a presbytery to ordain.' In reference to these propositions, we find it urged by Independent divines, in defence of their practice, that, in the first place, even admitting this, it would not affect the claim of congregational churches to be considered as true churches, and their officers to be true officers; 'for Ordination, 'as well as Election, is used in the Congregational way; and so 'the essence of the call is not wanting there, whether it consists 'in the one or in the other.'—'Though,' they said, 'we deny 'Ordination to be of the essence of the call to office, yet, we 'assert it to be a necessary adjunct of such a call: officers 'ought not to be wholly or altogether without ordination; yet, 'the very essence of a call to office is complete without ordination.' 'Every man who is actually set over, or hath the 'charge of a particular flock or church, hath the essentials of 'the ministerial office. But every man who is elected by a 'church of Christ, and hath accepted of the choice, though as 'yet unordained, is actually set over, or hath the charge of a 'particular flock committed to him.' Whereas, 'without election, a man cannot be over any flock, though he hath sub-

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\* Neal.

‘mitted formerly to ordination.’ Therefore, they concluded: ‘That which doth not set a man over a church of Christ, or commit it to his charge, doth not give the essentials of the ministerial office, or of the outward call to office. But ordination doth not set a man over a church of Christ, nor commit it to his charge. *Ergo*, ordination doth not give the essentials of the ministerial office.’\* In like manner, a minister of the Church of England is ordained upon a title already obtained, viz., the cure to which he has been elected or nominated; and his induction, though it follows upon his ordination, is distinct from it, and takes place by virtue, not of his ordination, but of his previous appointment.

To some of our readers, this may possibly seem a very trivial dispute; but, as the sentiments of the Independent divines on this subject have been much misunderstood, and as it formed a turning point of the controversy between them and the Presbyterians, we hope we shall not be thought tedious, if we endeavour to place it in a clear light. It was assuredly no tenet of Independency, that ordination to office by the hands of the Presbytery is an unimportant ceremony; or that a congregation is at liberty to call to the pastoral office any uneducated pretender who might offer himself, without reference to accredited qualifications or to the concurrent sanction of other ministers. It was neither imagined, that a call to office on the part of a church, of necessity involved a competency for office,—as if a popular choice could endow the individual with some mysterious grace or gift; nor that the fittest judges of the qualifications of a candidate for the Christian ministry, were always to be found among the members of the particular church who sought to be provided with a teacher and ruler. The office of pastor, it was contended, could be conveyed only by the choice of the church; and the essence of the charge consisted in a minister’s being in fact chosen and invited to assume it, and in his acceptance of such charge. But the essentials of a *qualification* for the office, it was not supposed that either sacerdotal consecration or popular election could impart.

The acknowledged learning and abilities of the Independent ministers of the seventeenth century, would sufficiently bear us out in this exposition of their sentiments on church-government; but we have the more direct evidence of their own recorded opinions. In the ‘Heads of Agreement’ already referred to, occur the following declarations:—

‘They who are called to this (ministerial) office, ought to be endued with competent learning and ministerial gifts, as also

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\* “The Preacher sent: in answer to *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelii, &c.*” (Lond. 1658.) pp. 240—246.

‘with the grace of God ; sound in judgement ; not novices in the  
 ‘faith and knowledge of the Gospel ; without scandal ; of holy  
 ‘conversation ; and such as devote themselves to the work and  
 ‘service thereof. . . . . That in so great and weighty a matter  
 ‘as the calling and choosing a pastor, we judge it ordinarily  
 ‘requisite, that every such (particular) church consult and ad-  
 ‘vise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations. That,  
 ‘after such advice, the person consulted about, being chosen  
 ‘by the brotherhood of that particular church over which he is  
 ‘to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained and set apart to  
 ‘his office over them ; wherein it is ordinarily requisite, that  
 ‘the pastors of neighbouring congregations concur with the  
 ‘preaching elder or elders, if such there be.’ . . . . And ‘it is  
 ‘expedient that they who enter on the work of preaching the  
 ‘Gospel, be not only qualified for communion of saints, but  
 ‘also that, except in cases extraordinary, they give proof of  
 ‘their gift and fitness for such work unto the pastors of  
 ‘churches, of known abilities to discern and judge of their  
 ‘qualifications ; that they may be sent forth with solemn appro-  
 ‘bation and prayer : which we judge needful, that no doubt  
 ‘may remain concerning their being called to the work, and for  
 ‘preventing (as much as in us lieth) *ignorant and rash in-*  
 ‘*truders.*’ \*

‘We must take it for granted’, says Dr. Owen, ‘that every  
 ‘true church of Christ (that is so in the matter and form of it)  
 ‘is able to judge, in some competent measure, what gifts of men  
 ‘are suited unto their own edification. But yet, in making a  
 ‘judgement hereof, one directive means is the advice of other  
 ‘elders and churches, *which they are obliged to make use of*  
 ‘*by virtue of the communion of churches*, and the avoidance  
 ‘of offence in their walk in that communion.’ † Again, in de-  
 ‘fending the power and right of election antecedent to ordina-  
 ‘tion, as ‘communicative of office-power’, the learned Author  
 ‘says : ‘It will be objected, I know, that the *restoration* of this  
 ‘liberty unto the people, will overthrow the *jus patronatus*, or  
 ‘right of presenting unto livings and preferments, which is es-  
 ‘tablished by law in this nation. But this election of the  
 ‘church doth not actually and immediately instate the person  
 ‘chosen, in the office whereunto he is chosen, nor give actual  
 ‘right unto its exercise. It is required, moreover, that he be  
 ‘solemnly set apart unto his office in and by the church, with  
 ‘fasting and prayer. That there should be some kind of pe-  
 ‘culiar prayer in the dedication of any unto the office of the  
 ‘ministry, is a notion that could never be obliterated in the

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\* Heads of Agreement, Ch. II. §§ 2, 4, 5, 7.

† Owen’s “True Nature of a Gospel Church”, p. 60.

‘ minds of men concerned in these things, nor cast out of their  
‘ practice. . . . . It is needless to inquire, what is the au-  
‘ thoritative influence of this ordination, while it is acknow-  
‘ ledged to be indispensably necessary, and to belong essen-  
‘ tially unto the call unto office. For, when sundry duties, as  
‘ those of election and ordination, are required unto the same  
‘ end, by virtue of Divine institution, it is not for me to deter-  
‘ mine what is the peculiar efficacy of the one or the other, see-  
‘ ing neither of them, without the other, hath any at all.’ \*

This language, it must be admitted, is sufficiently explicit, and stronger, indeed, than most modern Congregationalists would be disposed to employ; but it shews decisively, what were the views of the founders of Independency. ‘ The right, power, or authority which we assign unto all particular churches, gathered according unto the mind of Christ,’ Dr. Owen says elsewhere, ‘ is that, and that only, which is necessary to their own preservation in their state and purity, and unto the discharge of all those duties which Christ requireth of the Church.’ † Those learned and pious men were no idle theorists, no visionary reformers; but, whatever errors they committed, their object was, to restore to the people their primitive rights, and to provide a barrier against sacerdotal usurpation on the part of either synod or convocation, diocesan or *classis*, prelate or presbyter. Not without reason had Milton complained, that those who had ‘ thrown off’ their ‘ prelate lord’, ‘ and with stiff vows renounced his liturgy’, were for riding the church with a ‘ *classic* hierarchy’ of their own, and that

‘ New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large’.

The power of ordination, claimed by the Presbyterian clergy, was not less hostile to the ‘ liberty of prophesying’, as well as to the rights of the people, than a similar power lodged in the hands of diocesans. To provide against its coercive operation, some of the Independent divines were anxious to invest every particular church with independent powers of ordination; but, in order to this, it was supposed, that such particular church had *within itself*, a plurality of presbyters, or elders, by whom those powers might be legitimately exercised, and thus, as in the case of a civil trust, the requisite number of officers be kept up. In failure of this, the assistance of pastors or elders of other churches was to be called in. But it was never imagined, that the *people* (or private members of the society) could legitimately ordain those whom they might elect; nor

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\* Owen’s “ True Nature of a Gospel Church ”, pp. 83, 4.

† Inquiry into the Original of Churches, &c., p. 142.

was the call or choice of a pastor to be made, otherwise than under the guidance and presidency of the elders.\* And 'in the administration of church-power', it was held to 'belong to the pastor and other elders of every particular church, to *rule and govern*, and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the gospel.'† So far is it from being true, that the original constitution of independent churches was a pure democracy, in which all the members were on a level‡.

It is, however, of importance to bear in mind, that, in order to this independency of particular churches, a completeness of organization was supposed,—was required by the theory, as well as exhibited at that time in practice,—to which congregational churches in the present day are rarely found to correspond. In fact, Dr. Owen's definition of the nature of a church would exclude many of our little *soi-disant* churches from any right to such an appellation. According to his views, the essence of a church included every thing necessary to its complete organization; and this organization was not complete, unless it enabled the church to exercise all ecclesiastical powers and functions within itself, by means of officers duly constituted. 'To say they are churches, and yet have not in themselves power to attain those ends of churches', says Dr. Owen, 'is to speak contradictions. For a church is nothing but such a society as hath power, ability, and fitness to attain those ends for which Christ hath ordained churches. That which hath so, is a church; and that which hath not so, is none.'§ 'It is therefore evident, that neither the purity, nor the order, nor the beauty or glory of the churches of Christ can be long preserved, *without a multiplication of elders in them*, according to the proportion of their respective members, for their rule and guidance. And for want hereof, have churches, of old and of late, *either degenerated into anarchy and confusion*, their *self-rule* being managed with vain disputes and janglings, unto their division and ruin; or else given up themselves unto the domination of some prelatical teachers, to rule them at

\* Owen's True Nature of a Church, p. 176.

† Heads of Agreement, c. i. § 7.

‡ One is astonished to find such a writer as Dr. Toulmin describing the fundamental principle of the *sect* of Independents in these words: 'We are a voluntary society, and all upon a level as brethren and sisters'. (Historical View of the Prot. Dissenters, 8vo, 1814, p. 279.) The caricature of Independency which he has inserted, evidently proceeds from no friendly hand; but the ignorance it displays, is unaccountable. The only authority for the meagre and grossly inaccurate sketch, is, a volume of the Protestant Dissenter's Magazine!

§ Owen's Inquiry, p. 133.

‘ their pleasure, which proved the bane and poison of all the  
‘ primitive churches ; and they will and must do so in the neglect  
‘ of this order for the future.’ \*

This is, perhaps, the weak point in the system. It requires, in order to the realization of the idea of a church, conditions and circumstances which are not always found attaching to these little republics. ‘ It is well known,’ remarks our Layman, ‘ that one half of the congregations that come within the denomination of Independents, do not practise the congregational discipline as expounded by Dr. Owen and his coadjutors.’ We may go further, and say, that one half of these congregations are wanting in what *they* regarded as the essential features of an independent church. At what exact point of decline, a church loses its capacity for independency, they have left undetermined ; nor are we informed, what steps the society ought to take, on finding itself without the power to attain all the ends of a church, and consequently divested of the essential attributes of such an institution. Completeness and independency are collateral conditions of its existence. At least, in proportion as it loses its completeness, it ceases to be independent of foreign aid, and becomes something less than an entire church,—while, nevertheless, its imperfect entity may be held to differ from non-entity, so long as it retains even a measure of its ‘ church-power.’ But when may that power be considered as having terminated and expired, and, with it, the being of the body ecclesiastical? This is a knotty point, although one which would not seem altogether unsusceptible of being unravelled. Dr. Owen has traced the formation of a church, from its seminal principle, through every incipient stage, to its perfect development. There is, first, the individual believer ; then, the two or three ‘ consenting believers ;’ next, the sufficient number, congregated and confederated, which is a church ‘ essential and homogeneous,’ but still in an embryo state ; and finally, the church organized, and capable of attaining the ends of its institution. Whether a church having lost all organization, can return to its embryo state, and be resolved into its elements, without losing its ‘ essential and homogeneous character,’ the learned Author has not explained. The case was not apparently in his contemplation, and has been left unprovided for. Certain it is, that the name of a church has not unfrequently been retained by the organic remains of a body congregate, in which all social life had long been extinct,—a mere fossil of society. We have Old Sarum and Gattou

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\* Owen’s True Nature, &c., p. 178.—Some of our readers may be startled at finding the learned Author hinting at the existence of congregational *prelates*.



churches among us, which the founders of Independency would never have recognized in their constitution ecclesiastical.

Had the Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers of 1691 lived a century later, they must have seen the necessity of assenting to some further modification of their system, or of providing, at least, for the case of particular churches, not having within themselves what is necessary for their own government, and yet standing up not only for independence, but for the *self-rule* of a pure democracy. That Dr. Owen and his colleagues would have recognized such brotherhoods as congregational churches, we can in no wise be brought to believe. The genius of Independency is as far removed from the character of such shapeless democracies, as the British Constitution differs from Belgian radicalism. Who would bestow the name of a 'republic' upon a mere club, political or ecclesiastical? Of this spurious congregationalism, this *ultra*-independency, it may truly be said, that it wholly wants a principle of adhesiveness; that its tendency is to almost infinite divisibility. Such a church is a polypus which may be divided again and again, and, as often as the separation takes place, puts forth a head, and becomes an individual, performing the various offices of the species. But this is not what our forefathers understood by Congregational Independency, the spirit of which was compagination, not separation,—confederacy, not a perpetual analysis. The multiplication of societies by division, the propagation of Dissenterism by slips, the raising of congregations by architectural forcing-glasses called chapels,—all this may be very proper, and the system may work well in many instances; but this is no more the Congregational polity of our forefathers, than it is Church of Englandism, or any thing else.

But what is to be done to remedy such a state of things? We do not say to bring Dissenters back to the old model, for this would be chimerical, but to check the growth of acknowledged evils, and to bind up 'the scattered materials that serve to constitute what is termed the Dissenting Interest into one firm and compacted body.' The first measure recommended by our Layman is, a return to the repudiated system of Presbyterian church-government; or, to use his own words, 'the adoption of a representative system of church-government, something analogous to that which was attempted in England during the Commonwealth, and still prevails in most reformed churches, but with such modifications as may be suggested by wisdom and experience.'

'In Scotland, the business of parishes is vested in what is called a kirk-session, which meets weekly, and is composed of the pastor, the ruling elders, who are the leading people in the parish, and the deacons, who have the charge of temporal matters. Ruling elders, although a

component part of the primitive church, are now superfluous, the original design of their institution being lost. They may therefore be dispensed with; and, in compliance with the general feeling in behalf of popular assemblies, all matters of importance relating to individual churches may be transacted, as at present, by the voice of the majority.

‘For the purpose of composing any differences that may arise between the pastor and his people, or between the people themselves, and to prevent the divisions to which they so frequently give birth, it is desirable to have a court of appeal, which may be found in a Presbytery, composed of twelve, or any other convenient number of neighbouring congregations, represented by the pastor and deacons, and two members chosen by each church. These Presbyteries to assemble monthly, in rotation, at the different towns and villages of which they are composed, and proceed to business after public service, the senior minister, or some influential layman, being appointed moderator. London, upon account of its extent, might be conveniently divided into four of these Presbyteries; and some of the large towns in the kingdom would comprise a single one. This single step in church government may answer to our monthly associations; only they would be more efficient, and their demarcations somewhat different.

‘For common purposes, these Presbyteries, if composed of grave and experienced persons, might be sufficient; more especially, as from local knowledge they would have the best means of information upon the various matters that might be brought before them. But, as local prejudices sometimes interfere with justice, and circumstances may arise to call for the deliberate counsel of a larger body, recourse may be had to quarterly Synods, composed of a larger number of churches within a given district. This assembly may be constituted either of deputations from each Presbytery within its circuit, or of the pastors and representatives of each congregation, in the same manner as the Presbyteries. Besides the advantages of calm and deliberate discussion, and of grave counsel, these assemblies would afford a chain of communication between the pastors and members of our churches, highly conducive to union and brotherly affection, and diffusing a sympathetic influence through the whole body.

‘A fourth and final stage of communication, conferring additional strength to the body, would be by an annual meeting of the Dissenters throughout the kingdom, in the persons of their representatives. These to be selected by the several Presbyteries, and to consist of two ministers and two laymen from each, having the charge of all the concerns of the district; and the judgement of the General Assembly, in all cases, to be final. The annual meeting of the deputies should be held always, I think, in London, and at the house of the institution, in a large room provided for the purpose. Some influential layman would, perhaps, be most proper to fill the office of president, to be chosen annually; and a clerk would be necessary to take down minutes of all the proceedings.

‘As all matters of a trifling nature would be settled by the Presbyteries, those of importance only should come before the General Assembly, to be submitted by the local bodies, and determined by a

majority of votes. With the private arrangements of individual churches it would not meddle ; but whatever affected the body generally, would properly fall under its cognizance. Amongst other things, it would determine the propriety of founding new churches and raising buildings for their accommodation, with the degree of assistance to be afforded for that object. A material part of its duty would be to prevent divisions in churches, which should be sanctioned only in the case of excessive numbers. When a minister proves himself unfit for his office by gross negligence, or immoral conduct, his people, instead of promoting a separation, should carry their case to the Presbytery ; and if they fail of a remedy there, to the General Assembly, who should have the power of deposing him from his office. Under so compact a system, divisions would rarely take place ; for, if any discontented people chose to separate, they would receive no countenance from the neighbouring ministers, nor would they obtain a pastor recognized by the dissenting body. The power of ordination would reside with the Presbyteries, and they would be careful to ordain none without proper credentials.

‘ Whatever objection may be advanced by Independents to the ecclesiastical terms employed upon this occasion, it should be remembered, that we are to look less to words than to the essence of things. Besides, they have already in operation two ingredients of the system, at least something analogous to them ; and the last, which is the most important, they are now coveting. The only remaining one bears so near an affinity to their own associations, that it cannot be objected to upon the score of principle, and must be determined by its expediency.’

p. 42—44.

We have transcribed this exposition of the Writer's plan, in order that our readers may judge for themselves of its feasibility. For our own parts, we like it not ; nor is it at all recommended to us by the working of the system in other reformed churches. We do not quarrel with the *terms* which the Author has employed, but we object to the very essence and character of his system ; first, as avowedly a system, not of union, but of control ; secondly, as adapted to lead to a rash, busy, and mischievous intermeddling with the concerns of pastors and their congregations ; and thirdly, as tending to secularize our churches, and to create a power which has ever been found more mighty for evil than for good. Add to which, the change, even if clearly desirable, would be too violent and abrupt to stand any chance of being generally adopted ; so that the only result would be, the creation of a new sect, not the consolidation of the ‘ Interest.’ No ; Presbyterianism has had its fair trial, and it will not thrive in this country.

But if we cannot return either to the old Presbyterian Platform or to the Independent model, what is to be done ? Must Dissenters remain as they are, ‘ in the back-ground of improvement, and surrounded with all the inconveniences of which ‘ they now complain ? ’ We hope not ; we cannot help thinking that, if the principles of congregational church-government were

better understood, they would not merely be found compatible with a reform of the practice, but prove favourable to the only species of union which we can regard as feasible or advisable.

The two fundamental principles of Independency are, if we are not altogether deceived, the inherent right of the members of every church to choose their own officers, and, the equality of the pastors of such churches, when duly chosen and ordained,—their equality in rank, as being subject to no higher jurisdiction: the former principle in contradistinction from Presbyterianism, the latter, in opposition to prelacy. From these two principles results, as a sort of corollary, the independence of every such church, with its officers, not as disconnected with other churches, but as *subordinate to none*. In other words, all legitimate ‘church-power’ is held to be inclusive in such a society, and to be limited to it, so as to be incapable of extension or delegation to any synodical convention or representative assembly. So long as these principles are saved, (and we confess we are not disposed to give them up,) the system of Independency is preserved inviolate. Abandon them, and then—let us have Episcopacy.

But Independency has its principle of adhesion, in that mutual communion of churches, which the system by no means leaves optional, but makes imperative. Upon this point, we must be allowed again to cite the authority of Dr. Owen. ‘No church is so independent, as that it can always, and in all cases, observe the duties it owes unto the Lord Christ and the Church Catholic, by all those powers which it is able to act in itself distinctly, without conjunction with others. And the Church that confines its duty unto the acts of its own assemblies, *cuts itself off from the external communion of the Church Catholic*; nor will it be safe for any man to commit the conduct of his soul to such a church. . . . . That particular church which extends not its duty beyond its own assemblies and members, is fallen off from the principal end of its institution. And every principle, opinion, or persuasion, that inclines any church to confine its care and duty unto its own edification only, yea, *or of those only which agree with it in some peculiar practice*, making it neglective of all due means of the edification of the Church Catholic, is *schismatical*.’ \*

Mr. Thomson (to whose volume we shall on a future occasion more specifically advert) asks: ‘But *can* neighbouring churches really ever be completely independent of each other?’ And again: ‘*Are* individual churches, according to the prac-

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\* Owen’s “True Nature”, &c., pp. 250, 1.

‘ tice in England, independent in point of fact ? ’ To the former question we reply, that the ‘ visionary and absurd independ-  
‘ ency ’, which he intimates to be impossible, never entered into the contemplation of our forefathers, but, as will be seen from the foregoing extract, was deprecated as schismatical and sinful. To the other question, Mr. Thomson has himself supplied an answer.

‘ The ministers of independent churches must co-operate, and do co-operate, too, in matters of government and discipline, affecting the interests of all the churches over which they severally preside. This is obviously the case, when they meet to try the character and talents of candidates for the sacred office, or to lay their hands on them in the act of ordination. If they do not obtain the requisite satisfaction in regard to the orthodoxy, the piety, the prudence, and other ministerial qualifications of the candidates, they of course, sist procedure ; which is just what a Scottish presbytery, as the representatives of different congregations mutually dependent on each other, would do in similar circumstances by a judicial decision. . . . District Associations, consisting of ministers and messengers, or delegates, from the different churches, are, at length, happily common in England.’

*Thomson, pp. 262—4.*

These district associations (differing, however, most materially from presbyteries or synods, in their composition, object, and authority) are no new institution. In the year 1741, Dr. Doddridge dedicated a sermon to ‘ the associated ministers of ‘ Norfolk and Suffolk ’,—although the association does not appear to have comprised all the Dissenting Ministers in those counties. Mr. Harmer, however, remarks on this fact, that ‘ the practice is not only consonant to the Agreement of 1691, ‘ but is founded on the nature of things, and is agreeable to the ‘ avowed sense of our old Congregational divines.’ \* Dr. Owen is most explicit on this subject. ‘ Whereas it is eminently use- ‘ ful unto the edification of the Church Catholic, that all the ‘ churches professing the same doctrine of faith, within the ‘ limits of the same supreme civil Government, should hold con- ‘ stant actual communion among themselves, unto the ends be- ‘ fore mentioned ; I see not how it can be any abridgement of ‘ the liberty of particular churches, or interfere with any of ‘ their rights which they hold by Divine institution, if, through ‘ more constant smaller synods for advice, there be a communi- ‘ cation of their mutual concerns unto those that are greater ‘ (larger), until, if occasion require and it be expedient, there be ‘ a general assembly of them all, to advise about any thing ‘ wherein they are all concerned. But this is granted only with

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\* Harmer’s Misc. Works, p. 200.

‘ these limitations: (1.) That the rights of particular churches  
‘ be preserved in the free election of such as are to be members  
‘ of all these synods. (2.) *That they assume no authority or*  
‘ *jurisdiction over churches or persons in things civil or eccle-*  
‘ *siastical.* (3.) That none are immediately concerned in this  
‘ proper synodal power or authority, who are not present in  
‘ them by their own delegates.’\* These provisos supply a  
needful and instructive caution; but the whole paragraph, taken  
in connexion with our preceding citations, will sufficiently shew,  
that the theory and genius of Congregational Independency are  
very far from being opposed to the most extensive and catholic  
union and communion of churches.

Having conducted our readers to this conclusion, and vindicated so far from misapprehension, the genuine principles of the Congregational polity, we must break off; reserving for another article the prosecution of the subject, and the further examination of our Layman’s charges and suggestions. In the mean time, we would strongly recommend a perusal of his Remarks. With the friends of a Consolidated Union we wish to leave the parting admonition; that no plans, no machinery can produce union: the object ought rather to be, to ascertain, recognize, and turn to the best account, that degree of substantial union which actually exists. Union is an object which is more than half attained, as soon as it is unaffectedly and mutually desired.

Art. V. 1. *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, by C. O. Muller, Professor in the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German by Henry Tufnel, Esq., and George Cornewall Lewis, Esq. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1148. London, 1830.

2. *The Public Economy of Athens*, in four Books; to which is added, a Dissertation on the Silver-mines of Laurion. Translated from the German of Augustus Boeckh. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 934. Price 1l. 6s. London, 1830.

3. *A Sketch of the Political History of Ancient Greece.* By A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in the University of Goettingen, &c. &c. Translated from the German. 8vo. pp. 308. Price 10s. 6d. Oxford, 1829.

4. *The History of Greece.* By William Mitford, Esq. A new Edition, with numerous Additions and Corrections. To which is pre-

\* Owen’s “ True Nature ”, &c., p. 259. The learned Author subsequently affirms, ‘ that no persons, by virtue of any office merely, have right to be members of ecclesiastical synods, as such ’; and that ‘ no office-power is to be exerted in such synods, as such ’.



fixed a brief Memoir of the Author, by his Brother, Lord Redesdale. 8 Vols. 8vo. pp. 4188. London, 1829.

5. *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum. Auctoritate et Impensis Academiæ Litterarum Regiæ Barussicæ edidit Augustus Boeckhius. Folio. Volumen Primum. pp. xxxi. 922. Berolini, 1828.*

**T**HIS array of imposing titles, is not intended as the motto of a disquisition, either profound or superficial, on Grecian history. Here are, indeed, ample materials for extended investigation; but the requisite space, to say nothing of expediency, is wanting. Within our limits, not one of the hundred interesting questions arising out of the general subject and its innumerable ramifications, could be adequately discussed; nor have we, in any of the notices which we have seen, of these valuable works, found a single successful attempt to overcome the obstacles presented by narrow limits and interminable theme. Nothing is more easy than to parade a mass of facts and speculations over sixteen or sixty pages, so as to give the exhibition an air of extension and deep research, with little profitable result; but we shall decline availing ourselves of the very tempting opportunity of looking wondrous wise, in order that we may really convey to our readers somewhat of tangible and useful information. Instead of telling them at gratifying length, and in well-set phrase, how much we know about history, we shall endeavour to point out to them the accessible sources of historical information; and, while directing them to the soundest instructors, we will not forget to indicate the circumstances which are to be kept in view as qualifying their instructions.

History, as written in former days, was a much easier task than it is at present, or is likely again to be. A diligent examination of direct authorities, a fair reference to collateral illustration, with a shrewd estimate of character and circumstance, were then enough of ingredient in historical composition. But, now, more complicated machinery is employed, and a far more minute and dexterous manipulation. Indirect authorities seem to be more in request than those which are direct and peculiar: what was once considered as original and ultimate, is now regarded with suspicion as secondary and partial. That which was of old set aside, or lightly looked upon, as incidental or simply elucidatory, is now held in the highest esteem. 'Impossible places' are ransacked: lexicons, legends, traditions, inscriptions,—every thing is laid under contribution, in preference, we might almost say, to those documents which bear most directly and systematically on the subject. This plan, however, unpromising as it may seem to the ill or half-informed, has been productive of most beneficial effects, in the hands of that noble race of scholars which has given to Ger-

many so decided a predominance in classical investigation. Among these, Niebuhr and Otfried Müller stand the most conspicuous: of whom the former is usually considered as the more original and successful, but the latter will be generally deemed the safer guide. If we miss in Müller, the singular sagacity and the dexterous management which distinguish his learned countryman, comparative inferiority of these qualities is compensated by a calmer judgement and a less hazardous decision. Of learning, there is in each so ample a store, that it were impertinent to put forward the question of *plus* or *minus*. Both are consummate scholars; both are indefatigable inquirers; and both have laid historical and philological literature under the deepest obligations.

Karl Otfried Müller studied under Professor Boeckh, of Berlin, the Author of the works on our list, to which that name is attached. Müller's earliest publication, the *Æginotica*, we have never seen; but it has the reputation of great learning, although the Author was still a student at the time of its composition. His researches were steadily followed up, and the works which he has subsequently produced on the history and antiquities of Greece and Italy, have thrown strong light on many important points of archaic literature. '*Orchomenos and the Minyæ*', is the title of the first section of a work intended to illustrate the history of the Grecian Tribes and Cities. In that volume, Bœotia was amply described in its geography and inhabitants; while the migrations and settlements of the *Minyæ* were elucidated and defined. '*The Dorians*' formed the second and third volumes of the great work; and in the volumes before us, the annals and antiquities of that interesting people, are traced out and illustrated with consummate ingenuity. We must be brief in our statement of the great features of the work. Professor Müller derives the Doric tribe, primarily, from the northern extremity, 'the furthest limit of the Grecian nation'; but the distinct locality of derivation on which he takes ground, historically, is found in the assertion of Herodotus, that 'Dorus dwelt at the foot of Olympus and Ossa.' This he adopts as the 'real fact' of Doric origination. 'The chain of Olympus, the divider of nations, whose lofty summit is still called by the inhabitants the *celestial mansion*, is the place in which the Dorians first appear in the history of Greece.' They were a mountain race, and, through all their migrations, seem to have preserved, with more or less of purity, the severity and simplicity of their antique manners. Of these migrations, it is impossible for us to attempt even the outline; but it is equally so to refrain from expressing our admiration of the skill and learning which are employed in the identification of the Doric invasion of the Peloponnese, with the great event

usually designated as *The return of the Heraclidæ*. That marking feature of early Grecian history is investigated with a combined minuteness and comprehensiveness, admirable in itself, and satisfactory in its results. It is in striking coincidence with these views, that

‘ every thing that is related concerning the exploits of Hercules in the North of Greece, refers exclusively to the history of the Dorians ; and conversely, all the actions of the Doric race, in their earlier settlements, are fabulously represented under the person of Hercules. Now this cannot be accounted for by supposing that there was only a temporary connexion between this hero and the Doric race.’

Argos, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Egina, Trœzen successively fell. Laconia and Messenia became subject to Doric supremacy ; and Sparta became the permanent representative of the character and system of the Dorians. The first book, from which we have collected these facts, brings down the history of the Doric tribes from the earliest period to the end of the Peloponnesian War. The second book relates to their Religion and Mythology. Apollo and Diana appear to have been the national deities ; and the worship of the former is traced in a very interesting way, through its principal circumstances and localities. When the religion of the Dorians existed in its primitive and unmixed form, the nation

‘ had only two male deities, Jupiter and Apollo ; for the existence of the latter every where supposes that of the former, and both were intimately connected in Crete, Delphi, and elsewhere ; though the Doric Jupiter did not receive great religious honours. In the temple of Delphi, Jupiter and Apollo were represented as *Moiragetæ*, accompanied by two fates. The supreme deity, however, when connected with Apollo, was neither born, nor visible on earth, and perhaps never considered as having any immediate influence upon men. But Apollo, who is often emphatically called the son of Jupiter, acts as his intercessor, ambassador, and prophet with mankind. And whilst the father of the gods appears, indistinctly and at a distance, dwelling in ether, and enthroned in the highest heavens, Apollo is described as a divine hero, whose office is to ward off evils and dangers, establish rites of expiation, and announce the ordinances of Fate.’

This book is followed, and the first volume closed, by several Appendices, fraught with interesting and exceedingly valuable matter. The first, in particular, contains a rather extensive collection of details illustrative of the settlements, origin, and early history of the Macedonians. The third great division of the work, which commences the second volume, comprises a general survey of the Political Institutions of the Dorians. The Author’s prejudices are evidently anti-Athenian ; and he seems to us a little warped by his notions and feelings as a col-

lege tutor. Nations are not to be governed by the discipline of a school. The question has not been handled, in the volume before us, on broad ground, nor with a due reference to personal rights and social claims. The fourth book relates to the Domestic Institutions of the Dorians, with their arts and literature; and from the wide range of these topics, we shall extract the Professor's observations on the Doric architecture,—in our view, the only system that is founded on pure and elementary principles. Having described the semi-barbarous style of the earlier monuments of Greece, he proceeds as follows.

‘ In direct contrast with the above, is the simple, unornamented character and unobtrusive grandeur of the style unanimously called by the ancients, *the Doric*. It appears certain, that the first hints of this order were borrowed from buildings constructed of wood. . . . . Could any thing be more natural than that the long surface of the principal beams should be imitated in stone, that the cross-beams with the Doric triglyph should be laid over these, the intervals or metopes being by degrees covered with marble, whilst the cornice, in imitation of carpenter's work, was allowed to project in bold relief? The roof perhaps was for some time allowed to end in a slope on each side. Corinth was the first place where the front and hind part were finished off with a pediment, the tympanum being adorned with statues of ancient clay-work. Such was the origin of the Doric temple, of which early models have been preserved in the Doric towns of Corinth and Pæstum, in Ægina, and the Doric colonies of Sicily.

‘ We cannot, however, suppose it to have been the opinion of the historian of ancient architecture, that the *artificial* character of the Doric architecture may be satisfactorily derived from wooden buildings. It is the essence of this art to connect, by the varieties of form and proportion, a peculiar association of ideas with works intended merely for purposes of necessity. The Doric character, in short, created the Doric architecture. In the temples of this order, the weight to be supported is intentionally increased, and the architecture, frieze, and cornice, are of unusual depth; but the columns are proportionably strong, and placed very close to each other; so that, in contemplating the structure, our astonishment at the weight supported, is mingled with pleasure at the security imparted by the strength of the columns underneath. This impression of firmness and solidity is increased by the rapid tapering of the column, its conical shape giving it an appearance of strength; while the diminution beginning immediately at the base, and the straight line not being, as in other orders, softened by the interposition of the swelling, gives a severity of character to the order. With this rapid diminution is also connected the bold projection of the echinus (or *quarter-round*) of the capital; which likewise creates a striking impression, particularly if its outline is nearly rectilineal. The alternation of long unornamented surfaces, with smaller rows of decorated work, awaken a feeling of simple grandeur, without appearing either monotonous or fatiguing. The harmony spread over the whole becomes more conspicuous when contrasted with the dark shadows occasioned by the projecting drip of the cornice; above, the magnificent

pediment crowns the whole. Thus, in this creation of art, we find expressed the peculiar bias of the Doric race to strict rule, simple proportion, and pure harmony.'

This is sound and discriminating criticism; but the Author is in error, (at least if we understand him aright,) when he affirms that the outline of the Doric column is 'straight.' By the 'swelling', he must, of course, intend the *entasis*; a feature which is so far from being absent, that, if our memory serves us rightly, the most striking instance of it is to be found at Pæstum, one of the localities to which he refers for a still existing 'model.'—The matter attached to the second volume, in the form of Appendix, chiefly relates to geography and chronology.

Such are the general contents of a work which places the history of Greece on a new basis, and of which the study is indispensable to a correct understanding of a difficult but highly interesting subject. It is, however, by no means calculated for light and cursory perusal; nor will any such process carry any one fairly through its contents. It must be examined closely and consecutively: no effort, short of close and continued attention, will fix its leading argument upon the mind. It is given to the English reader under many advantages. The translation is executed with distinguished ability, under the revision of the Author himself, who has made extensive corrections and additions: and the Translators have inserted in the Appendix, valuable selections from other of Müller's works. The maps, without being very highly finished as engravings, are admirable specimens of geographical detail.

To Professor Boeckh, the students of Grecian antiquity are under the deepest obligations. His '*Corpus Inscriptionum*,' which now lies before us, is a work of immense and skilful labour. The first volume (all that is at present published) comprises six parts:—1. Inscriptions of the highest antiquity. 2. Attic Inscriptions. 3. Megaric. 4. Peloponnesiac. 5. Bœotic. 6. Phocian, Locrian, and Thessalian. Into an inquiry such as these materials would demand, we have not, as we have already intimated, the slightest intention of even entering. It is in fact a science apart, and we claim no further acquaintance with it, than such as is necessarily obtained by occasional and subsidiary reference in the course of classical and historical reading. Without such reference, however, no such course of study can be complete; and we feel persuaded that the illustration to be derived from this source of instruction is, even yet, inadequately estimated. The ancients, with imperfect means of giving permanency to important documents in any other way than by inscribing them on stone or metal, pursued that system of inscription to an extent of which we are, perhaps, not yet suf-

ficiently aware. Tenders of lease, with covenants and stipulations, were engraved on stone ; as in the very curious instance, of which a copy and explanation occur in the *Corpus*, but a more correct transcript, from the original in the British Museum, is given by the Translator of the ' Public Economy of Athens.' It may interest our readers, if we insert a portion of this document, as a sample of the way in which Attic aldermen managed corporation property. The Borough Piræus had lands to let, and they are advertised as follows.

‘ In the archonship of Archippus, Phrynion being Demarch.

‘ The Piræeans let Paralia, and Halmyris, and the Theseum, and all the other sacred lands, upon the following conditions. That the tenants for more than ten drachmas are to give sufficient security for the payment of the rent, and those for less than ten drachmas are to provide a surety, whose property shall be liable for the same. Upon these conditions they let the land tax and duty free. And if any property-tax be imposed upon the farms according to their valuation, the burghers will pay it. The tenants shall not be allowed to remove wood or earth from the Theseum and the other sacred lands, nor (damage) whatever wood there is in the farm. The tenants of the Thesmophorium and the Schoenus and the other pasture lands, shall pay half the rent in Hecatombæon (the first month,) and the other half in Posideon (the sixth month.) The tenants occupying Paralia and Halmyris and the Theseum, and any other grounds that there may be, shall cultivate them for the first nine years in whatever manner they please, and is according to custom ; but in the tenth year they shall plough the half of the land, and no more, so that the succeeding tenant will be able to begin preparing the soil from the sixteenth of Anthesterion. And if he shall plough more than half, the excess of the produce shall be the property of the burghers.’

It is to be regretted, that the name of the excellent conveyancer in whose office this meritorious deed was engrossed, has not been handed down in the way of special indorsement: Mr. Preston himself could not have done the thing better. The business of law-stationer must, we imagine, have been a somewhat *heavy* concern ; nor can we devise a better method of abbreviating legal processes in our own day, than by ordaining that all forensic proceedings, and all matters connected with law or statute, shall be set down and recorded in the same manner. Just think of a lawyer's clerk *wheeling* up a summons to your door ; a dray and six horses depositing a chancery-bill in your fore-court ; a lawyer studying pleadings in a stone-quarry ; or a bailiff with a mile-stone upon his shoulder, giving chase to a debtor. Let no one, henceforward, call lithography a modern discovery.

Not less curious is the extensive inscription (also deposited in the British Museum) containing the report of a commission,



consisting of two inspectors, an architect, and a secretary, appointed by the Athenian Government, to survey the then unfinished Erechtheum, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the works, and their advancement towards completion. This document was first illustrated by Dr. Chandler, who brought it to England; but he appears to have read it erroneously, and to have been deficient in architectural science. The most successful attempt at explanation has been made by Mr. Wilkins, first in his '*Atheniensiæ*,' and afterwards, more minutely, in the first volume of the Rev. R. Walpole's '*Memoirs on Turkey*.' Much, however, remains to be done in the way of elucidation; and we yet hope to see it made the text of a more successful essay on Grecian Architecture than has yet been given to the world. We shall avail ourselves of this opportunity, to express our strong commendation of the notes to the last edition of Stuart's Athens, written chiefly by the very able editor, Mr. W. Kinnard. They contain much able disquisition, and, in general, their criticism is sound and acute. We may, too, mention, as connected with the illustration of Greek Inscriptions, the very interesting volume of Mr. Rose, published in 1825. It is inferior, both in extent and profound learning, to the work of Professor Boeckh; but when the latter is inaccessible, Mr. R.'s will be found a valuable succedaneum.

'The Public Economy of Athens' has, avowedly, been written under the impression, 'that the knowledge of the ancient history of Greece is still in its infancy,' and that, before it can be fairly rescued from the 'hands of mere compilers or verbal grammarians,' its subordinate parts must be investigated, largely and discriminatingly. Of such an investigation, the volumes before us are intended as a sample. They are described, in the preface, as a 'contribution of this nature upon a subject of ancient history little understood.' Considered as a treasury of facts, collected with the utmost learning and industry, Professor Boeckh's work is invaluable; but, as a scientific arrangement of details and illustrative reasonings, it is exceedingly defective. The Translator has exposed, briefly, but ably, the Author's strange ignorance of the 'improvements in political philosophy which later ages have produced;' and has expressed a strong opinion, that, in all cases connected with discussions on prices, rates of profit, interest, and such matters, the diligence of the Berlin Professor has 'scarcely compensated for the want of theoretical knowledge.'

'With the exception indeed of some unimportant observations on a fanciful theory of Rousseau, and a few remarks suggested by striking peculiarities in the ancient institutions, there is scarcely any thing which a well-educated Grecian of the time of Aristotle might not have written; if we exclude those singular doctrines for the dissemination

of which the world has since been chiefly indebted to the mercantile system of commerce. From the title of our Author's work, it would be natural to infer that he was well versed in that science of which his subject forms a subordinate department. A very few pages are, however, sufficient to convince the reader that such is not the case. Thus, almost at the very outset of his work, we find him employing, as convertible terms, *wealth*, *money*, and *the precious metals*, having previously mistaken the efficacy of money for that of which it is the medium. Occasionally, also, he appears to be led to false conclusions by using the words *profit* and *interest* as synonymous; and in one place, there is a serious argument to prove that the rent of land is regulated by the rate of interest.'

The whole work is divided into four books: 1.—Of prices, wages, and interest of money in Attica. 2.—On the administration of finance, and the public expenditure. 3.—On the regular revenues of the Athenian state. 4.—On the extraordinary revenues of the Athenians, and on the peculiar financial measures of the Greeks. A dissertation on the silver mines of Laurion, in Attica, closes the work. These contents will sufficiently exhibit the character of the work, and they may also serve as intimations of its value. Readers in quest of amusement will do well to abstain from handling these volumes; but, to those who are in search of information, their contents are of the highest value.

Professor Heeren's "Sketch of the political History of Ancient Greece," is a single section of a larger work on the politics, history, and commerce of the great nations of antiquity. This, we have not seen; but it is highly lauded by competent authorities, and justly, if we may form a judgement from the portion in our hands. It is not only an able and spirited sketch, but it is written in a right feeling, and with something of that Greek enthusiasm, the absence, or the ill-judged modification of which is so injurious to the interest of Mitford's otherwise valuable history. Compression is not Heeren's forte, but he is an eloquent writer; and we have no objection to a little expansion on a spirit-stirring theme. He thinks for himself, and, even when travelling over beaten ground, keeps the reader on the alert by the distinctness and originality of his views. He has been, indeed, charged with torturing evidence,—a fault common to German writers; but we cannot say that we have observed any marked instance of it in the present work. As a specimen of his discrimination, we may cite his section on the military character of the Greeks, where he shews that, amid the host of gallant and skilful officers who commanded, at different times, their armies, there occurs but one name worthy to be ranked with such men as Gustavus Adolphus and Napoleon. That man was Epaminondas. Having, with troops inferior both in number and quality, to oppose in the field the armies of

Sparta, he felt that defeat, on common principles, was inevitable, and he recast the art of war. At Leuctra, he owed the victory to the splendid cavalry of Pelopidas; but at Mantinea, he gained the day by his own manœuvre, the concentrated attack.

Heeren attributes the fall of Greece to various causes, and among them, chiefly to the demoralization of the Greek character, the same disastrous influence that, in our own day, prevents its rise. But the constitutional weakness, the original element of disunion, he finds in the essential distinction between the Doric and Ionian races; never cordially blending, and ever prompt to quarrel for the supremacy. Before we give a specimen of his manner, we must prepare the way for it by adverting for a moment to the new edition of Mitford's *Greece*, of which we have copied the title, simply for the purpose of stating what has been done to improve the work, and of briefly noticing the plea which is set up in defence of the glaring partialities that disfigure an otherwise valuable book. Lord Redesdale, the surviving brother of Mr. Mitford, has prefixed to the '*History*,' what he is pleased to entitle, a '*Short Account of the Author*,' but which said short account consists rather of a somewhat prosy eulogy of the English Constitution. So far as we comprehend his Lordship's object, he wishes to have it understood, that his brother, while writing the *History of Greece*, kept constantly in view, as a sort of test, the political system of England, for the purpose of illustrating the excellence of the latter, and the inferiority of the former. Lord Redesdale is, we have no doubt, quite right in this suggestion; but he has utterly failed of establishing the rectitude, or even the expediency of such a course. A more effectual security for misrepresentation could hardly have been devised; nor can we conceive of a method more unphilosophical, or less likely to assist in giving clear and correct views of either side of the subject. But, leaving apart the pompous common-place of Lord Redesdale's prefatory dissertation, and the attempts of cleverer men than his Lordship to enforce the same laws of historical composition, nothing can, we apprehend, be alleged in defence of the gross and unfair prejudices which disfigure the history before us. Mitford, though a shrewd and laborious investigator, was by no means a man of large and catholic mind: where his facts lay before him, he used them, if not fairly, at least skilfully; but, where the series and consecution deserted him, he was altogether at a loss. His attempts to extract history from mythology, are about as successful as those of the projector who tried to draw sunbeams from cucumbers. His deference to despotism, and his detestation of popular government, lead him into perversions which injure his trustworthiness. Every authority is good, which may aid him in establishing his point; and every state-

ment which tells against him, is explained away or set aside. The brightest characters of antiquity, if they stand in the way of his political hypotheses, are darkened without mitigation; and Demosthenes, in particular, as the popular champion, becomes the very butt of reproach. We have reserved for this place, the eloquent passage in which Heeren holds up the great Athenian orator to merited admiration. Since Mitford calumniated this distinguished patriot, it has become a sort of fashion with some people to speak of him as a man of heartless and selfish ambition: the following paragraphs speak a truer language.

‘ His political principles emanated from the depth of his soul; he remained true to his feelings and his convictions, amidst all changes of circumstances and all threatening dangers. Hence he was the most powerful of orators, because with him there was no surrender of his conviction, no partial compromise; in a word, no trace of weakness. This is the real essence of his art; every thing else was but secondary. And in this, how far does he rise above Cicero! And yet, who ever suffered more severely than he for his greatness? Of all political characters, Demosthenes is the most sublime and purely tragic character with which history is acquainted. When, still trembling with the vehement force of his language, we read his life in Plutarch,—when we transfer ourselves into his times and his situation, we are carried away by a deeper interest than can be excited by any hero of the epic muse or of tragedy. From his first appearance till the moment when he swallowed poison in the temple, we see him contending against destiny, which seems to mock him with malignant cruelty. It throws him to the ground, but never subdues him. What a crowd of emotions must have struggled through his manly breast, amidst this interchange of reviving and expiring hopes! How natural was it, that the lines of melancholy and of indignation, such as we yet behold in his bust, should have been imprinted on his severe countenance. . . . . When Philip displayed his designs against Greece, by his interference in the Phocian war, he for the first time came forward against that prince in his first Philippic oration. From this period, he was engaged in the great business of his life. Sometimes as counsellor, sometimes as accuser, sometimes as ambassador, he protected the independence of his country against the Macedonian policy. Splendid success seemed at first to reward his exertions. He had won a number of states for Athens, when Philip invaded Greece; he had succeeded not only in gaining over the Thebans, but in kindling their enthusiasm, when the day of Chæronea overthrew all his hopes. But he courageously declares in the assembly of the people, that he still does not repent of the counsels which he had given.

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‘ To the man who lived only for his country, exile was no less an evil than imprisonment. He resided for the most part in Ægina and at Trœzen, from whence he looked with sad eyes towards the opposite shores of Attica. Suddenly and unexpectedly, a new ray of light

dawned upon him. Tidings were brought that Alexander was dead. The moment of deliverance seemed at hand ; anxiety pervaded every Grecian state ; the ambassadors of the Athenians passed through the cities ; Demosthenes joined himself to the number, and exerted all his eloquence and power to unite them against Macedon. In requital for such services, the people decreed his return ; and years of sufferings were at last followed by a day of exalted compensation. A galley was sent to Ægina, to bring back the advocate of liberty. All Athens was in motion ; no magistrate, no priest, remained in the city, when it was reported that Demosthenes was advancing from the Piræus. Overpowered by his feelings, he extended his arms, and declared himself happier than Alcibiades ; for his countrymen had recalled him, not by compulsion, but from choice. . . . . A sudden death separated him from a world, which, after the fall of his country, contained no happiness for him. Where shall we find a character of more grandeur and purity than that of Demosthenes ?

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‘ He had no presents to offer, no places to give away, no ribbons and titles to promise. On the contrary, he was opposed by men who could command every thing by which avarice or ambition can be tempted. What could he oppose to them, but his talents, his activity, and his courage ? Provided with no other arms, he supported the contest against the superiority of foreign powers, and the still more dangerous struggle with the corruptions of his own nation. It was his high calling, to be the pillar of a sinking state. Thirty years he remained true to this cause, nor did he yield till he was buried beneath the ruins of his country.’

We hope that the entire work of Heeren may be made accessible to the English reader. There seems an increasing disposition among us, to do justice to German literature ; and we are glad to observe the feeling, for there is much of the highest worth, as yet imperfectly known even to scholars, lying hidden in the stores of that rich language ; and sufficient encouragement is alone wanting, to effect its transference into our own familiar dialect.

**Art. VI. *The Destinies of the British Empire, and the Duties of British Christians at the Present Crisis.* By William Thorp. 8vo. pp. 224. Price 6s. London. 1831.**

**WE** thank Mr. Thorp for his title : it will give as a fitting text to a few remarks, little in unison, we must confess, with his lugubrious vaticinations.

*The King has put on his crown*,—and never had monarch a nobler coronation \*. The prayers and blessings of a grateful

\* We have high authority for the following statement. When the King took the crown, before he entered the House of Lords, he would

people shall be the chrism, and the spontaneous homage of three kingdoms shall ratify the vows which insure the stability of the throne. There are men,—traitors alike to their king and country,—who have dared to say, that the ‘power of the crown has ceased,’—that to dissolve a factious and corrupt parliament was tantamount to an abdication,—that to appeal to the people was to overthrow the monarchy,—that the union of the King, his ministers, and the nation, is a portentous and alarming circumstance, which cannot fail to indicate the approaching destruction of church and state. And who are the men who say such things? Are they statesmen? O yes, profound statesmen, men of gigantic intellect and inspired foresight,—the Newcastles, and Exeters, and Rolles, the Bankeses, and Brogdens, and Beresfords of either house. Are they philanthropists? Assuredly;—witness Lord Chandos, the chairman of the West India Committee;—General Gascoyne, the hoary advocate of Slavery, as he was, in 1805, of the Slave Trade itself, asserting that that atrocious traffic was defensible on Scriptural grounds!—and Sir Robert Peel—the Lord deliver us from Sir Robert Peel!—who dares to talk of revolt in the West Indies, and asks one hundred and forty millions of compensation for the insurgent planters! Are they loyalists? Who can doubt it, who reads in the public journals the reception they gave to their Sovereign, in a house which, they seem to have forgotten, has not only a bar, but a throne. Are they true representatives of either the British aristocracy or the commons of England? Assuredly,—Vienna diplomatists, English Metternichs and Polignacs, the Duke of Newcastle’s nominees, and the members for Gatton and Old Sarum, those bulwarks of the constitution! Are they men of high principle? A delicate question; but are they not all disinterested men, willing to sacrifice their own petty privileges, or more substantial peculation, to the public good? Would they not give up Evesham, and enfranchise Leeds, and do any thing *in moderation*, in order to save the ‘vested interests’ of the country? Yet, *are* these the men to represent or to rule the British people? Shall their tainted hands uphold the ark of religion, or be trusted with the defence of the State? *The King of Great Britain asks this question of his subjects.* God grant that the

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not suffer it to be placed on his head. He said, “No, I will put it on myself”; which he did, and then turning instantly to Lord Grey, added: “*Now, my Lord, the coronation is over.*” A speech worthy of being transmitted to history, and an act of good taste, firmness, and consideration for his people, which will save the country at least three hundred thousand pounds.



answer may be unambiguous, unanimous, and decisive: '*They are not.*'

We profess not to be politicians; but at such a crisis, every honest man is bound to make his voice heard, or his influence felt. British Christians *have*, at the present moment, an important duty to discharge. It is not a struggle of political parties, Whig against Tory;—it is a contest of principles, in the issue of which the destinies of Great Britain, and of the world, are greatly involved. On the one side are ranged in dark conspiracy, the corruptionists, the speculators, the abettors of slavery, the enemies of civil liberty, those who think they have a right to do what they will with their own, those who would gladly reduce the people of this country to the condition of serfs, and draw the sword in another crusade of despots. On the other side, we have, beyond all question, the preponderance of talent, of property, and of public worth,—of every thing that can dignify rank or benefit society,—every name that is known to philanthropy,—the friends of peace,—the friends of education,—the friends of truth,—the Cabinet, and the Throne. But, more than this, we feel a cheerful confidence that there is ONE for us, greater than all, who 'means mercy to' our 'land';—that this April cloud is

——'big with mercy, and shall break  
In blessings on our head;'

that 'the Sun of England' is in no danger from the vapours which it is already painting with the colours of hope.

Mr. Fox asked, upon one occasion, in his emphatic manner, 'Is it of consequence for a nation to be moral?' We would put this question to every honest man now. Setting aside, for a moment, the political evils arising from the present vicious and corrupt system of representation, what is its moral character, but that of a fraud, an injury, and a crime? That seats are bought and sold, is notorious; and yet, while the practice is sanctioned, the confession of the act is held infamous: and the buyer is bound to hypocrisy as a legislative virtue. That electors are bribed by wholesale, is known every where *out* of the House; but *there*, Liverpool itself is pure,—one of the purest of boroughs: nor does it cost the honourable member apparently the slightest twinge to affirm the useless falsehood. But we will not trust ourselves to characterize the nefarious system. Hear how Mr. Fox spoke of it, when, in 1797, the present premier moved for leave to bring in a bill for a reform of the Commons' House. 'The whole of this system, as it is now 'carried on, is as outrageous to morality, as it is pernicious to 'just government. It gives a scandal to our character, which 'not merely degrades the House of Commons in the eyes of

‘ the people : it does more ; it undermines the very principles of  
 ‘ integrity in their hearts, and gives a fashion to dishonesty and  
 ‘ imposture. They hear of a person giving or receiving four  
 ‘ or five thousand pounds as the purchase money of a seat for a  
 ‘ close borough ; and they hear the very man who received and  
 ‘ put into his pocket the money, make a vehement speech in  
 ‘ this House against bribery ; and they see him move for the  
 ‘ commitment to prison of a poor unfortunate wretch at your  
 ‘ bar, who has been convicted in taking a single guinea for his  
 ‘ vote in the very borough, perhaps, where he had publicly and  
 ‘ unblushingly sold his influence ; though that miserable guinea  
 ‘ was to save a family from starving. Sir, these are the things  
 ‘ that paralyse you to the heart ; these are the things that vitiate  
 ‘ the whole system ; that spread degeneracy, hypocrisy, and  
 ‘ sordid fraud over the country, and take from us the energies  
 ‘ of virtue, and sap the foundations of patriotism and spirit.  
 ‘ The system that encourages so much vice, ought to be put an  
 ‘ end to.’ \*

But this system, say the anti-reformers, is the very essence of the British Constitution. They are liars,—with all possible emphasis on the word. It is the disease, the *tabes dorsalis* of the Constitution, under which it has had to struggle for existence, while every species of corruption has been taking advantage of its weakness and decay. It is a system which has entailed upon this country incalculable evils. It has well nigh divested the House of Commons of its constitutional efficiency, as the guardian of the public purse. It has favoured the aggrandisement of a selfish oligarchy, who, in alliance with what are called the Colonial Interests, would enslave the country, and overawe the throne. It has rendered it impossible for any minister to be honest. It has perpetuated slavery in the colonies,—introduced malversation in every branch of expenditure,—encouraged jobbing and corruption among all classes. And it has now reached a crisis, which leaves no alternative but reform, or a fearful struggle between a desperate faction and an insulted people. At this crisis, it has pleased Him by whom kings rule, to place at the head of the British nation, a patriotic monarch, who has had the magnanimity to identify his interests, or rather virtue and judgement to perceive the identity of the interests of the Crown with those of the nation ; and whose most kingly conduct has done more to redeem monarchical principles, and to check any tendency to republicanism, at least in this country, than any event which has taken place since the accession of the popular grandson of George II. There is something

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\* Fox's Speeches, vol. vi. p. 358.

singularly providential in the circumstances which have brought the great question before the nation at this particular moment. For nearly half a century, the necessity for parliamentary reform has been acknowledged and insisted upon by every eminent statesman or patriot in this country. Pitt, Fox, and Burke alike, when unrestrained by the trammels of office, advocated this great remedial measure. But, up to the present reign, the concurrence of *one* of the three Estates in any effectual plan of reform, would have been any thing but spontaneous or graceful; and it is probable that, had the attempt been made, the Crown and the people would have been at issue. On the other hand, had the question not been brought forward in the present reign,—long may it last!—had it been postponed to a period at which it is possible the crown may rest on the head of a minor, no regent, more especially a female regent, would have felt, perhaps, authorized to sanction so decided a reform of one branch of the legislature. This, then, seems the precise moment, at which with most propriety, with most safety, with most advantage to the Crown, with most satisfaction to the people, this question could be brought before parliament and the country.

Again, had the Reform of the Representative System been made a Cabinet measure before the final settlement of the Catholic Question, the base attempts of the Tory faction to enlist the alarms and prejudices of the friends of the Protestant Interest on the side of corruption and dishonesty, might have been successful; and we should then have witnessed the disgusting spectacle of a No Popery cry, set up in favour of abuses which tend to undermine alike public and private morality. That this question of Reform promises to be decided by the all but unanimous voice of the nation, firmly and tranquilly expressed, will be owing to no one more than to the illustrious Duke who accomplished that great previous measure. And to whom are we chiefly indebted for this very Reform bill? To the Duke of Wellington? To his manly, straight-forward, uncompromising honesty, which, amid all his errors, so honourably distinguishes him from the herd of trimming politicians who profess themselves moderate Reformers, with a view to defeat every measure of reform at the least cost to their own character. That the Duke should not have been sharp-sighted enough to perceive the necessity of complying with the earnest, deliberate, persevering demand of the people, not ambiguously expressed, would have astonished us more, did we not recollect, that the greater part of his life has been passed out of England, in camps and courts, at the head of armies, or at the focus of diplomatic intrigue,—that of the people of England this illustrious Irishman knows but little, or he would never have spoken of county meetings as a farce,—and that, though unequalled as

a military tactician, and admirably fitted by his promptitude and decision to head a Cabinet, he has never displayed the marked features of a British statesman. All his military prejudices, all his political associations, his diplomatic education in the school of Castlereagh and Metternich, and, as we suspect, the deficiency of his historical knowledge, would unite in biasing his judgement on such an occasion,—in indisposing him to make any concessions in favour of popular freedom, either in England or out of it. But we admire the courage and frankness with which he avowed the opinions which he shared with his inferior colleagues, but which they were dismayed at having unmasked. To the Duke we owe it, that the fraud they would have practised upon the nation is detected; that the farce of now and then opening a borough, in order to close the eyes of the people, is put a stop to. It was this honest declaration of hostility against Reform, that displaced the Wellington administration, and that rendered it impossible for any cabinet to succeed with honour, that was not pledged, or should not haste to pledge itself to an opposite policy. The crime of Lord Grey, in the eyes of the Tory faction, is not that he made some profession, on acceding to power, that might harmonize with the opinions deliberately entertained and steadily professed for forty years, and save his reputation from the infamy of an interested apostacy,—this might have been forgiven; but that he did not adopt some deceptive, paltry, *moderate* measure, which should have left untouched the main sources of corruption, which should have imposed no effectual restraint upon any convenient abuse. For what are the parts of the system which the moderate Reformers would have wished to retain inviolate? Precisely those to which Mr. Fox refers in the eloquent passage we have cited,—the close boroughs and rotten boroughs which certain honourable gentlemen cannot bear to have termed the disgraceful parts of the representative system,—the very things that vitiate the whole,—that degrade in the eyes of the people of England their own best institutions,—that outrage morality as much as they embarrass any just or honest Government, and ‘spread degeneracy, hypocrisy, and fraud over the country.’ Yes, these are the very features of the representative system, disgusting excrescences formed by the interruption of the healthful circulation, which the Norths, and the Bankeses, and the Sadlers, the little Ciceros of the faction, dwell on with the most unbounded admiration. They would not have refused to *extend* the franchise to a few unrepresented towns, or, it may be, to throw open a few East Retfords into the adjacent hundred; but the vested corruptions, the saleable portions of the system, those convenient expedients for letting in the beneficial influence of an East India nabob or a Jamaica Slaveholder, to neu-

tralize the representation of English principle and feeling,—these, it is death to the constitution to part with.

‘ It has often been a question,’ said Mr. Fox, ‘ both within and without these walls, how far representatives ought to be bound by the instructions of their constituents. It is a question upon which my mind is not altogether made up, though I own I lean to the opinion, that, having to legislate for the empire, they ought not altogether to be guided by instructions that may be dictated by local interests. I cannot, however, approve of the very ungracious manner in which I sometimes hear expressions of contempt for the opinions of constituents. But, Sir, there is one class of constituents whose instructions it is considered as the implicit duty of members to obey. When gentlemen represent populous towns and cities, then it is a disputed point, whether they ought to obey their voice, or to follow the dictates of their own conscience; but, *if they represent a noble lord or a noble duke*, then it becomes no longer a question of doubt; and he is not considered a man of honour, who does not implicitly obey the orders of his single constituent. He is to have no conscience, no liberty, no discretion of his own. He is sent here by my Lord This, or the Duke of That; and if he does not obey the instructions he receives, he is not to be considered as a man of honour and a gentleman. Such is the mode of reasoning that prevails in this House. Is this fair? Is there any reciprocity in this conduct? Is a gentleman to be permitted, without dishonour, to act in opposition to the sentiments of the city of London, of the city of Westminster, or of Bristol; but if he disagrees with the duke, or lord, or baronet whose representative he is, that he must be considered as unfit for the society of men of honour? This, sir, is *the chicane and tyranny of corruption*; and this, at the same time, is called Representation!’ \*

We like to cite the pure English of this great constitutional statesman, and will not insult our readers by apologizing for transcribing a few more paragraphs from his reported Speeches upon this great topic, in place of affecting originality of remark. And first, in reference to the nonsense talked about virtual representation. Mr. Windham has said, that, if the constitution of the House of Commons were, that the county of Middlesex alone elected the representatives for the whole kingdom, he would not consent to alter the mode of representation, while he knew from experience, that it had produced such benefits as we had long enjoyed. ‘ Now, suppose’, proceeded Mr. Fox, ‘ for the sake of argument, that the county of Cornwall, some-

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\* Fox's Speeches, vol. vi. p. 364.

‘ what less likely to be a virtual representative of the whole  
 ‘ kingdom than Middlesex, were, instead of sending forty-four  
 ‘ members to Parliament, to send the whole five hundred and  
 ‘ fifty-eight, such a House of Commons might, for a time, be a  
 ‘ proper check on the executive power, and watch over the in-  
 ‘ terests of the whole kingdom with as much care as those of  
 ‘ Cornwall; but, with such a House of Commons, no argument  
 ‘ would persuade me to remain satisfied, because there would be  
 ‘ no security that it would continue to do so. The question now  
 ‘ to be answered is, Does the House of Commons, as at present  
 ‘ constituted, answer the purposes which it was intended to  
 ‘ answer; and have the people any security that it will continue  
 ‘ to do so? To both branches of the question, I answer  
 ‘ decidedly in the negative.

‘ But it was said, a House of Commons so chosen as to be a  
 ‘ complete representative of the people, would be too powerful  
 ‘ for the House of Lords, and even for the King: they would  
 ‘ abolish the one, and dismiss the other. If the King and the  
 ‘ House of Lords be unnecessary and useless branches of the  
 ‘ constitution, let them be diminished and abolished; for the  
 ‘ people were not made for them, but they for the people. If,  
 ‘ on the contrary, the King and the House of Lords are felt  
 ‘ and believed by the people, as I am confident they are, to be  
 ‘ not only useful, but essential parts of the Constitution, a House  
 ‘ of Commons freely chosen by, and speaking the sentiments of  
 ‘ the people, would cherish and protect both, within the bounds  
 ‘ which the Constitution had assigned them.

‘ When gentlemen talk of the danger of rash innovation, and  
 ‘ the great advantages of *temperate and slow reform*, (for there  
 were *moderate* reformers, there were Peels and Vyvyans at that  
 time of day,) ‘ they may find’, continued this Great Orator, ‘ all  
 ‘ they have to say anticipated in a much more pleasant treatise  
 ‘ than any of their speeches, *viz.*, the Tale of a Tub, where  
 ‘ Brother Jack’s tearing off the lace, points, and embroidery  
 ‘ from his coat, at the hazard of reducing the coat itself to tat-  
 ‘ ters, and Brother Martin’s cautiously picking up stitch by  
 ‘ stitch, exhibit an abstract of all their arguments on the sub-  
 ‘ ject. The Septennial Act, in the opinion of many, has been  
 ‘ the means of preserving the House of Brunswick on the  
 ‘ throne. But had such a House of Commons as the present  
 ‘ been then in being, what would have become of the House of  
 ‘ Brunswick and the Protestant succession? “What”, they  
 ‘ would have said, “adopt so violent an innovation as septen-  
 ‘ nial, instead of triennial parliaments? Do you mean to sub-  
 ‘ vert the whole fabric of the constitution. Triennial parlia-  
 ‘ ments were sanctioned at the glorious epoch of the Revolu-  
 ‘ tion; to triennial parliaments we owe all the prosperity, all the



‘ glory of the reign of King William and Queen Mary ; to  
‘ triennial parliaments we are indebted for the victory of Blenheim.” As naturally might they have said, that to triennial  
‘ parliaments they were indebted for the victory of Blenheim,  
‘ as it may be now said, that to the right of Old Sarum to send  
‘ members to parliament we are indebted for the increase of our  
‘ exports. If, to such sources as these, national prosperity is to  
‘ be traced,—if, for the essence of our constitution, we are to  
‘ repair to a cottage on Salisbury Plain,—or, for the sake of antiquity more reverend, let us take Stonehenge for Old Sarum ;  
‘ then might we undertake pilgrimages to the sacred shrine,  
‘ and tell each admiring stranger : “ Look not for the causes  
‘ of our envied condition in the system of our government and  
‘ laws ; here resides the hallowed deposit of all the happiness  
‘ we enjoy ; but, if you move one of these rugged stones from  
‘ another, the British constitution is thrown from its basis, and  
‘ levelled with the dust.’

‘ When we look to the kingdom of Scotland, we see a state  
‘ of representation so monstrous and absurd, so ridiculous and  
‘ revolting, that it is good for nothing, except, perhaps, to be  
‘ placed by the side of the English, in order to set off one defective system by the comparison of one still more defective.  
‘ In Scotland, there is no shadow even of representation ; there  
‘ is neither a representation of property for the counties, nor of  
‘ population for the towns. It is not what we understand by  
‘ freeholders, who elect in the counties : the right is vested in  
‘ what are called the superiorities ; and it might so happen that  
‘ all the members for the counties of Scotland might come here,  
‘ without having the vote of a single person who had a foot of  
‘ property in the land. This is an extreme case, but it is within  
‘ the limits of their system. In the boroughs, the magistrates  
‘ are self-elected, and therefore the members have nothing to  
‘ do with the population of the towns.

‘ Now, Sir, having shewn this to be the state of our representation, I ask, what remedy there can be other than a reform ? What can we expect as the necessary result of a system so defective and vicious in all its parts, but increasing calamities, until we shall be driven to a convulsion that would overthrow every thing ? If we do not apply this remedy in time, our fate is inevitable. Our most illustrious patriots, the men whose memories are the dearest to Englishmen, have long ago pointed out to us parliamentary reform as the only means of redressing national grievances. I need not inform you, that Sir George Savile was its most strenuous advocate. I need not tell you, that the venerable and illustrious Camden was, through life, a steady adviser of reasonable reform. Nay, Sir, to a certain degree, we have the authority of Mr. Burke

‘ himself for the propriety of correcting the abuses of our system; for gentlemen will remember the memorable answer which he gave to the argument that was used for our right of taxing America, on the score of their being *virtually* represented, and that they were in the same situation as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield:—“What!” said Mr. Burke, when the people of America look up to you with the eyes of filial love and affection, will you turn to them the *shameful parts of the constitution?*”’\*

We have lived to see those shameful parts gloried in, nay, basely idolized as the very symbols of the majesty of the British Constitution. And among other pleas for these abuses, it is urged, that, by means of these saleable boroughs alone, the colonies can be virtually represented. But if the colonies are to be represented in the British parliament, why are they allowed to have their separate and independent legislatures? Is it not enough that they possess the privilege of taxing themselves, but they must send their paid agents and ex-attorney generals into the British Parliament, to assist in taxing the people of England? Is it not enough that they tyrannize over the black population of the Islands, but they must seek to extend, by corrupt means, a colonial domination over this country? The British interests connected with our colonies, are represented in the House of Commons, not virtually, but really and effectively, by the mercantile members returned by the great towns and cities in which those interests are seated. If any further representation of the colonies is necessary, it ought surely to be representatives chosen by the coloured population of Africa and the West Indies, or by the nabobs, and *baboos*, and half-castes of our Eastern empire. And what would then become of the British constitution?

But it was asked in 1797, as it is asked now, ‘What will this reform do for us? Will it be a talisman sufficient to retrieve all the misfortunes which we have incurred?’ ‘I am free to say,’ replied Mr. Fox, ‘that it would not be sufficient, unless it led to reforms of substantial expense, and of all the abuses, that have crept into our government. But, at the same time, I think it would do this; I think it would give us the chance of recovery. *It would give us, in the first place, a parliament vigilant and scrupulous, and that would ensure to us a government active and economical. It would prepare the way for every rational improvement of which, without disturbing the parts, our constitution is susceptible. . . . What advantages we shall gain, I know not. I think we shall gain many. I*

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\* Fox’s Speeches, vol. v. pp. 110, 114—116; vol. vi. pp. 366, 7.

‘ think we shall gain at least the chance of *warding off the evil*  
 ‘ of confusion growing out of accumulated discontent. I think  
 ‘ we shall satisfy the moderate, and take even from the violent,  
 ‘ if such there be, the power of increasing their numbers, and of  
 ‘ making converts to their schemes.’

‘ I have given my advice. I propose the remedy; and fatal  
 ‘ will it be for England, if pride and prejudice much longer  
 ‘ continue to oppose it. The remedy which is proposed is  
 ‘ simple, easy, and practicable; *it does not touch the vitals of*  
 ‘ *the constitution; and I sincerely believe it will restore us to*  
 ‘ *peace and harmony.* Do you not think that you must come  
 ‘ to parliamentary reform soon? And is it not better to come  
 ‘ to it now, when you have the power of deliberation, than when,  
 ‘ perhaps, it may be extorted from you by convulsion? There  
 ‘ is as yet time to frame it with freedom of discussion. *It will*  
 ‘ *even yet go to the people with the grace and favour of a spon-*  
 ‘ *taneous act.* What will it be, when it is extorted from you  
 ‘ with indignation and violence? God forbid that this should be  
 ‘ the case! But now is the moment to prevent it; and now, I  
 ‘ say, wisdom and policy recommend it to you, when you may  
 ‘ enter into all the considerations to which it leads, rather than  
 ‘ to postpone it to a time when you will have nothing to consider  
 ‘ but the number and force of those who demand it . . . .  
 ‘ Shall we be blind to the lessons which the events of the world  
 ‘ exhibit to our view? Pride, obstinacy, and insult must end in  
 ‘ concessions; and those concessions must be humble in pro-  
 ‘ portion to our unbecoming pride. Now is the moment to  
 ‘ prevent all those degradations. The monarchy, the aristocracy,  
 ‘ the people themselves may now be saved; *it is only necessary,*  
 ‘ *at this moment, to conquer our passions.*’\*

Such was the energetic language of Mr. Fox in 1797; and with redoubled force will every argument and consideration he adduced, apply to the present crisis. It is true, that four and thirty years have elapsed; and still the monarchy and aristocracy are safe; but who can say with truth, that neither has suffered prejudice from the delay of this great remedial measure? We admit that the subject has, during that interval, been rocked to sleep by the commotions through which we have passed; and the wild and visionary schemes of the radical Reformers had almost brought the very name of Reform into disrepute. Still, there has been no intermission, no recession of the settled and anxious feeling of the nation in favour of some plan that might restore to the House of Commons the public confidence it had forfeited, and place it in correspondence and sympathy with the

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\* Fox's Speeches, vol. vi. pp. 360, 7, 9.

popular sentiments. It is true, that, at times of great excitement, Parliament has shewn itself not altogether proof against the strong expression of public feeling, and has yielded, with more or less of reluctancy, through policy, through fear, to the wishes or demands of the people telegraphed by the press. But is this a desirable state of things, that the mass of the people, feeling themselves unrepresented within the walls of Parliament, and having no confidence in their supposed constituents, should be compelled to have recourse to an attitude approaching to intimidation, in order to enforce their claims? It has been pretended, that the late House of Commons displaced the Wellington Administration; but it was, in fact, under an impulse from without, which they felt it unsafe to resist, amid the fearful indications of gathering insubordination and disorder. But is fear to be the perpetual regulator of the legislative despotism, which founds itself on corruption? Surely, it were better for the Government, and better for the people, that some more regular and amicable correspondence were opened between the Commons' House and those who are still nominally recognised as the Constituent body.

The manifestation of public sentiment on the present occasion, might seem to partake of the character of a sudden burst of feeling, or, as the Quarterly Reviewers would say, of a popular frenzy; for they tell us pretty plainly, that the King, the Cabinet, and the people have all gone mad together. Lord Londonderry, Lord Carnarvon, Mr. Peel, and a few more, are the only people who have preserved their senses, which is sufficiently evinced by the mild serenity of their mien, and the tranquil dignity of their deportment. But what was really extraordinary and portentous, was, the rapid manner in which a particular measure—the ballot, was at one time gaining favour with all classes of reformers, Whig, Tory, and Radical, as the only effectual expedient for defeating the power of the oligarchy. This very circumstance proved, however, how eager the nation were to catch at any thing which promised to accomplish that object. But what has Lord John Russell's bill effected by its very announcement? We hear no more of ballot,—an attempt to foil corruption by treachery, and oppression by the resources of the slave; we hear no more of universal suffrage,—a plan for collecting the decision of the majority, which defeats itself by its cumbrous impracticability; as well as its unreasonableness. Mr. Hunt has lost his importance, and the mischievous prater begins to be suspected of being in the pay of the Tories. The country is tranquil, but determined. The feelings of hope and of loyalty, instead of those of desperate discontent and irritation, now supply the stimulus; and wo to the traitors who would attempt to step between the expectant nation and the

glorious boon of a renovated Constitution and a free parliament, tendered to them by their beloved Sovereign.

But what will this reform do for the poor man suffering under privation and hardship? It will do much, if it brings with it the cheering assurance, that all will be done for him, that lies within the power of an honest, popular, protective legislature. If he still is doomed to endure, neglect and insult will not add poignancy to his sufferings. When Napoleon's soldiers once mutinied on account of the badness of the provisions, he called for some of the black bread, and ate it before them. Restore to the people of England confidence in their Representatives, and they will shew, what they ever have shewn, patience and subordination under the pressure of any evils which do not proceed from wrongs. By no one has representation been insisted on as the sovereign remedy for political disorder, the infallible security against popular discontent, more eloquently than by Mr. Burke. In his memorable speech on presenting his plan of reconciliation with America in 1775, he dwelt on the virtue of representation, with a force and clearness unparalleled. Were the people of Ireland uncivilized and unsubdued after a forcible possession of their country for ages, what was the remedy? Representation. Were the Welsh in perpetual contention among themselves, and hostility to Englishmen, what was the remedy? Representation. Were the counties of Chester and Durham full of discontent and disorder, what was the remedy? Representation. Representation was then, with that most brilliant but most inconsistent of orators, the universal panacea for every political evil; and he wound up his historical panegyric with the elegant citation (repeated by Fox)—‘ When the day-star of the English Constitution had arisen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without ’—

‘ — “ *Simul alba nautis  
Stella refulsit,  
Defluit saxi agitatus humor:  
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,  
Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto  
Unda recumbit.” ’*

One word as to gradual Reform,—that subterfuge of the timid and the fraudulent. What great Reform was ever gradual or progressive? The Protestant Reformation,—has it ever advanced one step beyond the reign of Edward VI.? The Revolution of 1688,—have our Constitutional rights been increasing and extending since that period? Is it not, on the contrary, the tendency and fate of every thing of human institution to deteriorate and retrograde, rather than to progress and amend? Now, what is proper to be done, ought to be done at

once. Doled out by instalments, the boon would be received with contempt, instead of gratitude. In respect to similar pretences for gaining time,—the favourite policy of the Ottoman fatalist,—Mr. Fox observed in a tone of good-humoured sarcasm, that ‘this manner of postponing what could not be denied to be fit, was more properly the object of ridicule, than of argument. The time must come, when the House will be unable to disguise, even from themselves, the necessity of inquiry into the state of the representation; and then too they may, perhaps, give room for a new application of the poet’s raillery on an individual,—

‘ “ Let that be wrought which Mat doth say :  
Yea, quoth the Erle, but not to day.” ’

We live in happier times than that great statesman survived to behold; and in the frantic rage and desperation of anti-reformers, we have the surest omens of the success of this great measure, which, if not in itself a remedy for every grievance and abuse, will assuredly remove the greatest barrier to plans of a healing and beneficial tendency. If there are individuals in this country who have ulterior designs of a revolutionary character, most infatuated must they be to dream of deriving any advantage from a reform of the representation, as a stepping-stone for acts of spoliation or injustice. If there are any such machinators,—give us a Reformed House of Commons, and we shall be ready for them. Clear the deck of the borough-monsters and the corruptionists, and we shall be afraid to encounter no pirate craft,—especially under such an Admiral. ‘Thank God’, the Duke of Sussex is reported to have said, on a recent festal occasion, ‘We can do nothing in England without a King. Thank God, with such a King, England can do every thing.’

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Art. VII. *Prayer and Religious Tests*, in connexion with the British and Foreign Bible Society, considered in Two Letters addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth; including Remarks on the Tone appropriate to all Discussions among Christians, especially Christian Ministers. By Sexagenarius. 8vo. pp. 43. Price 1s. 6d. London, 1831.

WE can do little more than earnestly recommend to the attention of our readers, this temperate, seasonable, and truly judicious pamphlet,—designed, and, we hope, adapted, to operate as oil on the frothy waves of religious faction. We recollect once hearing a sentiment expressed by the much-esteemed minister of Long Acre Chapel, to this effect,—that



when the Devil wishes to do a mischief to the Church of God, he always looks out for some eminent saint to work by. ‘My ‘dear Christian brother’, said the Preacher, in his solemn and impressive manner, which redeemed from any levity of effect the quaintness of the expression,—‘never lend yourself to the ‘Devil, to be his cat’s paw.’ This exhortation would seem never to have been more called for, than in reference to certain well-meaning, but rash and ungovernable spirits, who are attempting to convert, by the force of a new law, a meeting for public business, having, it is true, a religious object, yet not in any sense an ecclesiastical assembly, into a meeting for worship,—for the avowed purpose of excluding some of the members of the Society from such meetings, and *praying them out*.

‘According to the meditated order of things, who will be our chaplains? Will the choice be made, on the arrival of the stipulated hour? Will a rotation be preferred? Or will the office be statedly devolved on the same individual? Will clergymen only be engaged? Or will other ministers be requested to share the duty? In the event of no minister being present, or none willing to be so engaged, will an appeal be made to laymen? Will the petitions be extemporaneous, or precomposed? The principle being agreed to, these circumstances, I grant, might, in some places, for a considerable period, create no disturbance, no difficulty; yet there lurk within them the luxuriant seeds of both. Who shall pray? And in what manner shall they pray? What shall be done with cases involving precedency and equality; taste, and violations of taste; petulance, compliment, and other forms of pitiable secularity?

‘The case of precedency has, to my knowledge, already been the subject of animadversion; nor must we flatter ourselves, that few are the probable occasions on which a determined rivalry will dishonour our once fair and peaceful proceedings by an exhibition of unwarranted claims, and then, either of tame surrenders, or of more to be lamented conflicts. We may quickly be self-deceived into the maintenance of what shall be followed by a series of inconveniences and mischiefs which cannot be contemplated without the most serious alarm. One petitioner will be distasted as not in holy orders; a second as not evangelical; a third as not spiritual; a fourth as not educated; a fifth as not discreet; and a sixth as not harmonious with his brethren. Where will discord end? A way will be made (*I speak advisedly*) for *creeds* and *confessions*; and hence, instead of confining ourselves to the first and indeed only object of our Society, we shall meet (if we continue to meet) as partizans and disputants; we shall diminish the resources which are wanted for the supply of perishing millions, and, ere we become sensible of danger, may repent, as we tremble on the verge of dissolution.’

We can only conjure the Members of the Bible Society to beware of the Devil’s cat’s paws,—‘those of the Concision.’

## ART. VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Messrs. Holdsworth and Ball announce that Prospectuses of the Complete Edition of the Works of the late Rev. Robert Hall, detailing particulars of publication, will be circulated in a few days.

Nearly ready, Gospel Truth, accurately stated and illustrated. By the Rev. Messrs. James Hog, Thomas Boston, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, and Others; occasioned by the republication of the Marrow of Modern Divinity. With various Improvements. Collected by John Brown, Minister of the Gospel, Whitburn.

In the press, A System of Endowments for the Provident Classes in every station of Life, exemplified by the Rules of the Southwell Endowment Society; with copious and original Tables for computing, both in Decimals and in money, the Values of the Proposed Assurances. By the Rev. John Thomas Becher, M.A. Vicar General and Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Southwell; Chairman of the Quarter Sessions for the Newark Division of the County of Nottingham, and for the Liberty of Southwell and Scrooby.

On the 1st of June will be published, in One Volume 12mo., The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., including Notices of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A. By Richard Watson, Author of "Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley," "Theological Institutes," "Conversations for the Young," &c. &c.

In the press, Letters on Prophetic Subjects, Part I. By J. H. Frere, Esq.

Bishop Jebb has in the Press, a work entitled, Pastoral Instructions on the Character and Principles of the Church of England, selected from his former publications.

The Proprietors of the Edition of Dr. Webster's English Dictionary, now publishing in this country, have purchased from the Family of the late Rev. Jonathan Boucher, Vicar of Epsom, the valuable and voluminous MSS., which he had during the last 14 years of his life, prepared for a Glossary of Provincial and Archæological Words, intended as a Supplement to Dr. Johnson's Dictionary; and they mean to publish these MSS. in one Volume 4to., containing Six Numbers of 20 Sheets each, as a Supplement to Dr. Webster's English Dictionary. The larger portion of the MSS. is now in a state fit for publication, and the Supplement will be commenced as soon as the Work of Dr. Webster, of which Eight Numbers have already appeared, is completed. They also intend to publish an 8vo. Edition of Dr. Webster's English Dictionary, which will contain all the Technical

and Scientific Definitions from the 4to work, but without the copious Etymological matter, which will not be required by ordinary readers for ordinary purposes. A multitude of words, collected by the Editor, and not found in the 4to Edition, will be inserted, and also a large collection of Archaic Terms from the MSS. of the late Rev. Jonathan Boucher.

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The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted at a General Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, held at Exeter Hall, London, April 23, 1831; the Right Hon. Lord Suffield in the Chair:

I. That the object of this Meeting is the entire extinction of Negro Slavery.

II. That the time has now arrived, in which the people of Great Britain and Ireland may give, by their votes, as they have already given by their petitions, efficacious assistance towards delivering the Negroes from the evils of Slavery, and the nation from the guilt of tolerating it; and that the Address now read be adopted by this Meeting and circulated throughout the country.

III. That the buying, or selling, or holding of our fellow men as slaves is contrary to the Christian religion, and to the principles of the British constitution.

IV. That, under the strongest rational conviction, fortified by the experience of all ages, that the holders of slaves are, by the very circumstances of their situation, rendered as unfit, as they have always proved themselves unwilling, to frame laws for the benefit of their bondmen, this Assembly cannot refrain from avowing their utter despair of receiving any effectual aid from the Colonists in the prosecution of their great object.

V. That this Assembly consider it incumbent on them to renew the declaration of their decided conviction, that Slavery is not merely an abuse to be mitigated, but an enormity to be suppressed; that it involves the exercise of severities on the part of the master, and the endurance of sufferings on the part of the slave, which no laws can effectually prevent; and that to impose on the British people the involuntary support of a system so essentially iniquitous, is an injustice no longer to be endured.

VI. That the experience of the last eight years has not only furnished additional evidence of the criminality and incurable inhumanity of Slavery, but has also demonstrated incontrovertibly, that it is only by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied to this enormous evil; and that it is the unalterable determination of this Meeting to leave no lawful means unattempted for obtaining, by Parliamentary enactment, the total abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions.

VII. That this Meeting desire the expression of their sincere regret for the unavoidable absence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, to be respectfully conveyed to him, together with their cordial acknowledgements for the undeviating support he has uniformly given to the principles on which this Society is founded.

\* \* The following is the Address before referred to.

**THE** Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions, earnestly request your attention to the present state of the question. The Dissolution will probably soon take place, when the great body of Electors will be strongly agitated with discussing the measure of Reform, which has divided the existing Parliament. At this crisis we entreat you, in the midst of conflict and excitement, to remember the sacred cause to which, in conjunction with ourselves, you are solemnly pledged. Upon the exertions now made, as far as human wisdom may foresee, mainly depends the continuance or extinction of that system which has so long prevailed, in violation of all the principles of the British Constitution, and in subversion of all justice, outraging every feeling of humanity, and utterly repugnant to the precepts of the religion we profess to acknowledge. We pray you to rouse yourselves to strenuous, persevering and well-organized exertions; and we suggest for your consideration the following measures:—To call meetings of your Committees, and to invite to join you, all who prefer humanity to oppression, truth to falsehood, freedom to slavery:—to appoint frequent periods for assembling; to form a list of all the Electors who can be properly influenced in the approaching contest, each individual answering for himself and as many more as he can bring to aid:—to make strict inquiries of every Candidate, not only whether he is decidedly favourable to the extinction of Slavery, but whether or not he will attend the Debates in Parliament when that question shall be discussed; herein taking special care not to be deceived by general professions of disapprobation of Slavery, but ascertaining that the Candidate has adopted the determination to assist in carrying through measures for its speedy annihilation. None look with greater horror on the shedding of blood, or the remotest chance of occasioning such a calamity than ourselves; but we are in our consciences convinced, and that after investigation the most careful and scrupulous, that from the emancipation we recommend, no risk to the safety of the white inhabitants could arise; on the contrary we verily believe, that the continuance of Slavery renders desolation and bloodshed much more probable; and that if the country does not repent of the sin of Slavery and cast it from her, it may, by the just retribution of Providence, terminate in a convulsion destructive alike of life and property.

On behalf of Candidates who are known to hold these principles, and on behalf of such Candidates only, we ask your assistance; and this assistance may be most powerfully rendered, not merely by votes, but by open and public adoption of the Candidate on these avowed grounds, by the exertion of lawful influence, by saving him time in his canvass, and by relieving him from expence in going to the poll.

We assure you, that on our part, we will not be backward in our efforts for the attainment of the same ends; and we will, from time to time, afford you all the information we may deem requisite.

In the truth and justice of our cause we are all confident; but men must work by human means. Without strenuous efforts, the gold and combination of our interested opponents, may leave the cause without that support in Parliament which is essential to success,

and so continue, for an indefinite period, sufferings indescribable and iniquity incalculable.

We solemnly conjure you to shew yourselves, by your courage, energy, and perseverance, faithful in the cause of Truth and Mercy, and then, with His aid to whom all good is to be ascribed, we trust this accumulation of guilt and misery may be speedily annihilated.

Signed in behalf of the London Committee, T. F. BUXTON, S. GURNEY, W. WILBERFORCE, W. SMITH, Z. MACAULAY, D. WILSON, R. WATSON, S. LUSHINGTON.

## ART. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### BIOGRAPHY.

**The Life and Diary of Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, A.M. of Stirling, Father of the Secession Church.** By Donald Fraser. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

**Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope.** By the Rev. William Wright, M.A. of Trinity College, Dublin. Chaplain at Bathurst, in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and Missionary for the last Ten Years in the service of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. 8vo. 4s.

••• This Work contains a view of the character and influence of Slavery, as it fell under the Author's personal observation, during a residence of ten years at the Cape of Good Hope; together with remarks on the laws affecting Slaves;—exhibiting the fatal effects of the violation of natural rights of the divine laws, illustrated by striking recent examples of the unfailing tendency of the system, even in its mildest form, to harden the heart and pervert the judgment, and shewing the urgent necessity of its total extinction.

**Sketches of Irish Character.** By Mrs. S. C. Hall. Second Series. Crown 8vo.

**Evangelical Spectator.** By the Author of the Evangelical Rambler. Vol. III. 4s. 6d. cloth.

**Tables adapted to various Commercial Purposes,** by — Dillon, Accountant, 1 vol. 8vo. 21s. cloth.

### THEOLOGY.

**Counsels for the Communion Table;**

**or, Persuatives to an Immediate Observance of the Lord's Supper; with Directions and Encouragements to stated Communicants.** By John Morison, D.D. 1s. 6d. cloth, 2s. 6d. silk.

**History of Christianity to the Age of Constantine.** 12mo. 2s. 6d.

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**Ecclesiastical History of the first Eight Centuries, in a Course of Lectures lately delivered at Founders' Hall, Lothbury, London.** By W. Jones, M.A. Author of "Lectures on the Apocalypse." Vol. I. 8vo. 12s.

N.B. Vol. II. comprising a Second Course, in continuation, will be published next winter.

**"Death at Sea." A Sermon preached at West Mersea, Essex, occasioned by Five Mariners, natives of that place, being drowned off the Isle of Wight, in a recent storm.** By G. M. Churchill. Price 6d. (The profits to be given to the Widows and Orphans.)

**Sermons on the Amusements of the Stage, preached at St. James's Church, Sheffield.** By the Rev. T. Best, A.M. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

### TRAVELS.

**Journal of a Voyage Round the World; undertaken to promote the objects of the London Missionary Society, during the years 1821 to 1829, inclusive.** By the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq. Compiled from the Original Documents. By James Montgomery, Esq. Author of "The World before the Flood," &c. &c. 2 vols. 8vo. with numerous Engravings.

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1831.

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Art. I. *Remarks upon the Present State of the Dissenting Interest ; with Hints for its Improvement by Means of a Consolidated Union. By One of the Laity.* 8vo. pp. 68. London. 1831.

&c. &c. &c.

[Continued from Page 435.]

**I**N our last Number, we endeavoured to shew, that the scheme of Congregational Independency is by no means hostile to the most catholic union and communion of churches; and that, in the principle of association or co-operation, as contradistinguished from *con-subordination*, we have the true bond of union. That this Union has not hitherto been so distinctly exhibited, or so fully realized, as it would have been, had Independents followed out their own principles, may be admitted. But then, we must contend, that any 'evils resulting from Independency as practised in the present day', will best be remedied, not by abandoning the system, on which these evils are not fairly chargeable, but by reforming the practice which has grown up, through losing sight of those principles.

But what are these alleged evils? Dismissing the first count in our Layman's indictment, 'the want of a principle of adhesiveness', we come next to 'the insufficient character of its ministry'. In reference to this allegation, we shall first examine the state of the fact, and then the proposed remedies for the evil. The state of things among the Dissenters, is thus described, we might say satirized, by the Layman.

'One of the great causes of that disrepute into which the Dissenters have fallen, has arisen from the insufficient character of their ministry. Besides a host of adventurers, who are continually setting up for themselves wherever they can gain followers, many have been raised to the pulpit in their churches, who never received any education beyond



that of a common labourer or mechanic. Some of these persons may have possessed a good natural understanding which would have been useful to them in other employments, but their ministerial pretensions have rested solely upon their spiritual qualifications. These, it must be confessed, are sometimes of a questionable nature; but, allowing their validity in some instances, they may furnish a good plea for church-membership, although not so for the office of a public instructor. A man may make an excellent tailor or shoemaker, who has no abilities for a statesman; but if ambition or vanity take him out of his own station, he mars his proper calling, and makes himself ridiculous in that which he aspires to. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, is an adage as applicable to the pulpit as to any other profession. Whatever may be a man's talents, it is an important branch of self-knowledge to discover their right direction, that each individual may abide with honour in his own calling.

'The ease with which congregations may be collected amongst the labouring classes by persons in their own station of life, especially if gifted with a tolerable share of fluency and fervour, has given a reputation to the exertions of modern religionists beyond that to which they are fairly entitled. A profession of religion may now be had at a cheaper rate than in the days of our forefathers, and there is a like reduction in the value of the material. Hence the knowledge that puffeth up has taken the place of more solid attainments, and induced a volatility of character better suited to the rambling spirit of the age.' pp. 13, 14.

'Objectionable as is the intrusion of illiterate persons into the ministerial office, *these* are, upon some accounts, preferable to *those* who receive but half an education in some of our academies. There is sometimes such an honest purpose and unaffected simplicity in the former, that we are tempted to overlook their deficiencies, in respect to a well-directed zeal for the best interests of our fellow-men. But who can endure the frothy declamations of a pulpit fop;—a young sciolist, who may have learnt to construe an ode in Horace, and to demonstrate a problem in Euclid, but has never taken the dimensions of himself! It is really quite sickening to hear a beardless youth dealing forth at one time his amorous effusions from Solomon's song, under the mystical representation of the loves between Christ and his church; and diving at another time into all the depths of christian experience. As his knowledge of men and things cannot be supposed to be very profound, such minute details of the christian character must be gathered from the instructions of his tutor, or from the shelves of his library. In either case, the result is purely artificial, and at variance with that modesty and sobriety that should characterize the young teacher.

'There is hardly any thing more revolting to a serious mind, than to see the pulpit profaned by affectation and pedantry. When the young preacher appears anxious for display, and exhibits his rhetorical rhapsodies in a succession of metaphors that set all good taste at defiance; when he tortures his voice and features with the convolutions that may be expected in a stage-player; and when he pronounces his decisions with an air of authority that belongs only to age and experience, we may be sure that his mind is taken up more with the

thoughts of self, than of the solemn truths that he should deliver. Hence it comes to pass, that we have so much volatility amongst the professors of religion, and so little that is sterling either in the formation of the mind, or in the development of the character.

‘Time was, in the more quiet and sober days of nonconformity, when religion became so much a habit of life as to infuse itself into all its relations, both public and private; when it exercised the faculties of the mind, and gave a tone to the feelings, which responded to the impression it had produced upon the heart. The pastors of our churches were then to be found in their studies, inviting the aid of the morning sun or of the nightly lamp to assist them in their preparations for the pulpit, whilst, in their hours of relaxation, they were no strangers to the fire-sides of their people. As there must always be a means to an end, and the latter will bear some correspondence to the former, so it was in this case. An intimate knowledge of their pastor drew forth sentiments of respect; and, learning wisdom and prudence from his lessons, they grew daily in an experimental acquaintance with the things that accompany salvation.

‘The main causes of the deterioration now so apparent, may be traced partly to the improper selection of young men for students, and partly to their mismanagement at the academy.’ pp. 16—18.

‘So long as our academies continue under their present regimen, we may produce shoals of preachers, but we shall look in vain for those solid recommendations that are to be expected in a divine. The young men, indeed, are less to blame than the system of which they are the victims. Supposing five years to be the term allotted at the academy, although it is often much shorter, yet even this is not too long to build up a moral and intellectual structure, even should there have been a previous foundation of classical learning. If the student be taught to compose sermons during the last year of his term, with the advantage of previous lectures upon systematic theology, aided by daily expositions and an occasional recurrence to practical writers, it is as early as propriety dictates; and then they should be delivered only in the hearing of the tutor and the other pupils. But to divert him from his studies by a premature exhibition in the pulpit, is to unfix his mind, and to engender habits that are any thing but favourable to success in his profession.’ pp. 20, 21.

‘The defective mode of education pursued in theological seminaries’, is enumerated by the present Writer as a third evil resulting from Independency; but, as it can scarcely be separated from the consideration of the character of the ministry, we must treat of them together. Now, as to the state of the fact, we cannot disguise our opinion, that the character of the Dissenting Ministry is very far from being in all respects what it ought to be, more especially viewed in relation to the present aspect of society; that our academical system is in many points of view defective; that evils exist, which call loudly for redress. But we assert, and shall justify the assertion, that Independency is not chargeable with originating these evils; and further, that the Congregational Ministry in this country is withal, at the present

moment, on a par, in point of efficiency and moral respectability, with that of any other religious community in any part of the world. It is singular that, at the very time our Dissenting Layman is decrying the character of the ministry and the state of education among his own body, writers of other communions are bearing testimony to the superiority of the regulations established among us. The first remedy proposed by Mr. Acaster for the Abuses existing in the Episcopal Church, is, 'an immediate return to all the wise regulations of the Church for the choice and qualifications of those to be ordained to the ministry;' especially that which requires that no man shall be made a minister, who has not 'special gifts and ability to be a preacher'.

'On this point', continues Mr. A., 'the more respectable of the Dissenters have far exceeded in wisdom the rulers of the Church. All their students for the ministry have to undergo the strictest investigation; and none are either ordained, or admitted as regular and established ministers among them, who, after due consideration and trial, do not appear to possess the requisite qualifications for the sacred office. Upon the present system, any young man, after leaving the university, may in a few days be ordained, and in as few months afterwards be instituted to one or two of the most important livings in the kingdom; retained for him by his friends on *resignation-bonds* until he is twenty-five years of age. In these he is permanently fixed, without any regard to his qualifications; and nothing is left to the people, in very many instances, who pay for his support, than either to starve for want of that spiritual food which their state requires, or to seek it elsewhere at an additional expense. Surely an end should be put to a proceeding like this, and some regard be had to the wants, wishes, and circumstances of the people. Much longer they will not submit to such an outrage on their interests and rights. They have a right to demand that which the constitution of the Church has engaged to afford, and that for which they pay. The sooner, then, the alteration is made, the better; since that which is done in time may be done safely, but the event may be different when it becomes a matter of forced necessity.'—*Acaster*, pp. 41, 2.

Among the Congregationalists, by no possibility can a society have placed over them, a minister so utterly unqualified for his sacred function, as a very large proportion of the incumbents of parishes are found to be. The wants and wishes of the people are always met to a certain degree; and they have at least all that they pay for, if not all which the office itself demands from him who assumes it. But how stands the comparison between the English Dissenters and the Presbyterians of Scotland? Hear the representation furnished by Mr. Thomson.

'With us, students are left too long to direct their own studies, and that at a period of life when they are unfit to judge for themselves.

How many ministers have had to lament, that their studies, when at the university, were not under better direction than their own! Even when students have finished their course of classical and philosophical studies, it is well known, that the examination which they have then to undergo before the Presbytery, is but hurried and partial, and indeed, in some instances, little more than an idle form. And what deserves particular reprehension, the examination, when best conducted, has a reference only to intellectual abilities and attainments. No inquiry, at this stage, is made respecting their theological sentiments, their moral principles, or even their motives and views in becoming candidates for the ministry of the Gospel. Experimental godliness is a matter either wholly untouched or slightly passed over. We put that last, which should be first. It is quite otherwise in regard to this with the Dissenters in England. With them, from the very first notice given by candidates for admission into their academies, the possession of piety, fervent, decided, experimental piety, is regarded as an indispensable pre-requisite. This is just as it should be.

*Thomson, pp. 53—5.*

‘The means employed by the conductors of English academies, to ascertain the piety and other qualifications of those who apply for admission, are of course’, Mr. Thomson remarks, ‘not infallible, nor indeed are they the very best that could be desired.’ We admit this, although he appears to be under some misapprehension with regard to the nature of the mode adopted, which leads him to give the preference to the plan of Presbyterian examination, if it were ‘sooner begun’ and better directed. But ‘the same preference’, he continues, ‘could never, with truth, be given to the plan of *conducting* the theological seminaries of Presbyterian Dissenters, even if they were modified and improved as far as their present constitution admits.’

‘The system is radically wrong, and ought therefore to be radically changed. The evils of it are, indeed, only such as are common to it with the other theological seminaries of the country in connexion with the Established Church, whose example has, unhappily, in this instance, been but too closely followed. The following strictures by the late learned and venerable Professor Jardine, of Glasgow, were not uncalled for; and they are, in many particulars, equally applicable to the Divinity Halls of the (Scottish) Dissenters as to those of the Establishment:—“Considering that the main object contemplated in the establishment of universities, was the proper education of churchmen, and that since the remotest times the heads of colleges, and also the persons employed in carrying on the work of instruction, have themselves been in holy orders; it cannot but appear strange, that there should be so many defects in the methods which continue to be pursued for qualifying young men for the sacred office. Taking into consideration also, that theology comprehends so many important and difficult subjects, that many other departments of human knowledge are

necessary to carry on the study of it with advantage, it is matter of surprise, and of censure somewhere, that the appointment of regular teachers of theology, the method of teaching, the time allotted to it, and the attendance of students, should not have been brought under more strict and more definite regulations. In both the ecclesiastical establishments of the kingdom, there is great room for improvement in the system of clerical education."

..... ' Most of the evils referred to will be found, in spite of all that the ablest and most conscientious professors can do, to cleave to the theological seminaries of Presbyterian Dissenters in Scotland. These evils are, in a great measure, inseparable from the system. And therefore, until that system, which, in almost every part of it, is beyond expression bad, be totally altered, *our friends in the South may boast of decidedly superior advantages*, which we can never hope to attain. One of these advantages unquestionably is, that the students in the South, with the exception of comparatively a short vacation, remain in the academy during the whole of the year, to give their undivided attention to the great objects which they have gone there to pursue. Study is their only business; and every facility is afforded for engaging in it with pleasure and advantage. Provided with tutors, as in general they are, of high character for piety, talents, and learning, furnished with good libraries, freed from any cares in regard to their temporal support, and having all the aid to be derived from mutual excitement and holy emulation,—what can they want to make them respectable, or even eminent in those acquirements, by which they shall ultimately shew themselves to be "workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth"?

' Supposing the theological tutors in England and in Scotland to be just equal in point of ability for discharging the duties of these important offices, candour will surely allow, that the greater length of time during which the former have their students under their immediate care, must ensure proportionably greater success. Assuming that their lectures, considered separately, are only of equal excellence, they must yet, as a whole, be greatly superior, from the wideness of range, and minuteness of illustration, in which the length of their course enables them to indulge. That course, in the more eminent English academies, now extends at least to *four*, generally to *five*, and in one instance (Homerton) to *six* years. In the largest and not the least respectable body of Presbyterian Dissenters in Scotland, the course for the study of divinity, strictly so called, is now reduced to *three* years. The students indeed are still considered as attending the divinity hall for five years, as, during the first two, they are placed under an initiatory professor, whose duty it is to give lectures on biblical criticism, church history, &c. But who that is not previously acquainted with the history of the case, on hearing of this *five years'* attendance at the divinity hall, would ever conceive, that nothing more is meant, than an attendance, on an average, of *six weeks* during each of the three years? ..... Can any thing be more monstrous than to suppose, that a course like this, however excellent as far as it goes, can ensure even such a tolerable acquaintance with the deep things of God, as will fit any man for declaring them, as they ought to be de-



clared, to his fellow mortals, in order to their instruction and salvation?

. . . . . 'But it may be asked, will not the superintendence of professors and presbyteries, and the exercises which they require, render industry and exertion always indispensable? This question, to which it might seem so natural and so reasonable to expect an affirmative answer, must yet, in fact, receive an almost unqualified negative. And here, again, we are compelled to acknowledge *the great superiority of the system pursued in the Southern Academies*. In them, the students are objects of constant and vigilant, but friendly superintendence. Their tutors, generally residing with them in the same mansion, regarding them with paternal affection, studying their temper, their talents, their propensities, and their habits, are enabled, with every advantage, to direct and advise, to warn and exhort, to admonish and reprove them, as circumstances may require.' pp. 58—74.

Now, after this candid exposition of the state of things on the other side of the Tweed, what will our readers think of our Layman's recommendation, that, until our theological seminaries in England shall be put upon a more respectable footing, 'it would be better to send our students to the Scotch universities, where a sound education may be procured at a reasonable rate'? What other conclusion can they come to, than that the Writer knows not much about our own academies, and nothing at all about the Scotch divinity halls? At all events, supposing Mr. Thomson's estimate of our academical system to be too favourable, it is evident, that the mode of theological education adopted by Congregational Dissenters is not *more* 'defective' than that which prevails among Episcopalians and Presbyterians; that 'the insufficient character of the Dissenting ministry' cannot be traced to the inferiority of their academical institutions; and that Independency is not answerable for any defects which may be detected in the system. That system of theological education, with all its defects, would seem to be, by the admission of pious witnesses of other communions, actually the best; and the means of remedying the defects which we do not deny to exist, are in our own hands: they are the mere accidents of the system, and would vanish before a wiser administration. We require no Presbyteries to effect the reform.

Half-educated ministers, pulpit fops, beardless pedants, and rhapsodists are, no doubt, to be seen occasionally in Dissenting pulpits; but the question now before us is, whether they are to be seen there and no where else; whether the pulpits of other communions never exhibit the revolting spectacle, or something still worse, for which juvenility, a sin that may be outgrown, affords no apology; or again, whether such things are so frequent among Congregationalists, and them only, as to characterize the Dissenting Ministry, and to afford an argument for the aban-



donment of the Independent scheme of church polity. A person must either be very ill informed, or very much given to calumny, who should dare maintain this; nor can we believe that our Layman means to be understood as going the length which is required by his reasoning. We have no wish to deny or to conceal the facts to which he adverts; but we do assert that, making the most of them, they will not bear out an impeachment of the average character of the ministry among Congregational Dissenters. Insufficient, its character may be; and we earnestly desire to see it raised to a higher level in point of every qualification which can dignify the sacred office; but inefficient, it cannot, with any truth, be said to be. The state of religion among the Dissenters would triumphantly repel the calumny. In point of solid theological acquirements, that species of knowledge which it constitutes their proper business to attain, and to impart to others, Dissenting teachers in this country will bear a comparison, number for number, with either the Episcopalian or the Presbyterian clergy. One reason of this is, as we have seen, that, in our Academies, they enjoy superior *theological* advantages. But another reason is, that most of our students are well grounded in religious knowledge before they enter upon a course of academic training. Many children in pious Dissenting families—would to God it were the case with all!—would be found better theologians,—we mean, possessed of a clearer knowledge of the fundamentals of Christianity, than many graduates of our Universities. Hence, the *steadiness* of religious sentiment which is so conspicuous among orthodox Dissenters, and which, at the present moment, exhibits so striking a contrast to the general character of the evangelical portion of the Church of England. In many individuals belonging to the last-mentioned section of the religious world, we see exemplified, a fervour of feeling, an ardour in the cause of truth, or of whatever is mistaken for it, an uncompromising impetuosity of zeal, which would be worthy of the best times of the church, were it under the guidance of sounder knowledge; but these qualities, found as they are too often in combination with the rashness of the raw convert and the self-sufficiency of the novice, excite as much alarm as admiration in the minds of the judicious. In what class of society is it that we find the wildest notions, heresies old and new, springing up and spreading with the rapidity of an epidemic, and putting on the form of intolerant dogmatism? Not among the Congregational Dissenters. Millenarianism, the Row Heresy, the fantastic crudities of Mr. Irving, ‘modern fanaticism’ in all its protean varieties,—these have gathered their votaries and victims not to any extent from the churches of the Congregational communion. And why? Not that Dissenters have the monopoly of piety, but simply because they are better instructed;—because religious

knowledge is at a higher level among them; because their teachers, even when mere boys, are more than a match for grey-beard or well-powdered novices. Such is the fact; and momentous is the responsibility which, at such a time, devolves upon the Dissenting Ministry; for, upon their maintaining this character for steadiness and prudence, this attachment to the good old ways, while they seek, at the same time, to come behind in no attainable gift of the Spirit, will very greatly depend, to all appearance, the perpetuation and progress of sound doctrine in this country.

It is scarcely necessary, perhaps, to advert to the alleged intrusion of illiterate persons into the ministerial office among Dissenters, since the present Writer admits, that their 'honest purpose, unaffected simplicity, and well directed zeal for the best interests of mankind,' may sometimes compensate for all their deficiencies; and since, moreover, they form a small and *decreasing* proportion of the body. One word, however, as to 'the host of adventurers who are continually setting up for themselves wherever they can gain followers.' Is Independency chargeable with this evil? If so, it must be in one of two ways; either as avowedly sanctioning such things, or as giving rise to them, without sanctioning them. Either such adventurers are ordained and recognised ministers of the Congregational body, or they are not. If they are not, a Congregational Union could, even if so disposed, exert no efficient control over them, otherwise than by invoking the aid of the civil magistrate; an expedient which our Layman would not advise. If they are recognised and ordained ministers, whatever their origin may have been, the only conditions seem to be fulfilled which any system of church government would require for the discharge of the sacred office,—election or nomination, and ordination. It may be that ordination is too cheap among us, and too lightly thought of; contrary to the views of the founders of Independency, who deemed it an act of 'solemn approbation and prayer,' of the highest importance 'for preventing ignorant and rash intruders,' and indispensably necessary as belonging to the call to office. But is not ordination, presbyterian or even episcopal, bestowed with as little discrimination upon a host of adventurers, less illiterate, perhaps, but still less qualified for the Christian ministry? Independency, however, it may be said, sanctions the 'intrusion' of unordained preachers; it admits of and encourages the labours of lay teachers. It does so; and in this, as we conceive, lies one great advantage, one distinguishing merit of the system.

It is a vulgar error, yet a prevalent one, that ordination is designed to confer a right or competency to teach. It has been confounded with the system of licensing. Because preaching is one mode of teaching, and to preach is one part of the business

of Christian ministers, it has been assumed, that none but ministers ought to preach or teach. According to this notion, no unordained person ought to be a schoolmaster; and certainly, no one ought to presume to write on theological subjects, and thereby to teach teachers themselves, who is not thereunto licensed and ordained. A licensed ministry and an unlicensed press are things quite incongruous. The liberty of prophesying and the liberty of printing must stand or fall together. But ordination and licensing are confessedly distinct things in all churches. In the Church of England, an ordained deacon still requires to be licensed to preach; and though licensed to preach, he requires to be re-ordained a priest, in order to administer the Eucharist. We are not sure whether the Canons of the Church restrain a bishop from licensing an unordained person as a lay teacher; but there is nothing in the theory of Episcopal ordination which forbids it, since the orders of the church relate to the *sacerdotal* functions of the parochial minister. In the Church of Scotland, in like manner, licensing and ordaining are quite distinct. 'There is not,' remarks Mr. Thomson, 'even the shadow of authority in Scripture, for our mode, of first licensing men to preach, and then ordaining them to the ministry of the Gospel. And yet, so pertinaciously is the practice adhered to, that even in the case of missionaries, destined, on finishing their theological course, to go immediately to a foreign land, the formality of *license* cannot be dispensed with, even although it is to be followed by ordination almost immediately thereafter.' Among Congregational Dissenters, the only *license* to preach which is deemed requisite, is that which is freely granted by the magistrate to all applicants, but which is a *civil*, not an ecclesiastical license. That tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, persons of all varieties of condition and attainment, may obtain this license for 1s., has been deemed not very much for the honour of Independency. But Independency has nothing to do with it. It is the requirement of the civil magistrate, whom Dissenters do not recognize as having any thing to do with their churches. A man having obtained this civil license, is not one whit more a minister, or held more competent to officiate in Dissenting churches, than he was before. And were the whole formality and farce of licensing Dissenting ministers abolished, a relic as it is of intolerant times, the State would part with no security, Dissenterism would be deprived of no safeguard against intruders; but respectable ministers would be spared a humiliation, and the quarter sessions would get rid of what must be felt by magistrates themselves as an annoyance, while it sometimes leads to scenes nowise creditable to religion.

But Independency, we repeat, is not responsible for this scheme of licensing, which is a purely civil regulation. The

only ecclesiastical license in use among Congregationalists, consists of the testimonials given to theological students after examination, and those which certify church-membership, or the fact of a person's having been in communion with a particular society, and having supported religious consistency of character. A license to preach or teach, is not deemed needful in the case of either ministers or lay persons; nor have they any dignified authorities, by whom such license could be issued. The only power of control is that which the pastor and officers of every particular church exercise over its members; and which affords the proper means of restraining abuses within its sphere of jurisdiction. Should any teachers 'set up for themselves,' who are not members of any particular church, a heavy responsibility rests upon all who employ or countenance them; but they can only be *disowned*. Whether the State licenses them or persecutes them, the principles of Dissent warrant no further interference.

With regard, however, to lay teachers, Independents have always been at issue with Presbyterians, upon principle. The former have contended, that ordination admits to office, but that such office is a spiritual relation between a particular church and the person rightly qualified for sustaining it; that 'officers' are related to particular churches, not to the employment of 'the ministry.' 'We grant,' they have said, 'that when a man undertaketh to be an officer to, or taketh the charge of, a church of Christ, there ought to be ordination before the exercise of his office. Our question is, whether a man who hath grace and such gifts as render him apt to teach, may exercise those gifts, ordinarily or frequently, without ordination, he being no officer to any church of Christ. Neither is the question, whether any man that thinketh himself gifted may preach. If some think themselves gifted, who are not, and thereupon preach, *we plead not for them*. But if a man be really gifted,—if really he be apt to teach, &c., our question is, whether he may not publicly do it, though he be not ordained.\*' Preaching, they contended, is a gift, not an office; a function which ministers in office are bound to perform, yet not peculiar to their office. In like manner, 'Prayer,' they urged, 'is one work of a minister. Will our brethren say, that no man may pray, or give himself to prayer, but he that is in office? Yet, prayer is a work that officers perform, as well as preaching. If they say, that prayer is not peculiar to office, we say, no more is preaching.'†

The argument of the *Jus Divinum* Presbyterians militated as

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\* "The Preacher Sent." Lond. 1658. pp. 19, 20.

† *Ib.* p. 162.

strongly against the preaching of any probationers, as it did against other lay teachers. 'Yet,' said their opponents, 'our Brethren hold forth this as their own principle and practice, that men may preach for trial several times before they be ordained; and indeed, how could it be known that they were apt to teach, if they never made trial?'\* With regard, however, to allowing students who are in training for the ministry, to preach, the practice of the Presbyterians of the North, and that of English Dissenters, are still remarkably at variance. We must again cite the testimony of Mr. Thomson.

'The last advantage which I shall mention as giving the theological seminaries in the South, a great superiority over ours, is, that the young men trained in them, are sent out to villages, to exercise their gifts in preaching, during the time they are engaged in their theological studies. This, to some, may appear to be egregiously preposterous; and all will allow, that it may be carried too far.† But the practice, when under proper restraints and regulations, must have its use; and there is indeed little doubt, that to it many are indebted for their superior popularity and usefulness, and, at any rate, for that ease and self-possession, for that fluency and fervour in preaching, for which English Dissenting ministers are so much distinguished, and which few who have been trained after the Scottish plan, can ever hope to acquire.

'Why should the occasional preaching of students in public be feared and reprobated, as if it were fraught with the most direful consequences? . . . . The *occasional* preaching of candidates for the ministry, seems to have been an ancient practice in the Church. It appears very unaccountable how it at first fell into desuetude in the Church of Scotland, and how it never was practised at all in the Secession. This is the more remarkable, that it is a practice distinctly recognised, and thus implicitly required, by our subordinate standards. Thus, in "The Directory of the Public Worship of God," we find it explicitly stated, that "such as intend the ministry may occasionally both read the word and exercise their gift in preaching in the congregation, if allowed by the presbytery thereunto." pp. 84—87.

Students and probationers are not, however, the only class of lay preachers which find a place in the scheme of Independency. By restricting ordination to the pastoral office, and at the same time conceding to all who are qualified, the right to teach, the Independent divines must be considered as having both sanctioned and in a manner necessitated the labours of un-

\* "The Preacher Sent." p. 161.

† Some animadversions on the pernicious and scandalous extent to which this has sometimes been carried in our English academies, appeared in a volume of the former Series of our Journal, and are referred to by Mr. Thomson. But we agree with him, that it is the abuse, not the use of the practice, that is to be deprecated.

dained, unofficial teachers. In fact the difference between Presbyterianism and Independency on this head, consists in this; that the former jealously restricts the function of teaching to an order, the latter considers the impartation of knowledge as the common duty of all who are able to teach; the one looks to professional qualification, the other to moral competency; the one consults the prerogatives of the Church, the other, the wants of the world; the one regards a license as qualifying for the service, the other regards qualification for the service as the best possible license. Now putting aside for the moment the consideration of the question, which hypothesis is the more reasonable, the different result of the opposite systems is this. Presbyterianism, by ordaining candidates without respect to a local charge or a specific election, tends to enlarge the *order* far beyond the demand, and to create a surplus of unemployed ministers, all reverend men, but destitute, it may be, of any certain means of subsistence, and liable to become at once an unproductive burden upon society, and a discredit, even without any moral fault of their own, to the Christian Ministry. Independency, by restricting ordination to the pastoral office, and by making election to such office a pre-requisite, provides the best security for the respectability of the official class who devote themselves to the work of the ministry; while, to meet the wants of society, it sanctions the occasional labours of those who decline the burden and responsibility of a pastoral charge, and have no wish to avail themselves of any official prerogative. Independency allows of no clerical drones, no ministerial idlers: at least, it guards, as far as possible, against their increase in the character of supernumeraries. It recognises the principle, that they who minister the gospel as their proper business, should live by their office, so long as they sustain the relation and discharge the duties of a pastor; while it avails itself (and we think wisely) of whatever gratuitous labour can be effectively applied to the purpose of diffusing Christian knowledge. Now it is the extensive employment of these auxiliary means, unbought, detracting nothing from the funds for supporting the regular ministry, and therefore so much additional labour cost-free, which nevertheless leads to no depreciation of that which is paid for, because it never enters into competition with it, and never exceeds the demand,—it is this extension of the system of lay service, which, in our judgement, forms the distinguishing feature and glory of the present times. And for this, we make bold to say, the world is mainly indebted to the practical operation of the scheme of ecclesiastical Independency.

The time was, when every parish-clerk was, what his name intimates, a clergyman, or person in holy orders; when no one might exercise the functions of a schoolmaster without being



licensed ; when no layman was thought fit to be trusted with the Holy Scriptures. Now, contemplate the immense difference ; —the system of Sunday-School instruction, of Bible-distribution, of district visiting, as well as of village teaching, all carried on chiefly by the gratuitous agency of the laity of all classes ; and all this without collision, insubordination, or any of the direful consequences which would once have been deemed the infallible attendants upon such irregular doings. Our Layman, though evidently not a little stiff and presbyterial in his notions, is willing to concede, that ‘ the Dissenting Interest may be enlarged ’ by the employment of some such subordinate agency.

‘ Dissenters would promote their own prosperity, as well as that of religion in general, by instituting in every congregation a class of *Scripture readers*, whose business it should be to visit their poor and ignorant neighbours for the purpose of communicating to them the word of life. Their labours should be confined to the reading of the Scriptures, religious conversation, and the distribution of suitable tracts. *Local teachers* would be another useful class in our churches : they should not be preachers, at least in the usual acceptation of the term, but confine themselves to the reading of plain, practical sermons, with *such devotional exercises as may be selected by their pastor*. The sphere of their labours should be the villages in their own immediate neighbourhood.’ *Remarks, &c.* p. 52.

It is not a little curious to find this Dissenter unwilling to trust the unordained local teacher even to pray in public, and discovering on this point more of a high-church jealousy, than either the Presbyterians of former days, or the Episcopalians of our own time. The Bishop of Winchester, in his Charge to the Clergy of that diocese at the primary visitation (1829), goes so far as to admit, that, ‘ without lay assistance, the appointed pastor, in many instances, can exercise no such superintendence as is contemplated by the theory of our Church, over the populous districts which are nominally placed under his care.’ (p. 36.) But in the Charge delivered by his Lordship’s brother to the Clergy of the diocese of Chester, in the same year, we find a passage so much to our present purpose, and so intrinsically deserving of attention, that we cannot refrain from transcribing it.

‘ It will be asked, “ Who is sufficient,” physically sufficient, “ for these things ? ” Certainly in our large parishes, it is not possible for the strength or activity of the clergy alone to provide for such individual instruction. But there is a resource at hand. When the population is moderate, nothing is wanting but resolution and contrivance ; and in the case of a denser population, the bane and the antidote, the evil and the remedy are found together. The same population which presses so heavily upon the clergyman, affords also that variety of ranks and degree of superior education, that many fellow-

workers may assist the minister, and diminish his labours. In this manner, the Apostles were enabled to execute the manifold concerns which lay upon them. It would evidently have been impracticable even for those who had an extraordinary measure of inspiration, to communicate to the multitudes who embraced Christianity, all the preliminary and all the collateral knowledge which a heathen required before he could become an intelligent Christian. And we might wonder how this information was obtained; and how the Epistles should allude as they do, to the Prophets, and the Jewish history, and the dealings of God with man from the beginning, as matters with which all were conversant, as if all, like Timothy, from their youth had known the Holy Scriptures. Incidentally, however, we learn the explanation. We find that there were persons who, though not commissioned to preach the Gospel, were yet employed in many ways connected with it. St. Paul speaks of them as his "helpers in Christ Jesus;" as "labouring much in the Lord;" as "labouring with him in the Lord." And of the mode in which they were engaged, we can judge from the passage relating to Apollos; who, "being fervent in spirit, spoke and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John:" "whom, when Aquila and Priscilla heard," (these were among Paul's "helpers in Christ Jesus,") "they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly." Here we have a specimen of the method in which those whom the Apostle so honourably mentions as "labouring with him in the Lord", were accustomed privately to instruct others in those truths which, on the Apostle's public testimony, they had heard, and learned, and believed themselves. The Apostles then, however above succeeding ministers in their endowments, were like them in other respects; and because, in bodily strength, they were but men, and their day, like ours, was limited in its duration, they embraced such means of assistance in their various labours as came within their power. They have left us an example. Let the minister of a populous district, using careful discrimination of character, select such as "are worthy," and "of good report," and assign them their several employments under his direction: they may lessen his own labour by visiting and examining the schools, by reading and praying with the infirm and aged, by consoling the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and pursuing the many nameless ways which it is in the power of one Christian to benefit and relieve another. Such charity, even more than any other charity, is useful to the giver as well as the receiver; it occupies minds which, for want of engagement, might otherwise prey upon themselves; and it occupies them in a way which better fits them for eternity. In religion, as in worldly matters, we often learn our best lessons by teaching.' *Bp. Chester's Charge*, pp. 21—24.

In this paragraph, is sketched out what we may venture to denominate the primitive idea of a parochial episcopacy, a congregational hierarchy; such a one as St. Paul seems to refer to in the XIIth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, in a passage of which we may offer the following as a fair though free translation. 'Having then spiritual endowments differing according to the grace allotted to us, if our gift be prophetic inspiration,

‘let us exercise it according to our proportion of faith; or if  
 ‘it be the function of deacon, let us exercise it in that office;  
 ‘or if that of catechist, in teaching; or if that of monitor, in  
 ‘admonition. Let the almoner discharge his office with simple-  
 ‘mindedness; the superintendent with diligence; the visiter of  
 ‘the afflicted, with alacrity.’ Now, as Independents, we can  
 have no objection to make against such a goodly hierarchy as  
 this, fully admitting that the whole ought to be in subordination  
 to the bishop or pastor of the congregation. Nay, our Layman  
 almost tempts us to embrace the notion of a species of diocesan  
 episcopacy; for, with regard to villages in the immediate  
 neighbourhood of such a church, which he would have supplied  
 by ‘local teachers,’ he suggests, that, where they are not  
 populous enough to possess the means of supporting a pastor,  
 it were better that they should stand connected with the parent  
 congregation, ‘being visited occasionally by the pastor for their  
 ‘instruction and confirmation in the faith.’

‘A church constituted upon some such plan, branching out in  
 various directions, with the addition, if need be, of a second pastor,  
 would be not only more efficient by concentrating its resources, but it  
 would present a more goodly appearance than a number of small de-  
 tached societies, with inefficient instructors, engaged in trade or  
 starving upon a miserable pittance.’ *Remarks, &c.* p. 52.

Now we are about to make, peradventure, a startling asser-  
 tion, but we are bold to say, that this is the true notion of In-  
 dependency; this is a proper Independent Church, according  
 to the views of the founders of the Congregational polity. And  
 this is also the true and primitive diocesan Episcopacy, *which*  
*was Independency.* ‘At first,’ as Dr. Barrow remarks, in his  
*Treatise on the Pope’s Supremacy*, ‘every church was settled  
 ‘apart under its own bishop and presbyters, so as independently  
 ‘and separately to manage its own concerns: each was governed  
 ‘by its own head, and had its own laws.’ And again, Mosheim  
 remarks, that ‘the churches, in those early times, were entirely  
 ‘independent, each one governed by its own rulers and its own  
 ‘laws. . . . Nothing is more evident than the perfect equality  
 ‘that reigned among the primitive churches; nor does there  
 ‘appear, in this first century, the smallest trace of that asso-  
 ‘ciation of provincial churches, from which councils and metro-  
 ‘politans derive their origin. These councils changed the  
 ‘whole face of the church, and gave it a new form; for by them  
 ‘the ancient privileges of the people were considerably di-  
 ‘minished, and the power and authority of the bishops greatly  
 ‘augmented.’\* Thus it would seem that the first step in the  
 departure from the primitive polity, was from Independency to

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\* Mosheim, Cent. i. Part II. ch. ii. § 14. Cent. ii. Part II. ch. ii.  
 § 3.

Presbyterianism; and the next was from Presbyterianism to Prelacy. First, the people were deprived of their rights; next, the Presbyters; next, the Bishops themselves; till the despotism of the Papacy was consummated.

But to return from this digression. That lay assistance may be lawfully and usefully employed in teaching the truths of religion, we may consider as now generally admitted. Laymen may be Bible-readers, district visitors, Sunday School teachers, local teachers, platform orators, theological reformers; but may they, without ordination, intrude into the sacred Chair? Our Layman would allow local teachers to read sermons and to read prayers in the villages, but they must not preach. The question naturally arises, why not? His answer would probably be, because they are not likely to be competent. But supposing that they are competent, and are judged to be so by the church to which they belong, what then? One popular objection against lay-preaching, is, that such individuals are self-constituted, in opposition to their being appointed or ordained. But ordination, we have seen, belongs only to office, which they do not sustain. It does not follow, however, that they should be altogether self-appointed, since the concurrence of the church or pastor may be presumed in all ordinary cases. 'Though one who is really gifted for such a work,' say the Vindicators of the Liberty of Preaching, 'may lawfully, for ought we know, especially in some cases, preach without such approbation from a church or others who are able to judge of gifts, yet, it may be *inexpedient*; and sometimes *it proveth of ill consequence to others*, and uncomfortable to himself.' 'We do not assert, that every man that presumes himself gifted, may assume the office of the ministry, nor that he may preach; much less do we say, that he may do either without a regular call; but we say that such believers as are really gifted, *not barely who presume themselves to be so*, they have a regular call to preach; and this doth not prostitute either the office or the work unto the wills of men, nor open a door to disorders; it being the declared will of Christ, that such should preach . . . The confusion they speak of will not be at all avoided by making Ordination the only door into the ministry: for such as presume themselves so qualified that they ought to be ordained, if they be denied ordination, yet will they count it their duty to preach without it, when they cannot have it. And so the door is opened as wide to all disorders and the introducing of all heresies and errors, in the way of Ordination, as in the way of the preaching of gifted brethren. And how will our brethren shut this door, or hinder these evils? Either it must be by church censures, or by the civil magistrate, that the mouths of unordained men must be stopped, if

‘Ordination only giveth power to preach.’\* If, indeed, the parties are but slenderly qualified, it were surely better that they should remain unordained. If they are qualified, ordination could add nothing to them, but would simply take them out of their proper sphere. It may be, that, as the Bishop of Chester remarks in reference to district visitors, ‘the most zealous will not always be the most desirable;’ but what his Lordship adds, with characteristic good sense and kindly feeling, will equally apply to the case of local teachers.

‘Many such, whom the clergyman often considers as thorns in his side, because their interference is unauthorised, might become valuable auxiliaries when acting under his direction. The best mode of treating a swelling stream is to give it vent, and open for it a useful channel. In this free country, persons who feel strongly upon the importance of an object, will not be restrained from acting; and if they are not with us, they may be against us.’

*Bishop of Chester's Charge, Appendix, p. 36.*

Lay preaching, let loose, as it were, from pastoral sanction and concurrence, may prove of ill consequence in more ways than one; and it is a wretched policy, therefore, to suffer it to fall into the hands of ‘adventurers.’ Whose fault is it, that lay preaching has come to be held in contempt, as generally taken up by those only whose sole qualification is their honest, fearless zeal? It is remarkable to how great an extent, a presbyterian jealousy has diffused itself among professed Independents on this head. To this, the wild theories, the *ultra*-democracy of the Haldanes, when they first started as ecclesiastical reformers, may not a little have contributed. The true system of Congregational Independency is not, however, to be found in *their* writings, any more than in those of Penn, Glas, or Sandeman. The notion which reduces the office of the pastor or bishop of a Christian church to that of a mere chairman of the society, would have been rejected by our forefathers with utter detestation. One natural consequence of this notion, is, to create in the minister, who is little more than a stipendiary lecturer, a jealousy with regard to any encroachment upon his province as a teacher, since in the pulpit only he retains the shadow of official authority. Hence, the discountenancing of lay preaching may be traced, in some cases, to the degradation of the pastorate. Among the old Independents, laymen might teach or exhort, but ordained officers governed the church. Among the new Independents of a certain class, the case is just reversed: preaching is, for the most part, regarded as an official business, while the whole government of the church is usurped by the laity,

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\* “The Preacher Sent.” pp. 20; 148—150.

—the ‘lord-brethren.’ Another consequence of this transposition of authority is, that every teacher who can collect a congregation, is apt to regard himself as elevated at once to the rank of a minister; and without having been ‘first proved’ in any inferior office, or having legitimately acquired the ‘good degree,’ \* assumes a ‘*parrhesia*,’ a ‘boldness,’ very different from that which would have obtained Apostolic approbation. For this evil, we know of no better remedy than returning to the old model of Independency, by which the ordained pastor was invested with an official authority and specific functions that placed him above lay competition, while it left ample room for the free exercise of a subordinate ministry, that of accredited but unordained teachers, as well as for the discharge of the proper functions of the lay officers, the deacons of the Society.

The distinction upon which even some Dissenters are apt to lay stress, between those who have been regularly trained for the ministerial office, and those who have passed through no such ordeal, is nothing better than a vulgar and illiberal prejudice, which it is high time to explode. Whatever be the advantages attaching to academic training, our theological seminaries can never be entitled to serve as the only portals to the ministry, or to monopolize the supply of Dissenting pulpits. Preaching is, after all, no mystery which requires to be protected by apprentice-laws. Every natural and acquired qualification for the function of public teaching, may possibly be possessed by individuals who have never passed through a divinity hall, or attended a divinity lecture. It is no disparagement to the utility of colleges and academies, to maintain, that they do not supply the only means of theological or professional education, and that many laymen may be as competent to discharge the ministerial functions as those of the cloth. Illiterate and unordained are not, in this reference, convertible terms; and if the choice should

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\* Dr. Watts interprets the expression, 1 Tim. iii. 13, of ‘a good degree or a good step towards the office of a ruling or a teaching elder in the church. And this,’ he adds, ‘is a very proper expression concerning those times, when Christian churches were the only schools for the education of ministers; and the exercise of gifts, in and for the service of the church, was one chief means of their preparation for it. I confess, in our day, since we have so many outward advantages for the education of ministers in learning, and their improvement in knowledge and in all gifts, it is not so usual, nor so necessary, that a Deacon should grow up into an Elder or Bishop. Yet, in some churches, such persons have been found in late years, who have been deservedly called to the office of the ministry, by the great improvement of their gifts in the Church, their uncommon degree of knowledge and grace, and the peculiar blessing of God.’ Watts’s Disc. on the Office of Deacons.



lie between a well informed layman and an illiterate minister, (as may chance to be the case,) we should, for our own parts, give the preference to the former. Without denying, indeed, that illiterate preachers have, in spite of their deficiencies, done extensive good among the lower classes, we are inclined to think that, in the present day, there can be no necessity to employ or sanction the labours of those who are strictly illiterate, whatever be their zeal or piety. We are not among the number of those who think that the meanest order of talent will suffice for the business of an itinerant or local teacher, or, in modern phrase, a home missionary. Nor are we for abandoning the work of evangelizing and reforming neglected districts of our own country to stipendiaries of this class, many of whom ought never to have been encouraged to desert their own or their father's workshop or counter for the academy and the precarious livelihood of the ministry. It may sound like a paradox, but it is a simple fact, that we have too many ministers,—more than can be supported or than can find employment, and yet, not teachers enough for the wants of the population. This has arisen, partly from the bounty held forth by our academies on the one hand, and partly, on the other, from the want of a well-organized system of popular instruction by means of the gratuitous labours of the laity, as auxiliary to the pastoral functions. If we want pastors like Oberlin, we also want laymen like Brand \*.

But have we not, in the present day, albeit not in the ranks of Dissenterism, gifted brethren of the laity, worthy of the church militant in the days of King Nol? Do we not see, within the Episcopal Church of England, captains, naval and military, members of parliament, and lay peers, placing themselves in the front rank of theological debate, with obsequious clergymen as their seconds,—nay, issuing from the press their pious lucubrations, as the interpreters of prophecy, the champions of orthodoxy, and the reformers of a corrupt church? These lay prophets and lay divines are excluded, indeed, from the pulpits of the Establishment, where, perhaps, their nonsense might harmlessly evaporate, but they can find other places to preach in, before many an admiring audience. Let us hear no more of self-constituted, upstart preachers as the spawn of Independence. Among Dissenters, such individuals at least find their level, and are not mistaken for oracles. We profess ourselves to be advocates of lay preaching, because we think there is a propriety in restricting official designation, or 'orders', to a local charge or pastoral cure; and because we consider office as constituting the proper distinction between the recognised minister and the lay helper. But there are ecclesiastical as well as moral

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\* See *Eclectic Rev.* vol. xviii. 2d Series. p. 283.

proprieties, which, as Nonconformists of the old school, we must confess, we wish to see respected. We think that every believer ought to be a teacher, and that it is his duty to communicate to his neighbour the knowledge of the Lord; but we do not imagine that every pious man, whether rich or poor, gentle or simple, is qualified to do the work of a prophet or a *public* teacher, a Biblical expositor, or a Protestant advocate.

Our readers must pardon these apparent digressions. We hasten to notice very briefly the three last evils resulting from Independency, as enumerated in the pamphlet before us; to wit, 'the unfavourable state of Dissenting congregations;' 'the tendency to divisions in congregational churches;' and 'the objectionable character of church discipline.' Upon each of these points, we find some observations which deserve attention, mingled with statements which we must pronounce grossly inaccurate. Among the latter we must class the assertions, that 'every shade of opinion, through all the ramifications of truth and error, is to be found among' the Independents; that, wherever a uniformity of sentiment exists in any considerable degree, 'even in individual churches,' 'there is reason to suspect a most undesirable inanity;' and that 'the purity of faith' upon which they 'value themselves,' has little connexion with their church discipline. This picture of Independency would have been not unworthy of Walker or of Southey. Mr. James, it is true, has furnished Mr. Cawood with the original drawings for a curious mosaic portrait of Independency, still more hideous and repulsive. By a similar process, however, a picture of Christianity might be composed, representing the primitive churches of apostolic days, as delineated by the Apostles; and Carlile, taking the hint from Mr. Cawood, might with equal fairness and honesty, proceed to deal with the apostolic writings in some such way as the following:—*Of Members of Christian Churches.* "There is among you envying, and strife, and divisions: are ye not carnal and walk as men?" 1 Cor. iii. 3. "It is reported there is fornication among you," &c. 1 Cor. v. 1. "Nay, you do wrong and defraud, and that your brethren." 1 Cor. vi. 8. "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." Gal. v. 15. *Of Christian Ministers.* "Some preach Christ even of envy and strife." Phil. i. 15. "Such are false apostles, deceitful workers." 2 Cor. xi. 13. "Such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple." Rom. xvi. 18. "Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation." Gal. ii. 14.—And so he might go on, concluding with earnestly recommending his readers, in Mr. Cawood's phrase, to 'study this picture of Christianity, delineated in the pages of St. Paul.' And what

would be the proper reply? First, that such garbled passages, besides affording strong internal evidence of the genuineness of the Epistles, illustrate in a striking manner the fearless integrity of the writer; next, that the utter incompatibility of such conduct with the principles held by the primitive Christians, is plainly implied in the reproofs and remonstrances they elicited; and lastly, that this pretended picture of Christianity, is, in fact, a true picture of human nature *not* under the influence of Christianity. We say the same of Mr. Cawood's picture of Dissent. The evils which Mr. James has pointed out in such glowing language, are those of human nature, not of any ecclesiastical system, for they are evils precisely similar to those which prevailed in apostolic days.

‘This striking resemblance of feature,’ Mr. James remarks, ‘between the first Christian communities and ours, I would especially point out; not, certainly, as justifying our conduct in cases of strife and division, but as furnishing a strong presumption that our system of government is the same, in its essential features, as that which was set up by the Apostles. But in vain shall we search the inspired epistles for any thing analogous to those abuses which are acknowledged by Messrs. Riland, Acaster, and Nihill, to exist in the Church of England. St. Paul utters no complaint about *patronage*, *secular influence*, and *cabinet meddling* with the affairs of the church; nothing about *pluralities* and *non-residence*; nothing about the *luxury*, and *pride*, and *pomp of ecclesiastical dignitaries*; no, these things belong to another system than that which he lays down; they are the invention of after times; the appendages of a state of affairs, when the purple was suspended from the cross, and the crown of gold was set above the crown of thorns. The very evils and abuses, then, which attend our mode of church government, are of the very same kind as those which are condemned in the apostolic letters; and while, like those holy men, we deprecate the evils, we nevertheless adhere to the system as they did. The identity of the evils, identifies the systems; just as, in the science of nosology, the race is indicated by the disease. We are therefore prepared to vindicate the system, and are anxious to suppress its abuses. Till our opponents can shew that the opposite system has higher authority, and fewer evils, we shall be justified in following the Apostles, and sharing their trials.’

‘Notwithstanding the occurrence of such abuses of their principles as are to be found among Dissenters;—notwithstanding these things have been candidly admitted by ourselves, and triumphantly exposed by our opponents;—notwithstanding the eye of public attention has been directed to them by episcopal and archidiaconal charges, by magazines and reviews, by newspapers, by Colloquies between the Poet Laureate and the shade of Sir Thomas More, and by every other means which the vigilant friends of the Establishment could command and employ, till their notoriety is as great as the existence of the system with which they are associated;—yet is the cause of Dissent, if we may credit the declaration of its enemies, so steadily advancing, as

to put in imminent peril the very continuance of the Established Church. Nothing seems able to arrest its progress ; onward it moves, triumphing alike over the opposition of its foes, and the divisions of its friends ; as little retarded by the errors, and weaknesses, and infirmities of the latter, as it is by the ingenuity, the malice, and the numbers of the former : while on the other hand, the same voices which, from within the pale of the Establishment, proclaim the triumphs of Dissent, predict in strong and confident language the approaching downfall of the Church. To the affrighted eye of those friends of the Establishment, omens of portentous character arising from the regions of Dissent, are seen hovering in the ecclesiastical atmosphere over the turrets of the cathedrals, while sounds of woe, woe, woe, are heard to denounce the approach of the great catastrophe.—Now though I do not believe that Dissent is so rapidly advancing, nor that the Church of England is in such imminent peril, as those persons would lead us to conclude, yet it is impossible for me to doubt that the cause of Dissent has increased, is increasing, and will increase. And how can this be accounted for ? Must there not be in it something which commends it to the judgment and the heart of a growingly enlightened population, as that which is accordant with the principles of revealed truth, and the rational interpretation of those principles ? Must not a cause which not only keeps its ground, but advances against such strong opposition—against the wealth, the magnificence, the authority of a great national institute—against the strong tide of national customs and example—against arguments directed to avarice and ambition—against the united influence of the crown, the coronet, and the mitre—against the law of custom and the aspersions of calumny ; must not a cause which can break through such an array, be sustained and upheld by some mighty force of reason, or of revelation, or of both ? To exist at all, with so much supposed internal evil, and so much external opposition, proves no little innate health and vigour ; but its rapid progression not only stultifies all the allegations made against the soundness of its constitution, but demonstrates its heavenly origin, and prognosticates its eventual and universal triumph.’ *James*, pp. 101 ; 105, 106.

For the purpose of defence, these forcible and eloquent remarks will amply suffice ; but the inquiry which most nearly concerns Dissenters themselves, is, how far these evils admit of mitigation or remedy, consistently with their religious polity. One of the alleged evils is, ‘ the tendency to division in congregational churches ’ ; which our Layman ascribes to ‘ either ‘ the want of discretion in the preacher, or the turbulent spirit ‘ of his hearers,’—to ‘ upstart preachers in the congregation ’, or ‘ the undue influence of some leading member, who, upon ‘ some sudden pique, perhaps, takes it into his head to build ‘ another meeting-house, and entice away a part of the people ‘ with him,’—and partly, to ‘ the volatility of the age.’ Of these causes of division, those which alone seem closely related to Independency, are, the encouraging of upstart preachers, and the gendering of a turbulent spirit in the hearers. The former

is, we are inclined to think, an evil, if not imaginary, of rare occurrence. Young preachers raised up in this way, are eventually sent, in most cases, to an academy, and find employment in a distant quarter. In other cases, the Bishop of Chester's sound advice, in reference to district visiters, points out the best way of proceeding. It depends upon the wisdom of the pastor, whether such individuals shall prove 'thorns in his side', or 'valuable auxiliaries'. As to the other cause of division, we frankly admit, that the too frequent recurrence to the much misunderstood and much abused right of suffrage, has a tendency towards turbulence, whether in secular or in religious societies. But, with Mr. James, we add, that

'The election of our pastors and deacons by the people, and the admission of the people by each other, seem to be things so rational in themselves, and so easily managed upon the acknowledged principles of the Christian character, that they are not to be surrendered because of the abuses to which they are incident by the imperfection of our nature. And as the evil is in us, but not in our system, our great business is to improve our own hearts; which, were it done more perfectly than it is, in the management of our church affairs, would immediately deprive Dissent of that which invests it with so much deformity in the eyes of its enemies.'

The right of popular suffrage is, however, much misunderstood, as regards both its design and its proper force and limitation. A vote is the expression of the individual's will, and nothing more: it implies the giving or withholding of assent to a proposal. It moreover recognizes the voter's right to be consulted; a right founded upon his interest in the decision, as a member of the community, but a social and adventitious, not a natural right. His vote is an element of that decision which affects the whole community; and in exercising the right of suffrage, he is acting in a public capacity, discharging a trust, and, while consenting for himself, is in a manner choosing for all those whose interests his vote may affect. The theory of universal suffrage rests upon the radical fallacy, that a man in society acts only for himself, and that, as the natural rights of all men are equal, their civil rights must be equal too. As if the aggregate of society were made up of units, each of the same numerical value, and every individual had his detached and separate interests, involving no complex implication of those of others! This absurd theory is as fatal to the system of representation as to any other mode of government; for, according to this view of social rights, no one could be qualified to represent the jarring wills and conflicting personal interests of a multitude: these are merged in those collective interests which can alone be represented. Society is altogether made up of unequal rights, superinduced upon men's natural and moral rights, which are

equal and inalienable. The right to govern, the right to choose governors, the right to legislate or to execute the laws, are all rights, not inherent in any individual, but derived from the rules of society. The consent of every individual of the community to public measures, can never be either ascertained or required for the security of public liberty: the greater the numbers, however, whose previous consent is made necessary, the greater, not the degree of liberty, but its security. 'A man's being governed by no laws but those to which he has given his consent, were it practicable, is no otherwise necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty, than as it affords a probable security against the dictation of laws imposing superfluous restrictions upon his private will.' \*

- The right of suffrage, then, is to be considered, not as an inherent right in the members of a society, but as that which is designed to secure their common rights; as a safeguard and preservative of freedom, not freedom itself; a right which, when vested in a few, leaves the rest as free as if it were exercised by all, but less secure in their freedom. In smaller societies, such as Christian churches, it may be desirable and practicable to obtain, in reference to certain measures, the concurrence of every member; and the suffrages of all present may be considered as giving greater solemnity to proceedings, by stamping them with universal consent. It ought to be borne in mind; however, that the right of election, vested in the people, is mainly designed to protect the community against foreign dictation,—the imposition of officers by the civil magistrate, or by any patron, prelate, or presbytery,—rather than to serve the purpose of giving scope for individual preference or caprice. The right of suffrage, whether exercised by few or by many, secures the freedom of the church; and when, as in most cases, a majority or two thirds of the members decide the question, the freedom of the minority is not impaired by having their choice or consent over-ruled, because that choice formed no part of their natural rights. Every man has a moral and inalienable right to follow the dictates of his own conscience, and to consult his spiritual interests, and to choose, with this view, his spiritual guide; but, as a member of a religious society, he has no other right than he derives from the rules of the society. By giving his voice or vote in the election of a pastor, he is acting not for himself alone, but for others whose interests that vote will affect; as much so as if he had the sole nomination. To the confounding of natural with adventitious rights, of personal with social, we are disposed to ascribe much of the evil connected with popular elections, the turbulence and altercation,

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\* Paley.



the pertinacity and perverseness which are too generally displayed, and the divisions which sometimes ensue. Many worthy persons are apt to mistake the simple right to consent, for a competency to choose,—the power to vote, for the authority to ordain; and to stand upon their rights, to the manifest forgetfulness of their obligations.

Upon these points, there is a very marked difference between the sentiments of the old Brownists and the New Independents of Scotland, and those of the founders of the Congregational polity. Dr. Owen, in particular, is anxious to steer clear of encouraging a pure democracy. ‘The call of persons unto the pastoral office, is an act and duty of the whole church. It is not an act of the political magistrate, but of the whole church . . . . that is, of the fraternity with their elders, if they have any. . . . Election is not an act of authority, but of liberty and power, wherein the whole church, in the fraternity, is equal.’ But he elsewhere speaks of it as the duty of the elders, in the event of the death of the pastor, ‘to go before, to direct, and guide the church in the call or choice of some other person in the room of the deceased or removed.’ Again, treating of the admission and exclusion of members, while he admits that ‘every righteous voluntary society hath naturally a power inherent in it and inseparable from it, to receive into its incorporation such as, being meet for it, do voluntarily offer themselves thereunto; as also to reject and withhold the privileges of the society from such as refuse to be regulated by the laws of the society;’ he maintains, that both the admission and the exclusion of members ‘are acts of power and authority, which are to be exercised by the elders only’ in an organized church;—that ‘the key of rule is committed unto the elders of the church, to be applied with the consent of the whole society.’ \*

In insisting upon the voluntary nature of Christian churches, some Independents seem almost to have lost sight of their character as being at the same time religious institutions, to the benefit of which, as such, all true Christians have an absolute right, and from which they cannot be equitably debarred. Either it is the duty of a Christian man to join in communion with such a church, or it is not. If it be not,—if these voluntary societies are mere arbitrary associations, like joint-stock companies, then it matters little with whom the right of suffrage or the power of admission may lie, as church-membership becomes a matter of extreme insignificance. If, on the other hand, the obligations of religious profession and Christian fellowship render it a Christian’s duty to join himself to such a church, it cannot be a

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\* Owen’s True Nature of a Church, pp. 58—60; 170, 176.

matter of mere option, whether he shall be received or rejected, nor ought the right of franchise to be perverted into an engine of intolerance. There is at least some ground for our Layman's complaints on this head.

‘ Without any desire to undervalue the attainments of pious and plain-hearted Christians, it is really offensive, both to good taste and to common sense, to erect them into a spiritual court for sitting in judgement upon the qualifications of persons who have had superior opportunities for becoming acquainted with the real nature and evidences of scriptural religion. They may be good judges of fact, and as such, the law has qualified them to serve upon juries; but the expounding of the law, it has wisely reserved for those who are more conversant with such matters. So, with regard to church-communion, if a man be a notorious evil-liver, if he be known to neglect the obvious duties of religion, and if his temper or conduct be such as to occasion reproach, the simplest Christian may take cognizance of the fact, and pronounce upon his incapacity to participate in Christian privileges. But beyond this he is no authority. To make him an arbiter of opinions which he has never studied, would be preposterous; and not less so to make him an inquisitor into the thoughts and intents of the heart, which, when conveyed in a phraseology different to that with which he is most conversant, would appear to him like speaking in a strange tongue.

‘ The composition of many of our churches, is known to be such as to forbid the accession of respectable members upon the present terms. To illustrate the subject, I will suppose a case. Some pious country gentleman becomes dissatisfied with the Church of England, and is desirous of joining a neighbouring dissenting congregation. The pastor is perhaps a respectable man, but his deacons are in a humble station of life—say the gentleman's tailor and shoemaker. These are deputed by the church to wait upon him for the purpose of taking a measure of his conscience, and of inquiring into his spiritual attainments. After sitting in judgement upon him, they report to the church, and, if their account be satisfactory, a day is appointed for his admission, when he has to pass through the ordeal before mentioned. I am well aware that this is not the uniform practice, the loose connexion subsisting amongst Dissenters allowing of every variety of form; in some, therefore, there is a nearer approximation to Presbytery; but the recognized mode amongst Independents is such as I have stated. It has been justly observed by an advocate for this system of discipline, that “perhaps it were better to be deceived ten times by the profession of candidates, than to run the hazard of excluding one serious soul for want of every mark of attainment or of sincerity which we could desire. Though a person be ‘weak in faith,’ he is not to be rejected, but received, in order that he may be strengthened.”

‘ To a well-ordered mind, I need not say, how utterly repugnant is such a mode of dealing with religion as that above described, to all those sentiments of refinement and good taste which have so important an influence upon the well-being of society. Dissenters have little reason to fear any detriment to their cause from the influence of

fashion, so that they have the less need to provide themselves with stumbling-blocks of so revolting a character.' *Remarks, &c.* pp. 29, 30.

There can be no doubt that the small proportion of many a Dissenting congregation, which is included in the organized church, is owing in great measure to the technical formalities thrown in the way of church-membership. This would not be so serious a grievance, were not participation in the most solemn act of Christian worship restricted, for the most part, to the members of the Church; by which means one of the most sacred privileges common to every sincere believer, is suspended on a popular vote. There is no part of the practice of Independency which is, we think, more open to objection than this, or which has operated more unfavourably to the extension of our churches. We are happy to know that a distinction between communicants and members of the society, has been of late much more extensively recognized than formerly, and that the terms of communion in Dissenting churches are very generally assuming a more scriptural and catholic character.

We have now gone through the present Writer's enumeration of the evils resulting from Independency, none of which, we think we have shewn, afford any solid ground of objection against the Congregational Polity, or would be likely to be diminished by adopting the Presbyterian or Episcopal platform. We had intended to advert to a few other points, such as the alleged dependency of the minister upon his people,—the main stumbling-block with many persons,—the utility of endowments, the best mode of conducting public worship, and other matters to which, our Layman thinks, an incorporated Union of the Congregational Dissenters would do well to turn their attention. These must be reserved, however, for consideration in future articles. Reform is the order of the day, State reform and Church reform; and Dissenters will be, above all other classes, inexcusable, if they overlook the circumstances which call for reform in their own body. The work is within their reach. They have, as Mr. James remarks, no need to tarry for decrees of ecclesiastical courts or acts of parliament; their method is so simple as to be easily reparable, without violence; and they have in the New Testament an infallible rule at hand, by which to conduct the business of improvement. Let them then study their avowed principles,—principles by themselves imperfectly understood,—for the sake, not of defending, but of recommending them. What will it avail them to occupy the vantage-ground in their controversy with the Established Church, and to fall behind in the march of society? Let them not flatter themselves. The 'Dissenting Interest' has been extending itself with an ever-growing population, but it has lost ground in the higher and middle ranks. It has not that hold on the af-

fections, without which in vain the system appeals to the understanding.\* It is not producing many learned or eminent men,

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\* We must be allowed to take this opportunity of saying a few words in reply to a somewhat gross and unmannerly attack recently made upon us, by Mr. Scales, in the second edition of his 'Principles of Dissent', and eagerly seconded by some pitiful scribbler in the last No. of Fraser's Magazine. 'The Author of "Protestant Nonconformity"', says the former gentleman, 'resents the coupling of his name and book with the writings of Pierce, Towgood, and Graham, as if he felt degraded in their company, and aspired to a higher and more honourable rank than he allows them to occupy. . . . There was a time when that Journal, the Eclectic Review, held different language. . . . We would not be bigots, but neither would we be trimmers and time-servers'. The reverend gentleman alludes, our readers will perceive, to a note which appeared at page 131 of our last volume, on which the writer (whom Mr. S. has thought proper to assume to be Mr. Conder) ventured to remind him, that the work on Protestant Nonconformity was professedly written with a view to redeem the subject from the disadvantages of controversy, and differs altogether from such polemical works as Towgood's Letters, in which, amid much acute exposure of the defects of the Established Church, the reader would search in vain for the principles of Nonconformity. Mr. Scales cannot be ignorant that Towgood was no enemy to Establishments as such, still less an advocate of Independency, and that most, if not all the objections he brings forward against the Church of England, would be annihilated by certain specific reforms, or by a scheme of liberal comprehension. He must know, too, that the learned Writer was an Arian, and that his book is by no means adapted to promote a spirit of piety among 'juvenile readers'. He must therefore have been perfectly aware, that, without any depreciation of the talent displayed by Towgood, the efficiency and tendency of his work might be questioned. Yet, in mere spleen, he has chosen to represent that the Author of 'Protestant Nonconformity' felt degraded by being classed with Pierce, Towgood, and Graham, and to insinuate a still baser charge, as to a change of opinion, nay, an interested or time-serving change of opinion,—although he well knew that Mr. Conder's objections to Towgood, &c. appeared in the preface to his work in 1818, and actually formed a main reason for his undertaking the labour. With these facts before him confronting his most ungentlemanly and slanderous imputation, we know not what excuse he can offer for his disregard of the ninth commandment. After this, his condescending to retain Mr. Conder's book in his 'list', is a matchless piece of magnanimity. Fraser has blundered somewhat ludicrously in his malignity, mistaking the "Author of Nonconformity", apparently, for his venerable father, and making merry over the 'toothless gums', and 'shrivelled old back', and 'dotage' of the superannuated old 'trimmer and time-server', whom he supposes to have fallen into 'the fangs of the reverend Tractitian', Mr. Scales, as an apostate from the ranks of dissent at the eleventh hour. All this is in character. Mr. Scales's attack is, we hope, out of character.

whose example might exert a commanding influence. Rarely are young men of liberal education and good family found to enter the Dissenting ministry,—a sure indication that the office itself is divested of its proper dignity and legitimate attraction. It is, we fear, too true, as our Layman remarks, that Dissenting congregations ‘exhibit a dearth of society to well-educated persons, that has a strong tendency to drive them from their communion.’ No circumstance, perhaps, has had greater effect in alienating the most promising of our youth from the worship and institutions of their fathers, than the difficulty of finding intelligent and well-bred associates within the contracted circle. Not all the labours of the ‘Ecclesiastical Knowledge Society’, nor all the refined taste, and powerful eloquence, and engaging modesty of the *World Newspaper*, will be able to counteract this tendency to defection, unless efficient exertions are made to regain the relative standing that has been lost. Any cause that does not succeed in attaching to it the majority of the pious and intelligent among the rising generation, must be in imminent danger of rapid decline. Not that we have any fear with respect to the principles upon which our Dissent is founded. These, if the present race of Independents were extinguished, would find other advocates. The present Writer suggests the probability, that if they do not look about them, ‘a new order of Dissenters may spring up within the bosom of the Establishment, to rescue the cause of scriptural religion out of their hands.’

‘Already there is a considerable body, both clergy and laity, who are dissatisfied with her institutions, and anxious for a further reformation, which cannot be withheld much longer. Among them, many are desirous of seeing the Church divested of her political connexions, and of reducing Episcopacy to a nearer affinity with the primitive standard; and these, if Dissenters do not bestir themselves, will form the rallying point for the sounder portion of the community.’

But in whose ears do we speak? Where are the men in any section of the religious world, who unite the penetration, and high-mindedness, and courage, and energy requisite for the great undertaking of shaping, by timely measures, the spirit of the coming times? We are all too busy with the passing moment,—or dreaming.

**Art. II. 1. *The Influence of Climate in the Prevention and Cure of Chronic Diseases*; more particularly of the Chest and Digestive Organs, &c. By James Clark, M.D. &c. &c. Second Edition enlarged. 8vo. pp. 400. London, 1830.**

2. *Change of Air, or the Pursuit of Health: an Autumnal Excursion through France, Switzerland, and Italy, in the year 1829, &c.* By James Johnson, M.D. &c. &c. Highley. 8vo. pp. 294. Price 8s. 6d. London, 1831.
3. *On the Curative Influence of the Southern Coast of England, especially that of Hastings; with Observations on Diseases in which a residence on the Coast is most beneficial.* By William Harwood, M.D. 8vo. pp. 326. London, 1828.

**A**LL the operations and agencies of nature are in a certain sense mysterious; but the influences which inorganic substances exert on organized life, more especially excite the admiration of observers. In these cases, frequently, not the smallest assistance is to be obtained from abstract reasoning or analogical deduction, towards an anticipation or explication of the event that shall be produced. On looking at a mass of opium, and the same bulk of ipecacuan, who would suppose that the one would excite and depress the nervous frame, and the other cause a discharge of the stomach's contents? But having once and again witnessed such results from the action of these substances, we give them credit for their specific characteristics, and use them on future occasions with full expectation of similar agency. Our knowledge generally, indeed, whether acquired by personal observation or obtained from the reports of others, rests entirely upon experience; and a register or classification of actual facts, constitutes the elements and essence of science. One circumstance is equally astonishing with another, until familiarity has rendered it less striking and impressive.

In the phenomena, however, to which the publications before us relate, the mystery may be regarded, in the present state of our knowledge, as in some measure peculiar; since analogy affords no confirmation of the exactness of our register, and inferences which would be thought legitimately deducible from observation, are often found much more fallacious than could *à priori* be conceived. Air, the chemist tells us, is composed of a certain number and proportion of ingredients; surely, then, when I find myself vigorous and alert while breathing the air of one place, and depressed while inhaling the atmosphere of another district, either the ingredients of the air, or the relative quantities of these ingredients, are different. No, says the eudiometric experimenters; 'Berthollet found these ingredients 'the same in Egypt and in France; Dr. Thomson found them 'the same in Edinburgh at all seasons of the year; and Gay 'Lussac examined the air brought from the height of 21,000 'feet above Paris, and found it precisely the same as the air at 'the earth's surface.' Yet, how changed would be our feelings



and our conditions, by being enveloped in the atmosphere of the several localities above mentioned !

But we shall be told, that, although the chemical principles and constituents of air are alike in all districts, the physical or mechanical properties vary with the varying place ; that, in one part, its temperature is higher, in another, lower ; that here, it is laden with humidity, and there, dry almost beyond endurance ; that, over some places, poisonous effluvia are constantly hovering, conveyed by 'the wings of the wind', and that in others, putrid and marshy exhalations are incessantly mixing themselves with the matter we inspire as atmosphere. Such is indisputably the fact ; but the difficulty still recurs, of varied susceptibility to these noxious influences, beyond the power of any calculation, either from general experience or particular experiment. We know that, even where the air is of constant purity, the place, or, in other words, the atmosphere, shall operate very differently on two individuals who would be affected by all other exterior influences in almost an identical manner. We are acquainted, for example, with two sisters, one of whom is always improved by a residence at Brighton ; while the other has made many unsuccessful trials to conquer the uncomfortable and painful feeling which Brighton air uniformly engenders. Further, let the state of the air be tried upon other principles than that of its chemical constituents,—let humidity or dryness, density or rarity, be the objects of the experimenter's attention, and he shall find, not only in the case of a few individuals, but upon the persons of all who inhale it, very sensible effects produced, which shall have no apparent reference in any way to these ascertained varieties. What chemist has ever rendered tangible or sensible, the poison of *mal-aria* ? Who has been able to detect the aerial something which traverses districts, and lays its contributions upon their inhabitants, in the shape of influenzas, coryzas, &c. ? Can any enquirer say, why epidemic disorders (which are certainly atmospheric,) should be so ? Does it appear from all the observations which have been instituted, that the virulent pestilences of the Levant have reference to any hygrometrical or other changes in the circumambient air ?

So proverbial, indeed, are the uncertainties and varieties of atmospheric influences, (even without reference to the specific and extraordinary circumstances just referred to,) that some intelligent individuals have expressed doubts on the subject altogether ; and have stated their conviction, that what has been ascribed to air, in the way of constitutional change, is more properly attributable to scenery, and circumstance, and imagination. But, not to mention many other objections to this prin-

eiple, how can these influences be supposed effective in the case of an infant's removal from one place to another? What, for example, but the actual change of place, could possibly have operated the benefit immediately and visibly obtained in the following case, taken at random from a modern author, and which is a mere instance of what is daily occurring? Indeed, were recourse had to the expedient more frequently, it would be better for the life and health of young patients, who are often, as the Writer expresses himself, 'subjected to hot fires, and multitudes of nurses, and the steam of the bathing-tub, and small *unventilated* apartments, instead of being put under the genial influence of fresh and pure air.' 'I was much impressed, some time since', he goes on to say, 'with the forcible manner in which a medical friend dwelt upon this principle, or rather fact,—that not only air, but *change of air*, will often be found to break in upon morbid habits, and put a stop even to the convulsive disorders of children. "I had given", said my friend, "my child into the hands of a celebrated individual, whom I knew to be an able man, but who, I knew at the same time, was more partial to copious and repeated bleedings than my own observation and feelings justify; but the infant was committed to his care, and interference, on several accounts, was improper. I had determined, however, on a particular day, did not my friend make his appearance according to his appointment, to act at once from my own impressions,—to drag the child from the sick chamber, where, in spite of treatment, he was getting worse and worse, and to try the effect of change of air. We had not got a mile from home, when things assumed a more pleasing aspect—and we had no more bleeding, nor any more convulsions."'

Every thing, indeed, according to our apprehensions, is in favour of the supposition, that air influences the frame beyond the mere fancy of the percipient. It is moreover a remarkable circumstance, that simple *change* frequently produces extraordinary effects, even when the air of the place to which the individual is removed, would be pronounced not so salubrious as that from which he was taken. All this, we repeat, occurs in a manner which renders the predication of the superior or inferior salubrity of any place a matter of considerable nicety. That the knowledge of some practical facts, however, may be gained by reasoning and observation, is, on the other hand, pretty certain; and we feel indebted, therefore, to those writers who make it their business to notice and accumulate facts bearing upon the important inquiry, Can I, by change of place or air, avert from some near and dear relative the disorder which menaces our speedy separation? Is that dreadful malady, consumption, susceptible of arrest by any specific quality apper-

taining to this or that atmosphere? Will the 'horrors of indigestion', with all its dread cohort of nervous ailments, be put to flight by altered locality and air?

Dr. Clark's treatise supplies the reader with the most ample details upon these points; and to his work we shall have occasion chiefly to advert in the present article. Dr. Johnson's references to these inquiries are incidental and episodic, rather than strictly the business of his book; and Dr. Harwood has mainly limited himself to the notice of that kind of air which Hastings and its vicinity affords to the different classes of invalids who resort to that beautiful part of our sea-coast.

There is one consolation which connects itself with researches of the nature now referred to, and which cannot be too frequently iterated; viz., that *emigration into foreign lands has been enforced and acted on to an extent, and with anticipations, which a more ample and determined investigation by disinterested observers by no means warrants.* Nothing can be conceived more truly distressing than the feeling on the part of an individual who has either just seen, or is on the point of witnessing, the decease of a beloved wife or child; that, had his pecuniary circumstances been such as to afford a journey or voyage to foreign climes, the event would have been far different. To individuals thus circumstanced, it must be a source of comfort and thankfulness, to find different writers according in their disbelief of the supposed specific influences of this or that distant district, to any thing like the degree that more partial or less attentive observation had taught. Dr. Johnson expresses himself on this head in a very forcible manner; and Dr. Clark, whom we must regard as still higher authority, points out places in our own country, which seem to him to be *more suitable even to consumptive patients, than those which have gained a celebrity abroad.* Many additional testimonies might be cited in favour of continued residence at home, even in many cases where emigration used to be considered as the only chance of recovery from otherwise a hopeless disorder.

'Let us hear', says Dr. Johnson, 'what a clergyman of erudition, talents, and keen perception, himself a valetudinarian, says of the balmy influence of Italian skies. "Feb. 12th.—Oh this land of zephyrs! Yesterday was warm as July; to-day we are shivering with a bleak easterly wind and an *English black frost*. Naples is one of the worst climates in Europe for complaints in the chest. Whatever we may think of sea-air in England, the effect is very different here. The sea-breeze in Devonshire is mild and soft; here, it is keen and piercing.

"March 14th. *ÆGRI SOMNIA.* If a man be tired of the slow, lingering process of consumption, let him repair to Naples; and the

*denouement* will be much more rapid. The *Sirocco* wind, which has been blowing for six days, continues with the same violence. The effects of this south-east blast, fraught with all the plagues of the deserts of Africa, are immediately felt in that leaden, oppressive dejection of spirits which is the most intolerable of diseases. This surely must be the *plumbeus auster* of Horace.

‘ “ Dec. 20th. Rome. The more I see of Italy, the more I doubt whether it be worth while for an invalid to encounter the fatigues of so long a journey, for the sake of any advantages to be found in it, in respect of climate during the winter. To come to Italy with the hopes of *escaping* the winter, is a grievous mistake. This might be done by getting into the summer hemisphere; but in Europe it is impossible; and I believe that Devonshire, after all, may be the best place for an invalid during that season. If the thermometer be not so low here, the temperature is *more variable*, and the winds are *more bitter and cutting*. In Devonshire, too, all the comforts of the country are directed against cold; here, all the precautions are the other way. The streets are built to exclude as much as possible the rays of the sun, and are now as damp and cold as rain or frost can make them. And then, what a difference between the warm carpet, the snug elbowed chair, and the blazing coal fire of an English winter evening; and the stone staircases, marble floors, and starving casements of an Italian house!—where every thing is designed to guard against the heat of summer, which occupies as large a portion of the Italian year, as the winter season does of our own. The only advantage of Italy then, is, that your penance is *shorter* than it would be in England; for I repeat that, during the time it lasts, winter is more severely felt here than at Sidmouth, where I would even recommend an Italian invalid to repair, from November till February;—if he could possess himself of Fortunatus’s cap to remove the difficulties of the journey.” ’

After citing these and other testimonies of the like kind, intermixing with them remarks of his own, which we cannot find room to transcribe at length, Dr. Johnson concludes in the following manner.

‘ Heaven forbid that, on such a momentous question as this, involving the lives of my fellow-creatures, I should throw the weight of a feather in the scale, against the preservation or even prolongation of human existence; but I have lived too long, and seen too much, not to know the errors of discrimination and the fallacies of hope, that send pulmonary invalids from the gloomy skies but comfortable abodes of England, to lands where comfort is unknown even by name, and whose atmospheres cannot work miracles, whatever their saints may do. The balance, indeed, between permanent benefit and blighted expectation, or even actual injury, is so nearly poised, as that a breath may turn the scale. That breath is as often one of error as of judgment. The consequences are obvious.’

We are sufficiently aware that inferences drawn from comparative length of lives, in favour of the superior salubrity of one

place over another, are liable to much fallacy, inasmuch as habits of living, the condition of medical polity, the greater intelligence, activity, and tact of professional guardians of health, and other causes, may combine in producing the results, which would be erroneously ascribed to the air of a country.

But it is at least pleasing to find, (and, so far as it goes, it is fortunate for the advocates of our own climate,) that a comparative table of the value and length of lives in some of the great cities of Europe, is decidedly in favour of London over the others;—even London, involved, as it constantly is, in the smoke and filth of a densely crowded population, with millions of coal fires constantly burning;—and that England at large, with all its disadvantages of continual vicissitudes and cloudy skies, appears to be the country in which the greatest longevity is attained. We cannot refrain from presenting our readers with the subjoined statement, taken from the statistical inquiries of Dr. Hawkins.

‘ On an average of the ten years from 1816 to 1826, the annual mortality in Rome was 1 in 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ . That is, out of every 25 individuals in the Eternal City, one was annually buried. In Naples, the ratio of mortality is somewhat less, being 1 in 28 $\frac{1}{2}$  annually. Let us now look to London. The rate of mortality there is, annually, 1 in 40. In England, generally, it is 1 in 60. In Paris, it is 1 in 32: in France generally, it is 1 in 40 (the same as London, and 20 more unfavourable than England). In Nice, it is 1 in 31. In Glasgow, it is 1 in 44. In the PAYS DE VAUD, 1 in 49, or 11 more unfavourable than England generally.’

It has already been admitted, that mere change, in many cases, may prove of decided advantage, even though the new district may not be, to the continued resident, so salubrious as the one the patient has quitted; and from this circumstance, an inference may be drawn in favour of removal. Here, of course, facts must speak for themselves; and it is on this account that we are about to lay before our readers a brief summary of Dr. Clark's very careful and impartial investigations. Previously to this, however, it may not be improper to present, in a cursory manner, the substance of what is partly certain and partly conjectural, in reference to ‘ the influence of situation ’ (as far as our own country is concerned) ‘ on the duration of life.’

Mr. Mansford, who, some years since, published an interesting pamphlet on this subject, has endeavoured to prove, that health and longevity are most effectually secured by residence in those situations that are at the same time high, and dry, and temperate. He attaches much importance to the relative weight of the atmosphere at different elevations, when individuals are not merely temporary visitors to spots, the air of which has more or less levity or weight, but continued inhabitants of the

parts. An elevation of 500 feet, which, in a hilly country, is by no means uncommon, diminishes, we are told, the weight of the atmosphere pressing upon us nearly six hundred pounds; and, however insensible we may be to such reduction, Mr. Mansford contends, that it cannot fail of having very important influence upon the interior actions of the system.

It cannot be doubted, he says, that the removal of so large a degree of resistance must give a greater freedom of action to the main spring of the circulation, as well as greater power of distension to the vessels themselves, especially to the superficial vessels; both of which causes, like all others, will operate most powerfully on a part with a tendency to, or under the actual presence of disorder. Hence, he supposes, (and the supposition seems pretty well grounded,) that those persons who are consumptively disposed should avoid an atmosphere of this kind; which, on the other hand, is conducive to health and longevity when the individual is without any tendency to affections of the chest. For the consumptive, Mr. M. recommends lower and even moister situations; and he adds testimonies from various authors of character, to prove, that consumption is less frequent in such localities as are fenny and damp, and where intermittent fevers prevail, than they are in districts otherwise more salubrious. We are informed, for instance, that, in Holland, consumptions are comparatively infrequent; and Drs. Wells, Harrison, and others have stated, that the moist parts of fenny counties do not abound so much in consumptive invalids as their higher and dryer parts. The inference which Mr. M. draws from these data is this; that 'air impregnated with moisture, or with different effluvia or miasmata, by which its purity is lowered, is rather favourable to the consumptive than otherwise.' But 'air answering to these conditions is, for the most part, only to be found in low situations; where the extreme density of the atmosphere, and the resistance offered by it to inordinate action of the vessels, especially of their extreme branches, may be supposed to have a share in the beneficial effect.'

Other writers, however, have told us, that consumption is at least of as great frequency among the fens as in dryer districts; and some writers are loud in their denunciation of a doctrine so full, they allege, of fallacy and error as that just alluded to. Here, of course, as in other matters, actual observation, rather than abstract reasoning, must decide the controversy.

For our own parts, we should be disposed to look upon those spots as offering the greatest promise to phthisical invalids, which are sheltered from bleak winds, but where the air is not too light, as is the case in mountainous, or even hilly situations, but where, together with relative lowness, a dry, rather than a



marshy soil, gives its character to the circumambient air. Elevation and dryness are probably the most conducive to health and longevity, when consumptive ailment is not part of the constitutional tendency; and the following statement we hold to be generally accurate.

‘ A short residence in an elevated place may be sufficient to invigorate the young convalescent; but that of the old man must be more permanent; he may perhaps quit it occasionally a short time with impunity, but he must consider it his residence where nine-tenths of his time must be spent. Above all, those who have passed the whole or the greater part of a long life in an elevated situation, should be cautious of quitting it to reside in a lower one. If lightening the atmospheric load can give fresh vigour to the vital actions, and thus prolong life, increasing it must necessarily, by depressing them, shorten it. The lives of Parr and John Jacobs soon terminated after quitting their native hills, the one of Jura, and the other of Shropshire.’

The different measures of temperature, of dryness or its opposite, and of density, are, perhaps, the whole qualities of air from which we could *à priori* predicate suitable conditions for different tendencies and actual disorders.

There is one other principle, however, in atmospheric influence, which is sufficiently manifest, and to which the above qualities may be considered as, for the most part, subordinate. We allude to those incessant workings of electrical agency which at once form and disperse clouds,—which drink up the moisture of this part, to pour it out in large inundations on that part,—which, in fact, are the physical or immediate sources of the thunder’s roar and the lightning’s glare; which, acting upon the animal frame, occasion many beasts of the field to prove to the rustic observer barometric indices of the most faithful kind; and which exalt and depress the scale of human feelings with a rapidity and force that are truly astonishing. Even maniacal paroxysms, that are by some attributed to the phases of the moon, are, we believe, more justly referrible to electric influence; and when we speak of the Sirocco, and the Trade Winds, and the Hurricane, we merely talk of so many modifications of electric impulse.

So decidedly, in our opinion, are these principles established, as to incline us to think that, should an advancement in science bring with it any improvement in meteorological or atmospheric philosophy, electricity would be found the main spring by which aerial mutations of all kinds and degrees are accomplished. Beyond the fact, however, that the positive and negative and mixed conditions of the electric agency influence the air, and, through that medium, the animate machine, nothing has hitherto been precisely or definitively ascertained; and the electric relations and dependencies of organized bodies

are not at present sufficiently susceptible of generalization for any correct inferences to be deduced from them. Observation, then, as before mentioned, is, as yet, our only guide through these mazes of meteorological difficulties; and we must witness effects, or trust to the accounts of others, before we can pronounce with any thing like certainty respecting the salubrity of this, or the insalubrity of that district, as it respects soil and atmosphere.

Dr. Clark has rendered this service to the public in the interesting volume before us; a brief abstract of which we shall now lay before our readers.

After reprobating the practice—which was some time ago more common than it now is—of sending hopeless cases of consumptive affection to terminate in foreign and distant lands; and after cautioning the reader generally against the indulgence of too sanguine expectations on the score of changes; Dr. C. proceeds to particularize those ailments in which an altered atmosphere, under judicious regulations and restrictions, may at times prove radically and lastingly beneficial. These are, mainly, disorders manifestly implicating, and in most cases originating in, disturbance of the digestive functions, and consumptive derangements in their early stages; other disorders, which, although having principally to do with the lungs or their appendages, are not truly consumptive; and lastly, chronic rheumatism. He then divides the milder regions of our own country into four districts or groupes of climate:

‘ That of the *South Coast*, comprehending the tract of coast between Hastings and Portland Island; the *South-west Coast*, from the latter point to Cornwall; the district of the *Lands-End*; the *Western Groupe*, comprehending the places along the borders of the Bristol Channel and estuary of the Severn. We shall find that each of these regions has some peculiar features in its climate, which characterize it, and distinguish it from the others, both as regards its physical and its medical qualities.’

We are rather surprised, by the way, that Dr. C. should take no notice of the central county of England. About the towns of Warwick and Leamington, for instance, we have found the air to be more mild and uniform than in most other counties; and in a late visit made to the latter place, we were struck with the many instances of longevity the county of Warwick presents, both among the living inhabitants, and in the advanced ages of life marked on the tombs in the church-yards. Dr. Loudon, who has written a treatise on Leamington and its springs, gives the following (as it appears to us) correct account of this place and its neighbourhood;—and we feel convinced that, independently of the waters, which may, or may not, be applicable

to particular cases, invalids who come down from the north to the south in search of health, would often do well by staying at Leamington, rather than proceeding to their southern destination.

‘Situated’, says Dr. L., ‘at a distance from the coast, and in the midst of a level country, the town of Leamington is neither exposed to those sudden gusts of wind which are so often attended with danger to invalids, nor to the frequent rains which a mountainous neighbourhood so constantly attracts. Besides, being nearly at an equal distance from the East and West Seas, as well as the Channel, the temperature is more mild and equal than at any other watering-place in the country; and the climate more genial than that of towns in the same latitude, lying nearer to the Atlantic and German Ocean. The rich and highly cultivated state of the soil, too, in the immediate neighbourhood, with the numerous scattered woods and rivulets, contributes in no small degree to its being one of the most salubrious spots in the kingdom. And this fact is corroborated by the numerous cases of longevity which the records of the place so amply supply.’—*Loudon on Leamington Spa.*

Of Hastings and Brighton, Dr. Clark gives the following comparative estimate. During January and February, Hastings ‘has the advantage, in as far as regards warmth and shelter from the north and north-east winds, of all the places on the coast of Sussex; and therefore, it will be found a favourable residence generally to invalids labouring under diseases of the chest.’ The air of Brighton is, on the other hand, ‘eminently dry, sharp, and bracing’; and it is only in Autumn and the early part of Winter, that its air is more mild and steady than even that of Hastings; on which account, if resorted to by consumptive invalids, these times are to be chosen. It is a curious fact, that a considerable diversity of climate is found in different parts of Brighton. ‘East of the Steyne, the air is dry and bracing. To the westward, it is somewhat damper, but milder.’ If there be any correctness in the speculations before alluded to, we should therefore say, that the former is more fitted for the dyspeptic, the latter for the consumptive invalid.

But it is the Isle of Wight which Dr. C. considers as claiming particular attention, inasmuch as ‘it comprehends within itself advantages which are of great value to the delicate invalid, and to obtain which in almost any other part of England, he would require to make a considerable journey.’ For a winter residence, Undercliff is especially recommended, as being dry and free from moist or impure exhalations, while it is completely sheltered from the north, north-east, and west winds. Dr. Lempriere pronounces Undercliff to afford a climate as favourable to the invalid as any part of England. ‘So great’, says Dr. Clark, ‘is the transition of climate experienced on descending into the Undercliff vale, that the Italian

‘traveller is reminded by it of his sensations on entering the valley of Duomo d'Ossola, after quitting the chilly defiles of the Simplon.’ The eastern part of Undercliff, from Bonchurch to St. Lawrence, is the best. Undercliff altogether is remarkably exempt from fogs, and Dr. C. states, that he has seen nothing along the southern coast, that will bear a comparison with it. On the south-western coast, Torquay comes nearest to it; but the climate of this last place is softer, more humid, and more relaxing, while Undercliff is dryer and more bracing.

‘If single houses, each surrounded with a garden, and the buildings erected with due regard to the wants of delicate invalids, were erected at Undercliff, the place would bid fair to exceed all other winter residences in this country; and the Isle of Wight would add to its title of the Garden of England, that of the British Madeira.’

In summer, Niton is a good residence, as is likewise Cowes. Sandown and Shanklin also may be recommended. ‘But of all the situations in the Island, Ryde appears to me,’ says our Author ‘to deserve a preference as a summer residence.’ From this place, however, the invalid is recommended to return to Undercliff in September.

Salcombe, Torquay, Dawlish, Exmouth, Salterton, and Sidmouth have their various recommendations, which are pointed out by Dr. C. The first is perhaps the warmest spot on the south-west coast. Torquay has already been mentioned as being both dry and warm, and it is remarkably sheltered. After Torquay, Dawlish ‘deserves the preference.’ Exmouth is a healthy place, and beautiful in its surrounding scenery; but ‘Salterton, a village on the coast about four miles to the eastward of Exmouth, presents advantages in point of situation which render it preferable to the latter place as a winter abode for the invalid. It stands in a small open valley on the sea-shore, free from currents of air, and well protected from winds,—particularly northerly winds.’ Sidmouth has rather a damp climate, and the sea fogs are very prevalent in winter; but Dr. C. supposes it to be well calculated for a summer and autumnal bathing place.

Of the south-western climate generally, our Author remarks, that it is rather humid, while it is mild. ‘In one class of complaints, (inflammatory,) it is therefore calculated to prove decidedly beneficial; in another, of an opposite kind, (nervous or asthenic,) equally injurious.’

‘What may be the real estimation in which the climate of Devonshire ought to be held in consumptive complaints, and what may be its absolute effect upon these, I have much difficulty in saying; but this much I may venture to advance; that as an invalid will be exposed to less rigorous cold, and for a shorter season, will have more hours of fine weather, and, consequently more exercise in the open air,

he gives himself a better chance by passing the winter here, than he could have in the more northern parts of the island. To compare it, also, in this respect with the milder climates of the southern continent of Europe, is no easy task. In the south of Europe, the invalid has finer days, a dryer air, and more constant weather; but the transitions of temperature (there), though less frequent, are more considerable. In the nights, I believe, invalids are often exposed to severer cold than here; and this arises partly from the great range of temperature, and partly from the imperfect manner they are protected from the cold of night by the bad arrangement of the houses, chimneys, &c.

‘From the soft nature of the climate of this coast (Devonshire), invalids who mean to reside here during several winters, should leave it in summer, and seek a dryer and more bracing air.’

Chudleigh and Moreton-Hampstead, as well as Ilfracombe and Linton, are pointed out by Dr. C. as excellent summer retreats.

When treating on the climate of the Land’s End, our Author states, that its great humidity and exposure to winds counterpoise its mildness. It may not then, in general, be considered as a favourable climate for consumption, except ‘when the disease is accompanied with an irritated state of the mucous membrane of the lungs, producing a dry cough or one with little expectoration.’ ‘Invalids who have passed the winter at Penzance, and whose complaints are likely to be aggravated by the spring winds, might remove to Flushing or Fowey at that season, or some might even go to Clifton with advantage.’

Bristol and Clifton are ranked among the best winter residences in the western division, as they are at once mild and dry: and Clifton air is stated to be as especially applicable to those cases in which a relaxed state of the bronchial membrane, or of the system generally, exists, or where a strong disposition to spitting of blood has manifested itself. In these cases, Clifton is regarded as inferior only to Undercliff in the Isle of Wight. ‘In the nervous’ (as opposed to the inflammatory forms) ‘of indigestion, Clifton will prove a much more favourable residence, either in winter or summer, than any part of Devonshire.’

Dr. Clark divides France, in respect of the climates on which he treats, into the *West and South-west*, and, the *South-east*. Under the former, he includes the whole tract of country from Brittany to Bayonne, comprising L’Orient, Nantes, La Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Montauban, Pau, and Toulouse. The air of these parts, generally, is soft and relaxing, and therefore suitable for complaints to which the south coast of France is injurious; particularly gastric dyspepsia, or dyspepsia depending on an inflammatory state of the stomach, and the dry bronchial irritations.

‘ In that class of consumptive patients in whom the disease is complicated with either or both of the above states or dispositions, and in whom, consequently, there is a great susceptibility to the influence of dry keen winds, this climate will generally agree. Laennec found the southern coast of Brittany very favourable to consumptive patients; and he also observed, that the portion of consumptive diseases in this part of France was comparatively small.’

Guernsey and Jersey are deemed by Dr. C. not suitable, in general, either to consumptive diseases or consumptive tendencies. Pau, the capital of the department of the Lower Pyrenees, although a desirable winter residence for bronchial affections, is too changeable either for rheumatic ailments or for genuine consumptive disorder.

The South-east of France, through all its territory from Montpellier to Nice, so far from being favourable in consumption, is decidedly and conspicuously the reverse. In nervous and hypochondriac ailments, much advantage may be gained from a visit to, or an excursion through its several provinces. Asthmatic, arthritic, rheumatic, and scrofulous disorders may also be much mitigated by the air of these districts, especially by that of Nice, the climate of which is altogether a dry one; and chronic bronchial diseases, which may often simulate consumption, are sometimes much alleviated by a residence at this place. Invalids ought to resort there about the middle of October, and should not quit it before the beginning of May. The climate of Villa Franca resembles that of Nice, but it is still dryer and rather warmer; qualities which are, perhaps, possessed in a higher measure by Mentone, San Remo, and Bordighera. Dr. Clark laments that these last places do not afford the same accommodation to travellers, as Nice does.

Among the Italian districts, Genoa is first mentioned by our Author: the air of that city is said to be suitable to ‘relaxed phlegmatic habits,’ but, for chest affections, decidedly improper. Its healthiest months are, April, May, June, September, and October; the most unhealthy are, December, January, February, and August. Massa di Carrara, between Genoa and Pisa, is said to be particularly mild and healthy during the winter. Florence is one of the most agreeable residences in Italy, but it is ‘far from being a favourable climate for an invalid, and least of all for an invalid disposed to consumption.’ The climate of Pisa is softer than that of Nice, but not so warm; ‘less soft, but less heavy and depressing than that of Rome.’ Naples has a climate more resembling Nice than any other Italian state, but it is much more changeable, and ‘if somewhat softer in winter, is more damp and wet.’ Consumptive patients would be very improperly sent there.

‘ Naples is, however, well suited as a winter residence for those who



are labouring under general debility and derangement of the constitution without any marked local disease. The beauty of its situation, the brilliancy of its skies, and the interest excited by the surrounding scenery, render it a very desirable and very delightful winter residence for those who rather require mental amusements and recreation for the restoration of their general health, than a mild equable climate for the removal of any particular disease.'

Of Rome, Dr. C. says, that, 'though a soft, it cannot be considered as a damp climate'; and it would appear from its physical qualities, to be altogether the best of any in Italy. High winds are comparatively unfrequent. Incipient consumption, bronchial disorder, and chronic rheumatism are often much relieved by a residence at Rome.

'The period at which an invalid should arrive at Rome, when he has it in his power to fix this, is October; and if the chest be the part affected, the beginning of May will be sufficiently early for him to leave it. After this time, he should move northwards, being guided by the weather as to the period of crossing the Alps; though this should scarcely be done before the middle or end of June. About the Lago Maggiore, or Lago de Como, the invalid may pass a week or two, if the weather is such as to render it prudent for him to delay crossing the mountains. The Simplon is altogether the best passage from Italy to Switzerland at this season.'

Almost the whole of Italy is objectionable for invalids in summer. But in the vicinity of Naples, there are several beautiful spots, as the Vomero and the Capo di Monte, immediately in its neighbourhood, and Sorrento, Castelamare, and the Island of Ischia, more distant, which are exceptions to the rule. Siena, moreover, affords a healthy summer residence for persons who are not very liable to suffer from rapid changes of temperature; which often occur there during the summer, owing to the high and exposed situation of the place. Switzerland, if the invalid be careful, may be resorted to in the summer season, the neighbourhood of Geneva being the least exceptionable. But there is no place on the continent of Europe, where the pulmonary invalid could reside with so much advantage during the whole of the year, as in Madeira.

'Invalids intending to pass the winter in Madeira, should leave this country in the end of September, or the beginning of October. The beginning of June is sufficiently early to leave the island, to return to England. The climate of this country is seldom sufficiently warm, or at least steadily so, for a consumptive patient who has passed the winter in a milder climate, before the middle or end of June—until the summer solstice, I should say.'

Although Dr. Clark is so fully impressed with the advantages promised by Madeira in the very early or menacing stages of consumption, he very properly reprobates the practice

of sending out confirmed cases under the notion of a specific quality in the air to arrest the ravages of the disorder. The voyage, under such circumstances, can scarcely be productive of any thing but mischief, disappointment, and misery. Dr. Renton, whom our Author quotes, says: 'So uniform is the result of the practice, that the annual importation of invalids from England is thought a fit subject for ridicule among the boatmen, on landing these unfortunates on the island: "*La vai mais hum Inglez a Laranjeira*"—"there goes another Englishman to the Orange tree" (the burying-ground of the Protestants)'.

The Azores, in the Eastern Atlantic, (whence come the oranges called St. Michael's from the name of one of the largest of the groupe,) are said to be remarkably exempt from consumptive ailment, and have been recommended as retreats for the consumptive; but they are totally destitute of the necessary accommodations for visitors. The advantages which the West Indies hold out to consumptive invalids, are, according to Dr. Clark, very few; and many other affections are confirmed and protracted, rather than mitigated and shortened, by residence in these tropical climates.

In the second division of his treatise, Dr. Clark descants upon the several derangements of health that admit of or require a change of residence for their mitigation or removal. But we have already trespassed beyond our proposed limits; and it would be going rather too much into technical medicine, were we to follow the Author in this part of his inquiry. Suffice it to say, that the Writer treats most at large upon disorders of the chest and of the stomach; and that he supposes this latter organ to be, more than is commonly imagined, the medium of derangement in the former. There is manifested throughout this dissertation sound judgement; but the diction, though flowing, is somewhat too diffuse and verbose, abounding with repetitions; and the doctrine is, in our judgement, too strongly tinged with the 'Digestive Organ' pathology.

Dr. Johnson's book, evidently the production of a benevolent man, abounds with much miscellaneous matter of an amusing description. The style and manner, however, captivating as they may be to some readers, are, we must confess, little to our taste. Dr. Harwood's volume, although it discovers rather too marked a partiality towards the locality of the Author's residence, will be found an instructive directory, in a medical point of view, for the visitors to Hastings.

**Art. III.** *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions: performed in His Majesty's Ship, Blossom, under the Command of Captain F. W. Beechey, R.N., in the Years 1825, 26, 27, 28. Quarto. pp. 763. London. 1831.*

**C**APTAIN Beechey's expedition formed one part of that bold and partially successful scheme which proposed to effect the definition of the Polar shores of North America, by penetrating the centre, and turning the flanks of that remote region. It was expected that, in the event of Captain Parry's success in effecting the North-west passage, he must have exhausted his resources by the time of his arrival in Behring's Strait; and it was justly deemed of the highest importance, that he should be enabled to obtain fresh supplies on completing that portion of his voyage. On the other hand, the very nature of Captain Franklin's equipment forbade the embarkation of sufficient stores for a lengthened voyage. With a view to meet the contingencies of either case, the Blossom frigate was properly fitted up and placed under the command of Captain Beechey, with instructions to await the arrival of the two expeditions, at an appointed rendezvous on the western coast of North America, until a previously arranged date. He was also directed to survey, *en route*, sundry islands and groupes, for the purpose of clearing up certain doubtful circumstances connected with their position and description.

The frigate sailed from Spithead, on the 19th of May, 1825, and, after touching at Santa Cruz, anchored in the noble harbour of Rio Janeiro, July 11. A month's stay was deemed necessary to prepare the ship for the passage round Cape Horn; but it was effected in September, without encountering the tempestuous weather so frequent in that quarter. Conception and Valparaiso were successively visited, and, late in October, the Blossom bore away from the coast of Chili, for her prescribed track through the islands of the Pacific. The first meeting with natives took place at Easter Island, and its results were unpromising. The islanders were at first urgent and apparently friendly, but, at the same time, rapacious and predatory. These rough greetings were followed by insolence, menaces, blowing of conch-shells, and, at last, by direct violence; nor could the party which had landed effect a retreat, without having recourse to fire-arms, of which the first discharge brought down the chief who had encouraged the aggressors in their assault. Elizabeth's Island, which was seen December 2, is remarkable from its singular structure, and from its connection with a most extraordinary event. The higher and central parts of the land, are composed of dead coral, evidently forced upward by some powerful

agency; this nucleus is surrounded by successive ledges of living coral, projecting beyond each other at different depths.

‘The first of these had an easy slope from the beach to a distance of about fifty yards, where it terminated abruptly about three fathoms under water. The next ledge had a greater descent, and extended to two hundred yards from the beach, with twenty-five fathoms of water over it, and there ended as abruptly as the former; a short distance beyond which, no bottom could be gained with two hundred fathoms of line. Numerous *echini* live upon these ledges, and a variety of richly coloured fish play over their surface, while some cray-fish inhabit the deeper sinuosities.’

This island was first discovered by the boats of an American whaler, under the following singular circumstances.

‘The *Essex* was in the act of catching whales, when one of these animals became enraged, and attacked the vessel by swimming against it with all its strength. The steersman endeavoured to evade the shock by managing the helm, but in vain. The third blow stove in the bows of the ship, and she went down in a very short time, even before some of the boats that were away had time to get on board. Such of the crew as were in the ship contrived to save themselves in the boats that were near, and were soon joined by their astonished shipmates, who could not account for the sudden disappearance of their vessel; but found themselves unprovided with every thing necessary for a sea-voyage, and several thousand miles from any place where they could hope for relief. The boats, after the catastrophe, determined to proceed to Chili, touching at Ducie's Island in their way. They steered to the southward, and, after considerable sufferings, landed upon an island which they supposed to be that above mentioned, but which was in fact Elizabeth Island. Not being able to procure any water here, they continued their voyage to the coast of Chili, where two boats out of the three arrived, but with only three or four persons in them. The third was never heard of, but it is not improbable that the wreck of a boat, and four skeletons, which were seen on Ducie's Island by a merchant vessel, were her remains and that of her crew. Had these unfortunate persons been aware of the situation of Pitcairn's Island, which is only ninety miles from Elizabeth Island, and to leeward of it, all their lives would have been saved.’

Pitcairn's Island was the next object; and the details of his visit there, supply some of the most interesting portions of Captain Beechey's volume. On nearing the land, a well-equipped boat was seen under sail, and her crew, comprising all the young men on the island, with ‘old Adams’ at their head, were soon at the ship's side. Their demeanour was frank, but respectful; and their patriarch still retained his sailor's habits, ‘doffing his hat and smoothing down his bald forehead whenever he was addressed by the officers’. His narrative, the first clear and minute account of the mutiny which peopled the

island, (or rather repeopled it, since there are evident signs of former inhabitants,) is given by Captain B. at greater length than we can manage in the way of extract; and we must content ourselves with indicating its more remarkable circumstances. Our readers will, no doubt, recollect that, in the year 1787, H. M. S. *Bounty*, commanded by Lieutenant Bligh, was despatched to Otaheite, for the purpose of transporting the bread-fruit tree from that country to our West India Islands. A six months' sojourn at that Cythera of the Pacific, must have tended, in some degree, to relax the bond of discipline; and the conduct of Bligh, who seems to have been a man of coarse violence, toward his officers, was not calculated to make obedience pleasant. Christian, the leader of the mutiny, had the misfortune to be under obligations, both of a personal and a pecuniary nature, to Lieut. Bligh; and the latter was accustomed, when under excitement, to remind his protégé of transactions to which a man of more delicate feelings would have cautiously avoided the most distant allusion. This was wormwood to Christian's sensitive nature; and on one occasion, when unusually moved, he told Bligh, though probably without any distinct meaning in the threat, that the day of reckoning would arrive. On the day previous to the meeting, Bligh had quarrelled fiercely with his officers about some miserable trifle, not forgetting his usual diatribe against poor Christian, whose resentment induced him to refuse a conciliatory invitation to supper in the commander's cabin.

Matters were in this state on the 28th of April, 1789, when the *Bounty*, on her homeward voyage, was passing to the southward of Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands. It was one of those beautiful nights which characterize the tropical regions, when the mildness of the air, and the stillness of nature, dispose the mind to reflection. Christian, pondering over his own grievances, considered them so intolerable that anything appeared preferable to enduring them; and he determined, as he could not redress them, that he would at least escape from the possibility of their being increased. Absence from England, and a long residence at Otaheite, where new connexions were formed, weakened the recollections of his native country, and prepared his mind for the reception of ideas which the situation of the ship and the serenity of the moment particularly favoured. His plan, strange as it may appear for a young officer to adopt, who was fairly advanced in an honourable profession, was to set himself adrift upon a raft, and make his way to the island then in sight. As quick in the execution as in the design, the raft was soon constructed; various useful articles were got together, and he was on the point of launching it, when a young officer, who afterwards perished in the *Pandora*, to whom Christian communicated his intention, recommended him, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, to endeavour to take possession of the ship, which he thought would not be very difficult, as

many of the ship's company were not well disposed towards the commander, and would all be very glad to return to Otaheite, and reside among their friends in that island. This daring proposition is even more extraordinary than the premeditated scheme of his companion, and, if true, certainly relieves Christian from part of the odium which has hitherto attached to him as the sole instigator of the mutiny.'

It appears, however, that this account, so far as the latter circumstance is concerned, is at variance with other statements. Still, it is possible that the intimation may have been given in the reckless spirit of a sailor, half in earnest, half in bitter jest, without a moment's expectation that it would be seriously taken and desperately followed up. Be this as it may, the hint was not lost on Christian, and he set about the execution of his dark purpose without flinching and without delay. The actual circumstances of the mutiny have long been before the public; and we pass on to the subsequent adventures of the mutineers. An attempt to form a settlement at Tobouai, an island about 300 miles to the southward of Taheite, failed through the determined opposition of the natives. The harmony of the party now began to be disturbed; different opinions were fiercely maintained; and, notwithstanding the absurdity and obvious risk of the scheme, a majority of the crew determined on settling at Taheite,—the very first place where they would be looked for, and where the greater part were actually seized, by the ship sent for that purpose by the British Government. The ship was given up to Christian and eight associates, who, accompanied by six natives and a number of kidnapped females, sailed, without any fixed purpose as to where they should direct their course. The Marquesas were proposed, but ultimately, Pitcairn's Island was preferred, where, in January 1790, they landed, and, after having secured every thing that could be of use, burned the vessel. The 'blacks,' originally engaged on terms of friendship and equality, submitted to be treated as slaves, and for about two years, 'every thing went 'on peaceably and prosperously.' This state of quiet enjoyment was interrupted by an act of violence committed on one of the slaves, who was deprived of his wife, in compliance with the unreasonable wishes of the armourer, whose female companion had been killed by accident. The blacks conspired, but their machinations were detected, and two of the number ultimately lost their lives. Two quiet years again passed on, till oppression once more caused the blacks to mutiny. This time, they managed matters with more fatal skill. Christian, who appears to have been a man of kind dispositions, was the first victim of the misconduct of his comrades, and, in the result, only four Englishmen, out of nine, were left alive. Nor did the men of colour long enjoy their victory; they quarrelled



among themselves; the women took part in the contest; and after a sickening series of plots and assassinations, the male blacks were exterminated. Next came variance between the females and the whites; and when harmony was restored, one of the men succeeded in manufacturing ardent spirit: intoxication became frequent, and in the delirium of drunkenness, a wretched being threw himself from a rock, and was killed. This, happily, put a stop to the use of inebriating liquor. The dangerous behaviour of another, made it necessary to put him to death; and this strange and protracted tragedy closed with the natural death of a third, and the sole survivance of Adams. Before his decease, however, the individual just referred to, whose name was Young, and who is stated to have been 'of a 'serious turn of mind,' introduced, with the full consent of Adams, the systematic observance of religious duties, in a regular performance of Sabbath service, and the introduction of morning and evening prayer. This appears to have been attended with the happiest effect. Captain Beechey observes concerning the change produced on the mind and habits of Adams, that

'his reformation could not, perhaps, have taken place at a more propitious moment. Out of nineteen children upon the island, there were several between the age of seven and nine years; who, had they been long suffered to follow their own inclinations, might have acquired habits which it would have been difficult, if not impossible for Adams to eradicate. The moment was therefore most favourable for his design, and his laudable exertions were attended by advantages both to the objects of his care and to his own mind, which surpassed his most sanguine expectations. He nevertheless had an arduous task to perform. Besides the children to be educated, the Otaheitan women were to be converted; and as the example of the parents had a powerful influence over their children, he resolved to make them his first care. Here also his labours succeeded; the Otaheitans were naturally of a tractable disposition, and gave him less trouble than he anticipated; the children also acquired such a thirst after scriptural knowledge, that Adams in a short time had little else to do than to answer their inquiries and put them in the right way. As they grew up, they acquired fixed habits of morality and piety; their colony improved; intermarriages occurred; and they now form a happy and well regulated society, the merit of which in a great degree belongs to Adams, and tends to redeem the former errors of his life.'

The community thus formed, and now flourishing in this secluded islet, exists in the greatest harmony. Some of their usages present a strange mixture of barbarian habits with the recollections of more civilized association; as, for instance, in the demeanour of the men towards the females. Nothing can be more kind and affectionate than their treatment, but, as the ladies happened to be second in the order of creation, it has been sagaciously determined, that man's priority in this instance

gives him a right to priority of service, and he claims, in consequence, precedence in the honours and conveniences of the table.

‘ Their argument was, that man was made first, and ought, consequently, on all occasions to be served first,—a conclusion which deprived us of the company of the women at table during the whole of our stay at the island. Far from considering themselves neglected, they very good-naturedly chatted with us behind our seats, and flapped away the flies, and by a gentle tap, accidentally or playfully delivered, reminded us occasionally of the honour that was done us. The conclusion of our meal was the signal for the women to prepare their own, to whom we resigned our seats, and strolled out to enjoy the freshness of the night. It was late by the time the women had finished, and we were not sorry when we were shewn to the beds provided for us. The mattress was composed of palm-leaves covered with native cloth; the sheets were of the same material, and we knew by the crackling of them, that they were quite new from the loom or beater. The whole arrangement was extremely comfortable, and highly inviting to repose, which the freshness of the apartment, rendered cool by the circulation of air through its sides, enabled us to enjoy without any annoyance from heat or insects. One interruption only disturbed our first sleep; it was the pleasing melody of the evening hymn, which, after the lamps were put out, was chanted by the whole family in the middle of the room. In the morning also we were awoke by their morning hymn and family devotion. As we were much tired, and the sun's rays had not yet found their way through the broad opening of the apartment, we composed ourselves to rest again, and, on awaking, found that all the natives were gone to their several occupations,—the men to offer what assistance they could to our boats in landing, carrying burdens for the seamen, or to gather what fruits were in season. Some of the women had taken our linen to wash; those whose turn it was to cook for the day, were preparing the oven, the pig, and the yams; and we could hear by the reiterated strokes of the beater, that others were engaged in the manufacture of cloth. By our bedside had already been placed some ripe fruits, and our hats were crowned with chaplets of the fresh blossoms of the nono or flower-tree (*morinda citrifolia*), which the women had gathered in the freshness of the morning dew. On looking round the apartment, though it contained several beds, we found no partition, curtain, or screens; they had not yet been considered necessary. So far indeed from concealment being thought of, when we were about to get up, the women, anxious to shew their attention, assembled to wish us a good morning, and to inquire in what way they could contribute to our comforts, and to present us with some little gift which the produce of the island afforded.’

It were much to be wished, that this pleasing state of things might continue, and this patriarchal tribe remain unspotted from the world; but, notwithstanding the most careful cultivation of every spot capable of culture, it is beginning to be felt, that the natural course of increase must soon over-populate

the island. The surplus must, of course, be draughted off, or perish: and we are happy to state, that measures have been taken by the British Government to meet the emergency, and to furnish this interesting people with articles now become indispensable to their comfort.

The Blossom sailed on her further destination, Dec. 21. Gambier's Groupe was the next object of importance; but the turbulence of the inhabitants endangered the safety of the party that landed, and fire-arms were, of necessity, resorted to in defence of life. Among the more interesting incidents of the passage through the series of insular formations among which the vessel was now threading its way, may be reckoned the discovery of a small island in latitude  $19^{\circ} 40'$  S. and longitude  $140^{\circ} 29'$  W., on which was found an assemblage of upwards of forty individuals, with the dress, language, and manners of Taheite, although 600 miles from that island, and in a region of which the natives are different in all respects of personal appearance and civilization. Although they had made themselves sufficiently comfortable in their new abode, they were anxious for a conveyance to their own country; but this was impossible; and one family only was accommodated with a passage. They were all Christians, and were in possession of Testaments and hymn-books in their own language; nor did their general demeanour disagree with their profession. It afterwards appeared that three large double canoes, under the command of several chiefs, had embarked from Chain Island, tributary to Taheite, and about 300 miles from it in an easterly direction, on a visit of ceremony to a new sovereign. Alternate calms and storms subjected them to dreadful sufferings, and drove them, not only out of their course, but, as already stated, 600 miles beyond the place to which they were bound: two of the canoes have never been heard of.

We feel considerable difficulty in dealing with Captain Beechey's statements respecting Taheite. He seems to charge the missionaries with miscalculation and failure in their system of civilization, as well as with no little exaggeration in their exhibition of its good effects in the actual state of things. His depositions are not very tangible, and we think that we can detect a large alloy of prejudice in his way of dealing with the subject. There is a mode of representation, by which things in themselves excellent or harmless, may be made to appear injurious or absurd; and Captain B. has not failed to avail himself, rather clumsily however, of this stale artifice. We are not aware that a system of police is bad, because its officers carry rusty swords, and wear red jackets in somewhat whimsical conjunction with the native *maro*. The administration of justice is not less pure and efficient because the *aava-rai*—a sort of

judge-advocate-general, we suppose,—dresses himself up very ridiculously, according to our notions, in a robe of straw, an immense oakum wig, and a tall cap with red feathers. Captain Beechey found much vice among the people: we do not doubt it; but we must say that, on his own shewing, he seems to have kept bad company. It is not impossible, that there may be somewhat of colouring in the representations which we have been accustomed to read, of the state of society in these islands; but, even in the admissions of the critical Captain, there is enough to satisfy us that the missionary statements are substantially correct. No one ever supposed that the civilization of Taheite could be otherwise than imperfect; that the entire national profession of Christianity is unalloyed by superstition; or that the natives were all at once changed into a high-minded and accomplished race; nor have the statements before us given us a worse opinion of the people, than we entertained previously, although they have not, most assuredly, raised our admiration of their Author. It is by no means unimportant to observe, that nothing can be more injurious to the morals of such a community, nothing more obstructive of their advance in all that constitutes the true happiness and dignity of man, than the sort of communication which is usually consequent on the visit of ships from Europe. But to this subject we shall have occasion to advert more at large in our next Number.

Neither the visit to the Sandwich Islands, nor the brief stay at Petrapaulski, supplied any novelty which calls for notice; nor shall we delay our progress through the volume, by attempting to particularize the circumstances of the northern navigation. From the publication of Captain Franklin, our readers have long been in possession of the results of that portion of the voyage. There was much intercourse with the natives; the usual course of scientific investigation; and a resolute accomplishment of all that could be effected, consistently with the objects and arrangements of the expedition. The results of this voyage and of the journey of Franklin, leave but 146 miles of shore unaccounted for in this direction; and have, to all reasonable satisfaction, ascertained the limit and direction of the American coast.

Having lingered at the point of rendezvous until further delay became exceedingly hazardous, Captain Beechey was compelled to make for some southerly port where he might be able to obtain supplies. He first sought them at San Francisco and Monterey, but, failing there, was obliged to make for the Sandwich Islands, and ultimately for China, before he could complete his preparations.

Aware that Captain Beechey had visited the islands of Loo Choo, we felt exceedingly anxious for the appearance of his

account; especially as it had been understood that his details were materially at variance with those of Captain Hall. To a certain extent, this is true, although not sufficiently so to impeach the general accuracy of that enterprising and observant traveller. Nothing, for instance, in his narrative excited greater astonishment and incredulity than the statement, that the use of arms was unknown in Loo Choo. It now appears, indeed, that both cannon and muskets, together with other warlike apparatus, are to be found on the island; but it is also stated by Captain B., that, while there, he 'never saw any weapon what-ever, in use or otherwise.' It has also been affirmed, that those islanders are ignorant of the use of money. This is now ascertained to be erroneous, since it was seen in circulation, and some of it was actually obtained. It was, moreover, believed that the infliction of corporal punishment was unknown among this mild people: this error was corrected at a very early stage of the visit, by the following circumstance.

'The mandarin, fearful we might experience some annoyance from having so many people on board without any person to control them, sent off a trusty little man with a disproportionably long bamboo cane to keep order; and who was in consequence named Master-at-Arms by the seamen. This little man took care that the importance of his office should not escape notice, and occasionally exercised his baton of authority, in a manner which seemed to me much too severe for the occasion; and sometimes even drew forth severe though ineffectual animadversions from his peaceable countrymen: but, as I thought it better that he should manage matters in his own way, I did not allow him to be interfered with.'

When the Blossom anchored in the port of Napakiung, the usual visit took place, and one of the men in office was provided with a vocabulary, by the help of which he carried on a somewhat minute and pertinacious cross-examination relating to the number of the guns and crew, as well as concerning the objects of the voyage. It afterwards appeared that, in addition to his phrase-book, he had some slight knowledge of the English language. Captain Beechey was, at first, in hopes that this same learned linguist might prove to be the Mádera of Captain Hall, but he was soon compelled to dismiss this notion. The Loo-chooan obstinately denied all knowledge of any previous visit on the part of any English vessel, until thrown off his guard in a rather whimsical way.

'The manner in which the discovery was made, is curious. After the *sackee* (wine or spirits) had gone round a few times, An-yah inquired if "ship got womans?" and being answered in the negative, he replied, somewhat surprised, "Other ships got womans, handsome womans!" alluding to Mrs. Loy, with whom the Loo-Chooans were so much captivated that, it is thought, she had an offer from a person of

high authority in the island. I then taxed him with having a knowledge of other ships; and when he found he had betrayed himself, he laughed heartily, and acknowledged that he recollected the visit of the *Alceste* and *Lyra*, which, he correctly said, was a hundred and forty-four moons ago, and that he was the linguist An-yah, whom Captain Hall calls An-yah *Toonsphoonja*; but he disclaimed all right to this appendage to his name. Having got thus far, I inquired after almost all the characters which so much interested me in reading the publication alluded to above; but they either prevaricated, or disclaimed all recollection of the persons alluded to, and I found it extremely difficult to get a word in answer. At last, one of them said, that Ookoma was at the other end of the island, and another immediately added, that he had gone to Pekin. A third stated that Mádera was very ill at the capital, while it was asserted by others, that he was dead, or that he was banished to Pátanján. They all maintained they never had any knowledge of such persons as Shang-fwee, and Shang-pungfwee, the names given to the king and prince of Loo Choo in Captain Hall's publication. From this conversation it was very evident, that they knew perfectly well who Ookoma and Mádera were, but did not intend to give us any correct information about them.'

It appeared from subsequent inquiry, that the penal code of Loo Choo is, like that of China, exceedingly severe. It allows of examination by torture; visits adultery and seduction with banishment; and for the higher offences against society, inflicts death by strangulation.

The ship left Loo Choo May 25, 1827, and, after ascertaining various important points connected with the intermediate navigation, reached the bay of Awatska, July 3; sailing again, on the 20th, for the station where it had been appointed to meet Captain Franklin, in the event of a successful termination to his coasting voyage round the Icy Cape. It is unnecessary to say, that the meeting did not take place. In other respects, this part of the voyage was disastrous: the ship once took the ground in perilous circumstances, and her tender was lost in Kotzebue Sound, with the loss of three lives. The natives, too, were hostile; several of our people were wounded with arrows, and one of the Esquimaux was shot.

At this point, the main interest ceases: the voyage homeward is briefly described, and but little important circumstance occurs until the paying-off of the crew at Woolwich, Oct. 12, 1828.

It only remains for us to state the result of Captain Beechey's very brief examination of the question, whether the North-west Passage may be attempted from the east or the west, with the greatest probability of success: he inclines, and, we think, on fair grounds, to the western route as the easiest of access.

The 'Narrative' is interestingly written, and some of the plates are well executed, though we could have wished for an ampler allowance of charts.



Art. IV.—1. *Sketches of Irish Character*. By Mrs. S. C. Hall. Second Series. Small 8vo. Price 9s. London, 1831.

2. *Irishmen and Irishwomen*. By the Author of Hyacinth O'Gara, &c. Second Edition. 12mo. pp. 219. Price 3s. 6d. Dublin, 1831.

**M**R<sup>S</sup>. HALL is really a charming writer, and her Irish stories more especially,—not at all like Miss Edgeworth's tales, or Crofton Croker's fairy legends, both admirable in their way,—are full of life and character, with that mixture of humour and pathos which seems the native temperament of the children of Erin;—which pervades the national melodies, as well as the manners of the people;—which fascinates us in the pages of Goldsmith, gave its charm to the eloquence of Curran, and redeems the meretricious graces of the Muse of Moore. Mrs. Hall avows it to be her main object, in these efforts of her pen, to make Ireland agreeably and advantageously known to England; a design which does honour to her patriotism, and stamps a moral value upon productions of a class generally adapted for mere amusement. We do not mean to intimate that these Tales aim at communicating high moral or religious instruction; and in pointing them out to the notice of our readers, we must qualify our admiration of the talent and good feeling they display, by a word of caution as to their being indiscriminately put into the hands of readers of all ages. We are not very fond of dieting the minds of young people on fictitious narrative of any kind, whether religious, moral, or entertaining; but an obvious distinction may be drawn between those works which aim at the biography of character, and those which profess only to delineate national manners. In the latter class, the dialogue, which gives so much dramatic interest to the story, can seldom be at once true to the life and altogether fit for the eye or ear of those into whom we would wish to instil a profound reverence for the Divine name, to say nothing of other minor improprieties; and the scene must often be laid in walks of life to which the longer young persons remain utter strangers, the better. For a work of this class, Mrs. Hall's Irish Sketches are as unexceptionable, perhaps, as possible; never offending against delicacy, pure in sentiment as in language, while the interest is, for the most part, of a quiet and domestic character. Still, we cannot say that they are altogether free from the sins of phraseology to which we allude, as inseparable from the recital of characteristic conversation between either Irish or English villagers. With this cautionary qualification premised, we shall proceed to select a few specimens of the graphic skill and vivacity of manner, which give so much charm to these varied Sketches.

The tales are thirteen in number. Of these, some have already appeared in the periodicals, but the greater part are new

to us. They differ from those of the first series, chiefly as aiming at a deeper interest by the more romantic character of the story. In *Mabel O'Neil's Curse*, the *Rapparee*, and *The Last of the Line*, Mrs. Hall has struck out into a bolder line of composition than in her village scenes and sketches, and, if she has not pleased us more, has surprised us by these new proofs of the versatility and reach of her talents. She has left behind Miss Mitford, and aspired after a style in which she comes nearer to the very clever Author of the *Tales of the O'Hara family*. We scarcely know whether to encourage her to proceed in this line. We must confess that we prefer 'Annie Leslie' and 'Mark Connor' to any tales in the present volume, and we think 'The Dispensation', in the last year's *Amulet*, the very best of all her productions. We cannot, therefore, but consider her as most at home in a style of composition which is in itself the most appropriate to a female pen, and in which, at the same time, she is likely to have fewest competitors.

We shall take as our first extract the following scene in an Irish inn.

' " True for ye, ma'am dear, it is smoking up to the nines, sure enough, but it's by no manner o' manes unwholesome, more particularly at this season, when it's so *could*; it will clear, my lady, in a minute—see, it's moving off now."

' " Moving up, you mean," replied the young lady to whom this speech was addressed, and whose eye followed the thick and curling smoke that twisted and twisted in serpent-like folds around the blackened rafters of " Mr. Corney Phelim's Original Inn,"—so at least the dwelling was designated by the painted board that had once graced it, but now played the part of door to a dilapidated pig-stye. Again, another volume folded down the chimney, for so the orifice was termed under which the good-tempered and rosy Nelly Clarey was endeavouring to kindle a fire, with wet boughs and crumbling turf. The maid of the inn knelt before the unmanageable combustibles, fanning the flickering flame with her apron, or puffing it with her breath; the bellows, it is true, lay at her side, but it was bereft of nose and handle. " Poor thing," she said, compassionately, " it wasn't in its natur to last for ever; and sure master's grandmother bought it as good as thirty years ago, at the fair of Clonmel, as a curiosity, more nor any thing else, as I heard say."

' " Are you sure," interrogated the young lady, after patiently submitting to be smoke-dried for many minutes, " are you sure that the flue is clear?"

' " Is it clear, my lady! Why, then, bad cess to me for not thinking of that before!—sure I've good right to remember thim devils o' crows making their nesteens in the chimbley; and it's only when the likes o' you and y'er honourable father stops at the inn, that we lights a fire in this place at all."

' She took up the wasting-candle that was stuck in a potatoe in lieu

of candlestick, and, placing a bare but well-formed foot on a projecting embrasure near the basement, dexterously catching the huge beam that crossed the chimney with her disengaged hand, swung herself half up the yawning cavern, without apparently experiencing any inconvenience from the dense atmosphere. After investigating for some time, "Paddy Dooley!—Paddy Dooley!" she exclaimed, "come here, like a good boy, wid the pitchfork, till we makes way for the smoke."

"I can't, Nelly, honey," replied Mister Paddy, from a shed that was erected close to the "*parlour*" window, "a'n't I striving to fix a bit of a manger, that his honour's horses may eat their hay and beautiful oats, dacently, what they're accustomed to—but Larry can go."

"Larry, avourneen!" said Nelly, in a coaxing tone, "do lend us a hand here wid the pitchfork."

"It's quare manners of ye, Nelly—a dacent girl like ye, to be asking a gentleman like me for his hand," (Larry, it must be understood, was the *bocher*\* and wit of the establishment,) "and I trying for the dear life to rason wid this ould lady, and make her keep in the sty; she's nosed a hole through the beautiful sign."

"Bad luck to ye both!" ejaculated Ellen, angrily, "I'll tell the masther, so I will," she observed, jumping on the clay floor, her appearance not at all improved by her ascent. "Masther, dear, here's the boys and the crows after botherin' me; will ye tell them to help me down with the nest?—the lady's shivering alive with the could, and not a sparkle of fire to keep it from her heart."

"Don't *you* be after botherin' *me*, Nelly," replied the host; "but I ax pardon for my unmannerliness," he continued, coming into the room—his pipe stuck firmly between his teeth, and his rotund person stooping, in a bowing attitude, to Miss Dartforth—"Sure I'll move it myself with all the veins o' my heart to pleasure the lady at any time!—Give us a loan of the pitchfork, Larry!"

"To tell God's truth, master, it's broke, and the smith—bad luck to him!—forgot to call for it, and little Paddeen forgot to lave it—but here's the shovel 'ill do as well, and better too, for it's as good as a broom, seeing it's so neatly split at the broad end." "The master" took the shovel, not angrily, as an English master would have done, at such neglect; but taking for granted that a shovel would do as well as a pitchfork, or a broom, or any thing else, "when it came easy to hand," and perfectly well satisfied with Larry's ingenuity. He poked and poked up the chimney, while Ellen stood looking on at his exertions, her head upturned, her ample mouth open, displaying her white foolish-looking teeth to perfect advantage. Presently, down came such an accumulation of soot, dried sticks, clay, and disagreeables, that Nelly placed her hands on her eyes, and ran into the kitchen, exclaiming "that she was blinded for life;" while the young lady, half suffocated, followed her example, and left "mine host of the public" to arrange his crows' nests according to his fancy.' pp. 113—117.

'Mark Connor's Wooing and Wedding', is a delightful and

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\* A lame man.

not uninformative tale. We must extract the account of the Emerald's proceeding in the former business, introduced by a portrait of the hero himself.

“ Mr. Connor” (or, as he was called in his own land, for he was a *rale* Emerald—“ Mark, the traveller,”) was a fine handsome fellow, gifted by nature with an animated, expressive countenance and manners far above his situation in life; there was a mingling both of wildness and tenderness in his voice and address; and his garments, of the blended costumes of both countries, had a picturesque appearance to English eyes. He could never be reconciled to smock-frocks, to which all the Irish peasantry have a decided antipathy; but he had discarded knee-breeches and woollen stockings, and wore trowsers, which certainly looked better with his long blue coat; his scarlet waistcoat was “ spick and span new,” his yellow silk neckerchief tied loosely, so as to display his fine throat, and his smart hat so much on one side of his thickly-curling hair that it seemed almost doubtful if it could retain its position. “ Mark, the traveller,” was the eldest son of a respectable cattle-dealer, and frequently visited England to dispose of live stock, whether pigs, cows, or sheep, which, of course, he could sell more cheaply than English farmers could rear them. He had long known Helen and her father, and had loved the former with more constancy (I am sorry for it, but truth must be told,) than Irishmen usually possess.

She loved him too, silently and unchangingly; the gracefulness of his manners first attracted her attention, and she saw—or what, even with a sensible girl in love, is pretty much the same thing—she fancied she saw—good and noble qualities to justify her attachment. Those quiet, pensive sort of girls have always ten times the feeling and romance of your sparkling giddy gipsies; and, notwithstanding that Helen discharged all her duties as usual, and no common observer could have perceived any alteration, yet her heart often wandered over the salt sea, beat at the sound of the Irish brogue, and silently enquired if indeed the natives of the green island could be uncivilized savages? She had, moreover, a very strong passion for *green*, and it was actually whispered, that she wore in her bosom, a shamrock brooch, carefully concealed by the folds of her clear white kerchief. Her elder sister had been a wife, a mother, and a widow, within twelve months, and resided with her father and Helen; they might truly be called a united, contented family; perhaps Helen was somewhat more than contented, as she prepared the simple supper for their visiter, who had been some days expected, and who sat, in their neat little parlour, at the open casement, into which early roses and the slender Persian lilac were flinging perfume and beauty; the honest farmer puffing away at his long white pipe, as he leaned half out on the painted window-sill.

“ I’m thinking, Mr. Connor, ye don’t use such long pipes as these ‘un’s in your country!” said the yeoman, after a pause.

“ Ye may say that, sure enough;—we brake them off close to the bowl—and thin it comes hot and strong to us.”

“ Ye’re very fond of things hot and strong in that place, Mister

Connor, but I'll do you the justice to say, I never saw you in liquor all my life, though I have known you now more than six years."

"Nor never will, sir, I hope and trust. I never had a fancy for it, nor my father before me, which was a powerful blessing to the entire family, seeing it kept us out o' harm's way."

"I knew I had something particular to speak to you about," resumed the old man. "Do you remember the last lot of pigs you sold me?"

"May-be I don't."

"That means I do, I take it, in English. Well, perhaps you recollect one with a black head—a long-bodied animal—strangely made about the shoulders."

"Ough, an' it's I remember it, the quare baste! good rason have I; with its wigly-wagly tail, and the skreetches of it. Sure, because ye were my friend, I warned ye to have nothing to say to her; and you ('cause, ye mind, ye said, when she was broadened out, she would make good bacon,) took a great fancy to her, and so I let you have her, a dead bargain."

"Bargain, indeed! she would eat nothing we could give her, and, knowing she was Irish, Helen picked the potatoes, mealy ones, and —"

Here Mark cast a look of indignation at his host, and exclaimed—

"Well that bates Bannaher! Miss Helen, who's more like an angel than a woman, pick potatoes for an unmannerly sort of a pig; a *Connaught pig*, too, that *could* have no sort of manners! Sure I ought to have tould ye, Sir, the Connaught chaps (the pigs I mane,) 'ill never eat *boiled* potatoes—the unmannerly toads, it's just like them. Well, to make up for his ignorance, take y'er pick out of the drove for nothing, and welcome, to morrow, and I'll go bail not a Connaught pig is in the lot—not a squeak did they give getting on board, only all quiet and civil as princes."

"Thank ye, that's honest, and more than honest," replied the farmer. "I have no objection to an abatement—that's all fair; but to take the pig for nothing is what I won't do, for ye see fair is fair, all the world over."

"You'll do what I say, master, because ye're an old friend; and be in no trouble on account of the cost, for I've had a powerful dale of luck lately. My mother's uncle, in America, is dead, and left a dale more behind than 'ill bury him; a good seventy a-piece to the three of us;—and, so before I came this turn to England, I took a neat bit of ground on my own account, that has as pretty a house on it as any in the country for the size of it; three nice rooms, with a door in the middle, and a loft; it was built for a steward's lodge, and a bawn at the back, with every convenience; and, when I was on the move, I left ten pounds o' the money with Matty, my youngest brother, to have the room off the kitchen boarded for a parlour, for I mean to have it the very morral of an English cottage, as I mean—if—if—I—can—to have an English—girl for a—a—wife."

"Well done, well said Mister Connor; but who do you think would go over with you to that unchristian country, where——"

"I ax y'er pardon, sir, ye're under a mistake; there are as good

Christians, and Protestant Christians, too, in Ireland as in England—(I mean no offence)—and with such as fills that purse, (and he drew from his bosom a long leather bag and flung it on the table,) and such a boy as myself, an English girl may be had, Mister Gardiner; though (he added in a subdued tone) the one my heart is set upon is not to be bought with silver or gould.”

“Not bought with silver or gold, Mr. Mark! Well, hang it, that’s more than I’d say to any of the sex.”

“You wrong them, then, sir;—money’s a powerful thing—but look, there’s some of them (one that I know of in partickler) so pure somehow—like a lily, for all the world—that a heavy sorrow would crush, or the least thing in life spot; and nothing could buy the love of *that* heart, because, as well as I can make it out, it has more of heaven than earth about it.”

“No one can make you Irishmen out,” retorted the farmer, laughing: “but may I ask *who* this lily—this delicate flower, is?”

“Is it *who* it is?” replied Mark: “Why, then, no one but y’er own daughter, Helen Gardiner by name, and an angel by nature; and now the murder’s out,” he continued, “and my heart’s a dale lighter.”

The worthy yeoman put down his pipe, and looked at Mark Connor with a sort of stupid astonishment; he was a keen, sensible man, shrewd and knowing in matters concerning wheat, rye, oats, and all manner of grain; the best judge of horse-flesh in the whole country; and such a cricketer! such an eye!—could get six, or, perhaps, seven, notches at one hit, and was, even then, a first-rate bowler: had, moreover, an uncontaminated affection for youthful sports, marbles, ball, humming and spinning tops, and would leave his pipe at any time for a game of blind-man’s-buff; yet it was certainly true; that the idea of Mark Connor’s aspiring to the station of his son-in-law never once entered the honest farmer’s head. “My Helen! Well, Mister Connor, every father, that is, every man who has the feelings of a father, must feel as a compliment an offer—I mean such as your’s—and I take it very sensible that you have mentioned the matter to me first, Mister Mark, because, of course, I must know best. As to Helen, poor girl, she has never thought about any thing of the sort; and, indeed, Mister Connor, although I highly respect you, and knew your father in the Bristol Market, an honest man (though an Irishman) as any in England, and know you to be a Protestant, and all; yet I must say my girl is very dear to me, I should not like to trust—I mean, not like her to leave Old England.”

Mark Connor was not much discomfited by these observations; he pushed his hair back from his forehead, paused a moment or two, during which interval the farmer resumed his pipe, and puffed, and puffed.

“You were quite right, farmer,” resumed the lover, after a pause, “quite right in supposing that I had never mentioned matrimony to Miss Helen, but ye see I mentioned——”

“What?”

“Why, it came quite natural like, the least taste of love, and she never gainsaid me, as she listened like any lamb.” pp. 266—274.

Although this is a longer extract than we can conveniently



afford room for, we cannot refrain from adding another scene from the same story, in which Mark and his Helen are exhibited as man and wife.

‘ Mark Connor was any thing but a fool, and yet, being seriously angry with his mother and the gossiping sisterhood in general, he did not kiss the tears from Helen’s cheek, his customary mode of chasing the sorrowing tokens away, but in no very gentle tone said, “ Ye’d better leave off crying, Helen, and let us have our supper in pace and quietness—women’s tongues and women’s tears are always ready when not wanted.”

‘ “ I seldom trouble you with my tears, Mark,” replied Helen, perhaps a little, *leette*, pettishly.

‘ “ You’ve seldom reason, Helen.”

‘ “ I am not saying I have.”

‘ “ But I say you have not.”

‘ Helen was silent—unjustly so, perhaps—but it was a slight indication of woman’s temper, and Mark was in no humour to put up with it.

‘ “ I say you have not, nor never have had since you have been my wife.”

‘ The remembrance of his mother’s rudeness, and Judy Maggs’ vulgarity, was fresh upon her mind, and she ejaculated—

‘ “ Mark ! Mark ! how can you say so ?”

‘ “ Oh, very well !” replied the husband, “ very well ! I suppose the first tale you tell your father, and he coming over next week, will be ‘ how ill I have used you ! ’ ”

‘ Helen was again silent, and her calm features assumed somewhat the expression of sulkiness.

‘ “ Do you mean to tell your father that I have used you ill ?” reiterated Mark, raising his voice at the same time.

‘ Helen’s tears flowed afresh, and she sobbed forth, “ You never did till now.”

‘ It was very unfortunate for both Mark and Helen, that a third and fourth party were witness of this first difference, for, had they been alone, Mark’s pride, and Helen’s too, would have given way ; but, as it was, neither would make the first advance towards reconciliation, and Mark swore a wicked oath ; and ended his pretty speech by muttering certain words, whose import was that he wished he had never married an Englishwoman. This was the unkindest cut of all. Helen, now really angry with her husband, and justly hurt at his unkindness, left the kitchen with the air of an offended princess, and the cooking to the little serving maiden, who performed it most sadly. “ I’ll not stay supper, thankee, Mark,” said Blaney O’Doole, who had wisely forborne all interference in a most *unIrish* way, rising as he spoke, and stroking his “ *cambeen*” with the open palm of his hand ; “ I’ll not stay supper, I thankee kindly, all the same, but I’ll go home ; only, Mark, if I had sworn that way at Misthress Blaney O’Doole, my wife, you know, I wouldn’t be in a whole skin now, that’s all ; good night, and God be wid ye !”

‘ “ I’ll go to bed, Mark,” said Matty, “ I’m very tired ; only,

Mark, asthore! don't be hard upon Helen; sure, ye know, the English are finer-like than us, and I saw her lip shake whin you swore so at her; and, indeed, I can't help thinkin' our place a dale nicer than any one else's; she does bother about it to be sure, and is horrid partiklar, but she's gentle-hearted, and gave me such a beautiful green silk Barcelona for Sunday, and says she'll give me a silver watch whin I'm fifteen;—don't be cruel, Mark; do you know that when I'm a man, I'll marry an Englishwoman!" And off went Matty, but not to bed; he left his brother sitting stubbornly at supper, his elbows resting on the table, and his face resting on his hands. "He's in one of his sulks," thought the good-natured boy, as he stole round the gable-end of the house to his sister-in-law's bed-room window, "and, if they're long coming, they are desperate long goin'! I'll see if I can't coax Helen to go and make it up with him; and I'll find some way to punish that meddlesome ould woman—for it was all of her that my mother was stirred up for a battle to-night—as if Mark hadn't a right to his own way!" These thoughts brought Matty or Matthew Connor to the little window that was curtained on the outside by the leaves of some fine geraniums, Helen's own particular plants; he peeped through the foliage, and saw Helen, her eyes still red with weeping, turning over the leaves of the small Bible (it had been her father's parting gift), as she sat at the little neat dressing-table.

"Helen! Helen!" said he softly, "Helen avourneen! don't fret, dear, but jist make friends wid Mark; the natur' of us Irish, you know, is hasty and hot; but, sure, Mark loves ye (and good reason he has) more than his heart's blood, and it's proud he is to have an English wife; sure it was only this mornin' he owned so, and he guidin' the plough; whin Mister Rooney, the man with the big farm, said that this house was a pattern to the country side, 'it's my wife I may thank for it,' made answer my brother, as well he might."

"For your mother to accuse me of burning a live pig!" said Helen indignantly.

"Helen, dear! I know what that was all owin' to, that blunderin', ould, wizzen-faced, go-by-the-ground, Judy Maggs, who, whin I tould ye the pig was ready for burnin' in the barn, (meanin', you know, that it was ready to have the hair singed off, the Hampshire way, for bacon, instead of bein' scalded our way,) was all in a fuss to know what I was afther; I was no way inclined to gratify her curiosity; don't you mind, I mean rimimber, what a lantin' puff she set off in this very mornin' about it?"

Helen sighed, and thought, as everybody else thinks who attempts to improve Ireland, that the *beginning* is difficult, if not dangerous—*c'est le premier pas qui coute*. "But you'll make it up with Mark, Helen; poor fellow! there he is sitting by himself, and the fire out, and Biddy spoilt the supper entirely—sorra a bit he's eat."

"Not eat any supper!" repeated Helen, slowly looking up.

"Not as much as 'ud fill a mite's eye!—and Helen," added the cunning rogue, "he had a hard day's work, and wasn't over well."

Helen turned over the leaves of the little book, then closed and pushed it gently from her.

“ Good night, dear Matty—don’t forget your prayers—good night.”

‘ Matty had an intuitive knowledge of woman’s heart, which it puzzles many a philosopher to acquire ; so he only murmured a sincere “ God bless you !” and withdrew, thinking slyly to himself, “ that ’ill bring her round, any way.”

‘ Soon, very soon after, a small, gentle hand lifted the latch of the kitchen door ; presently, Helen’s face appeared at the opening, sweet, but serious. Mark pretended to be both deaf and blind—he still retained his position—and, though she advanced into the kitchen, he moved not. Helen’s pride and her affection wrestled for a moment within her, but *the woman triumphed* ; she threw her arms round his neck, and looked affectionately in his face ;—it was enough—“ there was naebody by,” so Mark compromised his dignity, and the past was forgotten. I do believe this was the last, as I know it to have been the first quarrel that followed Mark Connor’s wooing and wedding.’

pp. 302—308.

We add from the first tale, a curious piece of information, given in a note.

‘ The “ ancient Irish ” invariably denominate the more recent settlers, “ Cromelians.” A whimsical illustration of this fact occurred within my knowledge. The following conversation took place, a few months ago, in the streets of Cork, between an English housekeeper and an Irish market woman :—

‘ “ Good morrow, ma’am. I hope ye want a basket this fine morning, ma’am ?”

‘ “ I believe I shall.”

‘ “ Why, then, long life to you, ma’am, I hope you’ll take *me*. I believe you’re English, ma’am ?”

‘ “ Yes.”

‘ “ I thought so, ma’am ; *I’m* English, too.”

‘ “ Indeed ! when did you come over to Ireland ?”

‘ “ Oh, ma’am, I came over wid Oliver Cromwell, ma’am.”

“ Irishmen and Irishwomen ” is certainly far less adapted than Mrs. Hall’s Sketches, to make the condition and manners of the people ‘ *agreeably* and ‘ *advantageously* known ;’ but, if it supplies a darker picture, it is, we fear, not less true to nature and to fact. The tale is very cleverly, and, in parts, powerfully written, and the dialogue is occasionally so thoroughly Irish as almost to require, on this side of the Channel, a glossary. The second chapter introduces us to a knot of White-boys.

‘ “ Well, boys,” said Mulvaney, “ I’m glad to see the stuff you are made of : a hundred the like of you, would soon clear Ireland of them that won’t leave the poor even what the cold earth itself gives them, barring the day-light and the spring water : and, to my know-

ledge, both one and other of them is paid for in Dublin. And how short a time, may I ask you, will the mail-coach be bringing down that order to us, when Lord Colverston, and Sir Ralph Thorndale, and Jack Oglandby, and other orange magistrates and brunswickers, will write to tell the Castle, that we are nothing but cattle with horns and hoofs? Aye, boys, that's hanging over us, and worse to follow, if we don't stir ourselves. So, now for business. You see, boys, none of the gentlemen of the committee could meet here this evening, but myself and Mr. Taafe, and Mr. Flagnoolagh; but there is their names to the paper, with all drawn out reglar, that is demanded from you, according to your oath.—Now, listen, while I call over your names. Tim Fahy, Connel St. Leger, Wat Delahunt, Val. Tigne—its put on you four, to shoot old Jack Oglandby, in his coach, next Wednesday evening, at the grove between the bridge and Carragh."

' "With all the joy of my heart," said Connel, "or any body else that's marked. But how are we to get at him? Are we to send him a civil message to drive out, and be shot dasently, without more trouble? For who ever saw him out after night-fall this many a long day?"

' "Leave your jeering, Connel. Better heads than your's have settled all that. There's to be a grand dinner at Charlesborough next Wednesday. The whole country will be there to meet the English Lord, who is come to look after his estates; Jack Oglandby will be there among the rest, to fill the stranger's mind with stories against his poor tenants: so, as the thing was settled long ago, the committee thinks it would be a good time to get him out of the way, when he is coming back that lonesome road. Then, it will be a good lesson to the Englishman, if he has thoughts of grinding us, like the rest of them."

' "It's more the business of the Carragh boys, nor ours," said Fahy. "Why should it be put on us, when they will be the gainers in the end?"

' "The Carragh boys wouldn't be backward, if they were called to it," said Cummusky, from the chimney-corner; "and a good reason the committee had for not putting it on them, because they would be the first suspected, having a right to hate the ground he walks on. It isn't becoming to reflect upon them that can't answer; but this I'll say for them, that knows their mind, they don't want to save themselves trouble; and when you have a job to do at your own door, the boys from Carragh will be at your whistle."

' "We'll do our own business, and theirs too," said Connel; "and we'll never whistle for them, if it isn't to dance to our music. Tim was only jealous that they'd get the credit of it all to themselves. Wasn't that it, Tim?"

• • • • •

' "It can't be done a-Wednesday," said Delahunt; who had been for some time evidencing symptoms of disapprobation, though unperceived by his associates. "There is an entire impossibility, I tell you, to do it then, and it must be dropped for this turn."

' "What's come over you, all on a suddent?" exclaimed St. Leger, rather angrily.

' "Nothing strange," replied his friend. "I only know he will have

company with him in the coach ; and one wouldn't treat the innocent all as one as the guilty."

' " Ah ! what a bother you make about nothing. To want and hinder fair play, when we have the ball at our foot ? What matter what company he has ? They must take share of his supper, if they eat their dinner off the same plate, and sorrah mend them."

' " If you was to jibe 'till you are tired, Connel, it would make no differ. Mr. Mulvaney—Gentlemen—all of you—just hear me out. I was yesterday at Rathedmond ; and the whole talk of the kitchen was of the great doings at Charlesborough ; and how the parson passed his apology because the mistress was weakly ; and Mrs. Falconer would not go, say what they would. But Lady Thorndale would not be denied about Miss Dora ; and all the servants was happy, when it was settled that old Mr. Oglandby would take her there in his coach, and bring her back safe to her father and mother, who can't bear to have her a minute out of their sight. Now, I put it to your breasts, if it would be right or becoming to destroy the like of her, only for having the luck of sitting beside her old grand-uncle ? "

' " There's sense and reason in that," said Val. Tigne. " Whatever we are, we are not savages ; and none other would raise a hand to injure her."

' This sentiment was quickly re-echoed by all the assembly, with the exception of Mulvaney and Murtagh Cummusky, who, from his smoky seat, muttered an imprecation against cowards and informers, and laid down his pipe to watch the event of this interruption.

' " I believe, gentlemen," said Mulvaney, addressing the committee men, " that we have no business to be listening to fellows laying down the law to us, when all they have to do is to go straight forward, wherever we order them. If every gossoon that is frightened at the smell of powder, is to contradict men of courage and understanding, and men who are endangering their own lives for the good of the poor, we may as well give over at once, and let them be all sold for slaves—them and their innocent children. But that shan't be. If we have a traitor among us, let him die the death of a traitor : he shan't escape, if he was my own brother. Mind that. And I warn you all, boys, if you flinch when your service is wanted, as it is now, you will be made such examples, that people will stop their ears through dread of hearing your doom."

' " There's no traitors or informers here, Mr. Mulvaney," said Connel. " If Wat spoke in a hurry, it's what many a better man done before him ; and I'll promise for him, he'll stand his ground like a man, when his mark is before him, Wednesday night. Look up, Wat, and shew yourself true to your friend and your oath."

' " Oh ! Mr. Mulvaney—oh ! boys !" shouted the poor fellow in a voice of agony ; " it would be a downright murder to shoot the young lady, and "——

' " Will no one put a gag in his mouth ? " cried Mulvaney, " before the police comes in upon us. Boys, what are you made of, that you didn't put his head under the grate, at the very first word of wickedness that came out of his lips ? What's come over you to listen to his preaching ? What is it to any of you, if mischief was to happen to a

young girl, when the first blow is struck for the glory of God, and the good of Ireland? And if the ball that rids the world of a tyrant, finishes her at the same time, what great harm is done? An't it what she deserves? Doesn't the blood of the hanging, scourging, torturing, flaying Oglandbies, flow thick in her veins? Hadn't she one to her grandfather, who hunted Christians with blood-hounds in the time of the rebellion? Your uncle, Connel St. Leger, was one of them, and his blood calls for revenge from you. Isn't she daughter to him who draws his living from the hard earnings of the poor, and would tear the only fould of a blanket from the desolate orphan, sooner nor lose one halfpenny of his tithe? And is it that such as she may dress in silks and satins, and ride in a coach, that you will be willing to be robbed and peeled, 'till you and your families will think it a mercy to be let lie down at the back of a ditch, and die of hunger, and cold, and nakedness?"

' "There's sense and reason, I believe, in that," said Murtagh; "and where's the spalpeen will dar to contradict it?"

' "Murtagh Cummusky," said Connel; "you may fault your budget, and welcome; but it don't become you to put names on them that is your betters. And Mr. Mulvaney, with all submission to you and the other gentlemen, there's no need to talk to us, as if we were stocks and stones. There's not a man here that isn't steady, though for a minute he might be started at the thought of killing a woman in cold blood: but they all see it can't be helped; and a trifle won't stand in their way when it comes to the push. Wat," laying his hand on his shoulder, "I answered for you before, and you didn't disparage my commendation—I pass my word for you now, once more; so, think of yourself, and of your character, and of your oath, not counting the love there is between us both."

' "Mr. Mulvaney," said Wat, shaking off his friend roughly, "order me to go shoot him in his own parlour, in the broad day light, and I'll do it—and I'll die for it—and they may cut me in pieces, before I'll betray a hair of one of your heads; but I couldn't harm her: the very stones would cry out murder after me, as I walked along the road; for didn't she save my own life, and more nor all, my mother's life, when the fever frightened all but herself and her father from the door? I won't have a hand in her death—I won't, I say—no, I won't, and that's enough."

' "Since he is so positive," said Cummusky, coming forward, "it's best not waste time advising him. Let me take his place. I have a steady hand, and a quick eye, without bragging of a loyal and stout heart. All I say, Mr. Mulvaney, is this, that you and the other gentlemen on the committee, would do well to know your men, before you put the lives of half the country in their keeping."

' "Keep to your trade, Murtagh, I tell you," said St. Leger, struggling against the passion which crimsoned his face, and caused his broad chest to heave quick and high, though he still spoke with some degree of calmness. "If the lads of this country don't please you, go back to Munster, where you came from, and we'll never break our hearts for the loss. Wat," again putting his hand on his shoulder, and looking him sternly in the face, "you hear what flings are cast in



your teeth, and what we all come under from your nonsensicalness. Will I listen to it, do you think?—Will I be said to have a coward, and an informer, for my comrade?—Will I lie down with the curse of my country on my head, for trusting a false-hearted and a faint-hearted traitor? You are tender about the life of one, who would think it a compliment to let you clean her shoes; and have you no feeling for me, who would choke my brother for your sake? Now choose between me and her, for out of this room you will never stir, 'till you have my life, or I have your's, if you don't abide by the orders of the committee."

"Spoke like what is becoming in your creed," cried Mulvaney, with a glow of enthusiasm. "And you, Wat, is all the blood of the Delahunts, lashed out of you by the cat-o-nine-tails of the Oglandbies, that a drop of it won't mount to your cheeks, to raise a blush for your stupidity?"

In spite of this eloquent appeal to the blood of the Delahunts, not a particle of it would tinge the pallid countenance of the young man, as he stood perfectly still, with his eyes fixed upon the ceiling. That he was inwardly agitated could only be guessed by a slight quiver of his lips, and the moisture which had gathered thick on his forehead; and no one felt inclined to break the silence which followed Mulvaney's harangue. He shaded his eyes for a moment with his hand, and then quietly placed it in the eager grasp of St. Leger.

"Connel, I will stand by you to the last," he said, in a determined voice. "I will do what I am commanded, only don't talk more to me now."

"This is as it should be," said Mulvaney, rubbing his hands: "and now boys, let us have one glass a-piece, and go home like sober men. Wat, I am right glad you have come to your senses, and my word for it, you'll never repent taking good advice."

"And, Wat," said Cummusky, winking at Mulvaney, as he took the glass in his hand, "don't fret if you are a sweetheart out of pocket: only get the lands of Carragh back again, boy, and you may pick and choose any lord's daughter in the land, if your fancy runs that way."

"You tinkering thief," cried Delahunt, in a rage, "if you don't stop your jibing at me, I'll brain you on the spot, no matter who gives you countenance."

"What are you about?" said Mulvaney, stepping between them. "Have you no enemies, but friends, to be fighting with? Have done, I say, or I'll settle you both. Take off your glasses, quick, and go out one after another, separately, that there may be no eyes nor ears to have stories to tell another time. Remember Tuesday evening, at Briny Killions. Oh! boys, I was forgetting.—Any of you that wants to go to confession, it is better be at Biddy Cahill's next Monday, where Mr. O'Floggin holds a station. Don't be troubling Mr. Duff, who is getting into years, and ought to have a little rest. The other is young and strong, and got his edication at Maynooth; so that he understands your meaning better. Don't be stopping in the town: and if any body finds out that you were speaking to me, you know you want to be employed on the new line, and that I was willing to oblige

you all, after I go over the ground again. That's enough now, boys—scatter, scatter." pp. 20—24.

Our next extract describes a visit of consolation from the said Mr. Duff, a parish priest, to one of his flock, who is inconsolable for the loss of an only daughter.

‘ Mrs. Costigan was always glad to see him, for old acquaintance’ sake ; and though his condolence consisted of a string of the veriest matter-of-fact truisms, which, at times, irritated, rather than soothed her, still there was a thorough good-nature in his feelings, which threw a glow of kindness over his most common-place expressions, and repressed any inclination to be angry. Then, he could patiently listen to the often-repeated story of her grief, which, in circumstances like her’s, is, perhaps, one of the kindest offices which a friend can perform.

‘ His visits, therefore, had usually the effect of dissipating, for a time, her sadness, which her husband put to the account of his wise counsels, not suspecting that the bustle attendant upon his coming, had, by far, the greatest share in producing this amendment. In fact, having something to do, is an admirable anodyne for intense feeling. That the mind can be wholly engaged with one overwhelming idea, while the hands are busied with a variety of things, all to be put to different uses, or arranged in proper order, is not true in real, down-right experience, though it may be indispensable to the complete keeping of the moral picturesque. Occupation, particularly that which includes loco-motion, produces a succession of ideas in the mind most determined to keep fast hold of one, to the exclusion of all others ; and though the only effect, at first perceptible, may be a painful sensation of bewilderment and distraction, nevertheless the keen edge of the feelings is insensibly blunted, and the more constant the occupation, the sooner will the intensity of feeling subside. It is from this cause, that the feelings of the working classes, though violent in their first flow, appear to exhaust themselves at once. They have not the leisure to brood over their sensibilities. While their hands *must* be busy, their heads cannot be quite uninterested ; and where head and hands make common cause against the heart, its throbbings will be kept under.

‘ In this way, Mrs. Costigan was unwittingly cheated of a full half-hour of her monopolizing sorrow, while preparing the luncheon for her guest, and carving the cold goose, and worrying herself with trying to draw the cork of a bottle of Cape wine with a fork, and pressing him over and over again to eat and drink, and replenishing his plate and his glass, contrary to his earnest protestations of being unable to swallow another mouth-full. Between the intervals of eating and defending his plate from the inroad of provisions, which might have satisfied the appetite of three hungry men, Mr. Duff contrived to draw off her attention still farther from herself, by detailing pretty minutely the various reports of the doings at Charlesborough.

. . . . . ‘ Mrs. Costigan became interested, and, for another half-hour, not only listened, but asked questions, and made some lively comments, not much to the nobleman’s advantage. Mr. Duff had suc-

ceeded beyond his expectations, and he was so delighted with the effects of his conversation, that, most unfortunately, as he was rising to take leave, he congratulated her upon recovering her spirits.

“Nothing,” said he, shaking her affectionately by the hand, “could give me more pleasure than to see you cheerful, once again, as you used to be. It will enliven us all, and add some dozen of years to your own life. And now, like a sensible woman, give over your grief, and try and be glad that your little daughter is an angel in heaven.”

Lord Farnmere, and his dressing-gowns, and every thing pertaining to him, vanished instantly from her memory, and the one idea which had been jostled out for a moment, from the place it occupied, again took possession of its strong hold in her imagination. The revulsion of feeling was so sudden, that it completely overpowered her; and she answered with more bitterness than she had ever given way to before, though often sorely tried by his attempts to comfort her—

“Why should I be glad for that, Mr. Duff? It is no angel I want—it is my own child, just as she left me. What do I know about angels, only this, that if she is one, it is little she will think about her poor mother?—and if I was to meet her in heaven, and that she would look down on me, and would not run and throw her arms about my neck, and be all as one to me as ever, I would not stay one hour in it, if all the world was offered to me as a bribe.”

“Oh! Mrs. Costigan! Them are fearful words for a Christian’s mouth to speak. It is no such easy thing to get to heaven, that you should make light of it.”

“It’s useless to talk to me in that way, Mr. Duff. It is not heaven I am thinking about, or want to think about. How do I know if there is such a place at all? It is the one I lost, that my heart is fixed in, and I won’t be happy without her, if all the priests, and the pope himself, were to preach till they were tired.”

“I declare it’s a terrible thing to listen to you, Mrs. Costigan—a sensible woman, and a well-read woman like you! If you would only think of yourself. Why, sure, you are not worse off than many; and what can I say to comfort you, if you won’t be satisfied, when I tell you that your child is an angel?”

“There is no comfort in it, Mr. Duff. It might satisfy you, who never had one to lose—but to talk to me!—to tell me to be content, because she is flying about with wings, in the sky, when I want to have her here, pressing her to my heart! You might as well tell the beggar that is perishing with cold, to bring heat into his bones by plunging into the frozen pool without there.”

She walked about the room, wringing her hands, and ejaculating in a manner approaching to frantic; while Mr. Duff stood arguing with himself whether to rebuke her sharply for her impiety, or endeavour to calm her by speaking gently. The latter course was the most congenial to his disposition; but, after puzzling for some time, he could only bring forward one of his good sayings, which he had often tried before, and as often failed of producing the desired effect.

“We ought all to be resigned to the will of God, Mrs. Costigan, whatever that is.”

“Well, I am resigned, because I can’t help myself: and, after

all, He has been better to me than you would be, though He has punished me ; for He left what remained of her with me, so that I can tell the very spot where she lies, and I can go and cry over it when I choose ; but you would bid me look for her, I don't know where ; and even if I did find her, the chance is, that I would not know her, from all I can learn from you."

' " I am sorry you have so little respect for your clergy, as to speak after such a manner," said Mr. Duff, quite dispirited. " I can only make bad worse by staying any longer ; so I will go away, and I hope you will soon see your error, and be another woman entirely." '

This is a touching exhibition of natural feeling under the helplessness of religious ignorance. Poor Mrs. Costigan is represented as a curious compound of all that is estimable in fallen human nature, with a considerable alloy of every opposite quality ; in a word, a real Irish woman,—her mind of a superior order, but unstored with useful knowledge, and undisciplined by education or religious principle. By some means or other, however, she meets with, and is induced to purchase, a Protestant Bible ; and the following conference takes place between the Rev. Mr. Duff and his somewhat troublesome parishioner.

' " Ah ! woman dear," exclaimed the priest, " how, in the name of all the world, did you come by a Protestant Bible ? "

' " I bought it—but no matter for that. How it came makes no difference one way or another. What I want now is for you to tell me what you think of it ? "

' " Oh ! sure, what could I think of it, only what I ought to think of it ?—It is a good book—nobody will deny that ; and provided a man don't take a bad meaning out of it, but just read on quietly, a bit now and then, without wanting to understand more than the Church thinks proper for the laity, it would never do him the least harm. So don't be afraid of me—we are old friends, who would'nt quarrel for a trifle. If you have a fancy for reading it, keep your own secret, and I will never tell."

' " Answer me this, Mr. Duff.—Did you ever read it yourself ? "

' " Aye, did I—both in Latin and English ; and mighty fine reading it is, particularly in Latin."

' " And answer me another question.—How can you be so cheerful, as you always are, after reading such a book ? "

' " Blessings on you ! Is it you that makes a wonder of that ?—You that would read all the books in print, if they came in your way, and only be the more ready for a laugh or a joke, the minute after. Ah ! you little know all I had to read in my day, and reading that was dull enough to make a man stupid at the time ; but when it was over, what was to hinder me enjoying myself like another ? "

' " You have not come at my meaning yet, Mr. Duff," she answered, impatiently. " But may-be you will understand me, when I ask you, what is sin ? "

' " Any fool could answer that," said Mr. Duff. " Why don't your-

self know, that sin is wickedness, and the worst of wickedness?—what I hope you and I, and the like of us, will wash our hands of entirely.”

“That’s beautifully spoken,” said Ned, “for, bad as we are, and to my mind we are bad enough, yet it would be a poor story to tell, if we had any of that among us.”

“Mr. Duff, I may as well tell you the truth,” said Mrs. Costigan, “that that book has put thoughts in my mind, which will not let me have an easy minute. I cannot now sit down quietly to grieve over my own trouble, but some of its words will take hold of me, and every thing else is banished from my memory. I don’t know how it is with me, and I want you to tell me, why it should make me selfish and uneasy. To my knowledge, I never did harm to a living being, nor never committed a sin since the hour I was born; and yet I cannot turn the second leaf, open it where I will, but I feel frightened at myself, as if I was the worst that the blessed air ever blew upon, and I dread often to raise my eyes, for fear of seeing sin stare me in the face.”

“That only shews you have a tender conscience, Mrs. Costigan; and you ought to be happy to have a tender conscience.”

“Then, every thing that happens, let it be as bad as it may, is nothing, after all, but a receipt for happiness! That is strange doctrine, Mr. Duff: and though I would be as willing as most people to be guided by what you say, yet I am in the dark to see why I ought to be happy, because a whole book is written all against myself, accusing me, and condemning me, and telling me that there is no hope for me, in this world or the next.”

“You see, Mrs. Costigan,” said Mr. Duff, after puzzling for a few minutes, “the Bible is a book to advise us for our good; and every one that advises us for our good, must say sharp things to us, and threaten what not, to make us behave ourselves: just as good parents have to manage with their children. They have to scold them, and call them imps, and blackguards, and vagabonds; and they must fly into a passion, and threaten to cut them in pieces, and leave them a mark to carry with them to their graves; and, after all, they have no meaning, but to frighten them into good manners. Now, that is the way with what you have been reading. It is to keep you close to your duty, and nothing else, you may depend upon it.”

“And there’s not a woman from this to America, wants less to be checked about her duty than herself,” said Ned. “So, Sally, dear, turn a deaf ear to any thing that would blame you on that score.”

“There’s no use in talking to me after such a fashion, Ned. If that book is what it says it is, it cannot deal in foolery and game-making; and if there is meaning in words, it speaks home to my heart, that I am a sinner, and what am I to answer when I cannot deny it?”

“As for that matter,” said Mr. Duff, “we are all sinners; but you know that we are to look to the mercy of God, and do the best we can for our own souls.”

“I never did any thing but what was good for my soul, Mr. Duff, as you can vouch for me. Indeed, how could I do otherwise? For, not to praise myself, I can say with a safe conscience, that in any

goodness I ever did, I never thought of God at all, it came so natural and so easy to me. Yet that is no comfort to me now ; for if sin is in me, how am I to get rid of it? And if, after all, I want mercy, what am I to do more to deserve it, than I have been doing all my life? It is a folly to tell me to be one bit better than I am, for that is impossible. Since these thoughts came into my mind, I tried what I could do in that way, and the more I try, the more my uneasiness increases, instead of going off."

"It all comes, Mrs. Costigan, from your not looking at the difference between sin. There is mortal sin, which is enough to make a man tremble in his skin; and there is venial sin, which is a trifle. The word venial may shew you how little matter it is; and that is all that you and I, and other good Christians, have any thing to do with."

"I never once thought of that," said Mrs. Costigan, eagerly catching at any thing to relieve her distress.—"But it is so long since I said the catechism, that I forget my seven deadly sins, as if I never heard their names. Put me in mind of them, Mr. Duff, that I may be sure I am safe from them."

"Isn't it odd," said he, after thinking a while, "how things will run out of a man's memory? I once had them so pat, that I could count them over like a school-boy; but now, I can't for the life of me recollect the first. If I could catch that, the rest would follow in a minute. However, no matter. If you ask old Alice, or the School-master, or any of the Carmelites, who teach the catechism in the chapel of a Sunday, they will tell you all about them."

"No need to go out of this room, for I remember them myself, as well as if I was put through the question yesterday," said Ned, quite proud of himself, at knowing more than the Priest. "This is what the master says—'How many are the chief mortal sins, commonly called capital and deadly sins?' says he—and then comes the answer—'Seven—pride, covetousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, sloth.' Am I right in my count, Mr. Duff?"

"Every one of them right, Ned, and in their proper place. You have them so glib, by remembering the first word. I could have taken you up the minute you said 'pride,' only you got on so quick, there was no overtaking you."

"The Bible bears hard enough upon me," said Mrs. Costigan, "but you and the catechism have sealed my doom at once. It requires no witchcraft to understand, that if them be deadly sins, I must be a deadly sinner, and I am much obliged to them who found out that for me."

"Sally, dear! Sally, dear!" said her husband, "what's come over you this evening? Haven't you trouble enough already, without hunting after sin to harass and fret you to no end?"

"I don't believe one word of that catechism, when I consider the matter coolly," said Mrs. Costigan, addressing the Priest, in a manner any thing but cool. "It is only a trick, as you say, to frighten children; for every one of them things that it calls deadly sins, are just pieces of myself, that came into the world with me, and won't part me till death lays his hand upon me and them.—Sure I never denied that



I was proud—you often told me so, and made a joke of it, which shewed how little you thought of it. Then, as for anger—why I am angry this minute with you, and angry with myself, and angry with Him who made my lot: and I can't help it, and I don't want to help it, for I have a right to be angry.—And who could blame me, if I was envious at seeing others with their child upon their knee, while my own, that I had the best right to, is lying in Rathedmond? Now, supposing all that to be deadly sin, what is to become of the whole world that never stops committing it? What is to become of myself, if I must live and die in it; and I see nothing else before me?"

' "Don't talk of dying in mortal sin, my dear woman—don't let such a thought ever come into your head. If you should have the misfortune, at any time, to fall into it, do as the catechism desires you, when it says—Ned, what does it say we must do when we fall into mortal sin?"

' "We must repent sincerely, and go to confession as soon as possible."

' "At that rate, I would tire out all the priests in Ireland, for there is not a minute but I ought to be confessing: and as for repentance, how could any one be sorry, morning, noon, and night, for what comes upon them so naturally, and so often, that I defy the best hand at arithmetic to keep the count? So, drop the catechism, Mr. Duff, for it don't help you, nor would I give a straw for one word it says, after such nonsense."

' "Oh! Mr. Duff, dear," said Ned, "lay your orders on her to quit reading that book entirely. What business have such as we to meddle with what don't belong to us? She has plenty of fine books to rise her spirits, and you ought to tell her to keep to them, like a sensible woman, as she was ever accounted."

' "Ned says what has sense upon the face of it, and I must say, you are ill advised to take to such reading, without the consent of your clergy. If your heart was set upon it, I would have let you follow your fancy, as I know you would take your own way, no matter who said against it, once you got a thing into your head: but I would have warned you, what St. Peter says, and says of that very book, that it is hard to be understood, and that the unlearned will only read it to their own destruction. You may take my word that St. Peter says all that, for I read it myself, and heard it repeated a hundred times."

' "I can shew you the very place, myself," said Mrs. Costigan. "I soon found it out, as I did plenty, to startle a stouter heart than mine. It was this very thing that made me ask you for instruction. I thought that as religion was your business, and that you got all the learning to make you master of it, that I could be in no danger with you for my guide."

' "Then, take my advice, Mrs. Costigan, and put it all out of your head, at once: and when you are not thinking about it, just tell me what troubles you, and I will give an answer to your satisfaction, as you will say yourself when you try me." pp. 128—133.

The sequel may be anticipated, as regards Mrs. Costigan; and we must only add, that the interest of the tale is admirably

sustained throughout. Altogether, we have been exceedingly pleased with the volume, which pleads very powerfully on behalf of the spiritual wants of poor Ireland.

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**Art. V. 1.** *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord Teignmouth, President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the present Character of the Institution.* By the Hon. and Rev. Gerard T. Noel, One of the Honorary Life Governors of the Society. 8vo. pp. 64. London. 1831.

**2.** *An Appeal to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to maintain inviolate Purity of Conscience, Integrity of Constitution, and Loyalty of Allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ.* By the Rev. George Washington Philips. 8vo. pp. 16. London. 1831.

**3.** *An Address to the Christian Friends and Supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the Connexion between Socinians and Arians and that Institution.* By Charlotte Elizabeth. 12mo. pp. 14. London. 1831.

**4.** *Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* (No. 166 of Monthly Papers.)

**M**R. NOEL is a man from whom it always gives us pain to differ, and yet, with whom we can on that very account the more safely enter into controversy; since, with such an antagonist, we can be in no danger of transgressing the laws of honourable debate, of forgetting a due respect for the motives and character of the party whose judgement we may be bold enough to call in question, or of being ourselves misunderstood, much less misrepresented. This is, in the present day, no small privilege, when, even in what is called the religious world, controversial fairness is so extremely rare, and the character and spirit of those who put themselves foremost in polemic assault, are often such as to render the maintenance of a becoming courtesy and suavity a very difficult duty. ‘Honour,’ Mr. Noel remarks, ‘is not wholly discarded even among the professedly wicked. In what terms, then, ought we to characterize the want of it among the true servants of Christ?’ Yet Mr. Noel knows, as well as ourselves, that by too many religious assailants of the Bible Society, little regard has been shewn to either honour or common veracity, and that zeal has swallowed up all the other virtues.

Our readers must have learned from the public prints, that, at the recent anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a new attack was made upon the President, Vice-presidents, and Committee of the Institution, by a little phalanx of reformers, headed by Capt. Gordon, Henry Drummond, Esq.,

and other persons of prophetic notoriety. The form of attack chosen was, an Amendment upon the first motion, that the Report previously read be adopted and printed under the direction of the Committee. That Report, one of the most interesting and satisfactory ever presented to the members of the Society, adverted, at the outset, to a modification of the fundamental laws of the Society with regard to qualification for membership, which certain persons had wished to introduce, and respecting which they had felt it their duty to record the following Resolution.

‘ That this Committee, feeling it their duty not only to confine themselves to the prosecution of the exclusive object of the British and Foreign Bible Society, but also to uphold the simplicity of its constitution, under which the contributions and assistance of all persons, without respect to religious distinctions, are admissible, earnestly, respectfully, and affectionately entreat the Committees of the Societies in question’ (who had mooted the point) ‘ to reconsider the Resolutions passed at their late public meetings, with a view to their returning or conforming to the established principles of this Society.’

And the Report concluded with an address to the members of the Society, which Mr. Noel justly characterises as ‘ worthy of the genuine spirit of the Institution, worthy of the devotional feeling exhibited in its best days, worthy of the godly zeal which would gather round the Cross for the hope of a distracted world.’ This ‘ Conclusion,’ we must give entire.

‘ Your Committee have on many former occasions, in drawing their Report to a conclusion, delighted to dwell upon a variety of pleasing topics connected with the Society ; and especially upon that UNION which has existed within its circle, among true Believers of every name. They have thanked God for—they have rejoiced in that union :—their joy and thanksgiving have, peradventure, through the infirmity of the flesh, occasionally degenerated into an unseasonable glorying in the principle of the Institution, through the simplicity of which sincere Christians of different Denominations have been enabled to give to each other the right hand of fellowship, and to enjoy a delightful communion of brotherly love one with another. They are precluded from pursuing such a course on the present occasion : for they have been officially apprised, that it is intended, on this day, and in this assembly, to call in question the soundness of that view of the constitution of the Society which your Committee (they believe in common with every preceding Committee) have taken : and they have been further apprised, if the soundness of their views be admitted, a demand is to be insisted upon, that a change without delay be made ; because, in the judgement of those who are moving the question, the union subsisting in the Society is unhallowed, is unscriptural. Under these circumstances, your Committee feel imperiously called upon to offer a few observations on this important point.

‘ They will freely admit, that, under the view of the constitution

which they believe to be correct, it may happen—it does happen—that such as embrace those views of Divine Truth, which by the general consent of Christians in every age have been esteemed “the Truth,” shall occasionally find themselves in a painful juxta-position with those who, by the same common consent, have been accounted to hold serious, nay, fundamental and vital error. But, making this admission, your Committee would appeal to experience, and without any disparagement of the use and value of Creeds, ask, Whether, in communions professing the purest principles, the same evil be not occasionally to be deplored? and, further, Whether, if the parties objected against should be removed, there would not remain behind persons, professing to belong to purer Denominations, who, by their published writings (of which no Committee of a Bible Society could take cognisance), and in other ways, might be as clearly known to hold sentiments almost, if not altogether, as dangerous?

‘ It may be admitted again, that expressions have found their way into addresses at Public Meetings, which carry the principle of the Society’s union far beyond its legitimate bounds. But still, how often, how sedulously, has the all-important distinction been drawn, and how well and how clearly has that distinction been understood, that the union in the Bible Society is a union without compromise—a union in one work alone—a union which commits none of the uniting parties to the relinquishment of their own opinions on any other subject, or to the adoption, or even countenance, of the opinions of others. And why should this distinction be applied to various other subjects, some of which are of equal weight and importance, while it is deemed inadmissible as it respects the one now before you? The introduction, too, of the name of one class of Subscribers, as no longer fit to remain Members of the Society, would only prepare the way for the introduction of another, by those who may discover fresh grounds of objection.

‘ They would further beg leave to inquire, how those who may charitably believe of each other, that they hold “the Truth”, shall be brought, from among the varied communions to which they respectively belong, into an effective union, to accomplish a work like that contemplated by the British and Foreign Bible Society? To the infirmities of the human mind it may be attributed, that there is no common declaration of faith, on the great fundamentals of Truth, to which they can all in common subscribe. To the infirmities of the human mind it may be attributed, that some would conscientiously and solemnly object against any actual or implied acknowledgement of submission to any human formulary expressive of the Truth: yet, other than human formulary would not meet the occasion; for, it may be added, were Scriptural declarations simply proposed in the words of Scripture, and as those words stand in Scripture, the parties now objected against, reserving to themselves the right of interpreting those words, would subscribe as readily as others. To human infirmity it is doubtless owing, that so many diversities exist, not merely as to minor points, but as to the method and manner of conceiving of and stating the weightier points of the Gospel. The Society may, in one sense, be said to have its foundation in this very infirmity: and were it at-

tempted to define the limits of fundamental truth, as they lie in the Sacred Volume, those who have been brought together upon the simple acknowledgement of the paramount authority of the Sacred Volume must quickly part; a farewell must be taken of each other by Christians hitherto united in the Society's ranks; and again must they retire to their respective communions, and separately carry on that work of the Lord, which consists in giving His word to the world. The infirmities of the human mind are known unto Him whom the Society professes to serve: and is it saying too much, provided it be said with the humility becoming those who venture for a moment to interpret the mind of God respecting the conduct of man, in his endeavours to serve Him—is it saying too much, your Committee ask, to say, that, with all our infirmities, He has graciously deigned to accept our labours? Is it too much to hope, that He will yet deign to accept them, though it be admitted that that scheme on which we are united be not perfect at every point—be not free from every objection? Is it too much to hope, that the number of those who shall love the Bible for its own sake, for the sake of “our God and Saviour” whom it reveals to man, and who shall therefore be deeply zealous for its propagation, will ever outweigh, by a vast majority, those who, not having these views in common with themselves, may yet, from other causes, be willing to join in the work of the Society;—and that thus the Institution shall be preserved from the evil effects dreaded by some; and shall thus remain, what it has ever substantially been, and which, under God, is the secret of its strength, a centre around which good men shall meet;—and, if they cannot now lay aside the infirmities which prevent them from being perfectly joined together in one mind, look forward to that period, when they shall no longer see through a glass darkly, but shall walk in the light, in that City and that heavenly country, of which the Lamb is the light, the Sun of Righteousness shining in the brightness of his strength?

‘Your prayers, which can now ascend in silence to the Throne of Grace, are earnestly entreated, that a wisdom better than man’s wisdom may guide the decisions of this important day; that the wisdom which is from above may this day appear, first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; and that, under the guidance of that wisdom, the mind’s eye, the eye of faith, may pierce within the veil—may realize the solemn hour, when the question shall not be, Who are worthy for admission into a Society such as yours? but, Who shall be counted worthy to stand before the Son of Man? May considerations such as these allay all undue heat of feeling, and lead our thoughts to Him who hath made peace by the blood of His Cross; looking unto which alone can any hope to be presented faultless before His glory, with exceeding joy.’

Mr. Gordon’s amendment, which was eventually seconded by the Rev. G. W. Philips, and negatived by a very large majority, was couched in these terms.

‘That, instead of the recommendation contained in the Report, that the constitution and practice of the Society continue as they are, the following Resolutions be adopted—

‘ That the British and Foreign Bible Society is pre-eminently a Religious and Christian Institution.

‘ That no person rejecting the doctrine of a Triune Jehovah can be considered a member of a Christian Institution.

‘ That, in conformity with this principle, the expression “ Denominations of Christians,” in the Ninth General Law of the Society, be distinctly understood to include such denominations of Christians only as profess their belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.’

A second amendment, moved by the Rev. Lundy Foot, and seconded by the Hon. and Rev. Bapt. W. Noel, and which was also negatived in the same decisive way, was as follows.

‘ That the words of the Ninth Law, and of the others which prescribe the terms of admission to the Agency of the Society, be not taken to extend to those who deny the Divinity and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ.’

At this meeting, Mr. Gerard Noel himself was not present, but, taking his impression of what passed from reports which his own pamphlet shews to have been any thing but correct or candid, he represents ‘ the unequivocal rejection, by the meeting, of the several clauses proposed by Mr. Gordon in his Amendment, and the nature of those addresses by which his opponents advocated the adoption of the Report of the Committee’, as having ‘ placed the character of the Society in a point of view altogether erroneous and fraught with danger to the best interests of religion.’ It would be, he admits, a violation of Christian candour, to hold the Committee responsible for all the sentiments of its advocates; and ‘ against the expression of their desire that the rules and the system of the Society should remain unaltered’, he feels ‘ bound to utter no one accent of complaint.’

‘ If, however,’ adds Mr. Noel, ‘ the views of the elected Committee, in respect to that constitution, be in accordance with the views of those who advocated the adoption of the Report, I now fear my views of that constitution to be completely at issue with theirs. The *comments* under which the various *clauses* of Mr. Gordon’s amendment were rejected by the meeting, in my opinion, have effected a complete change in the aspect and system of the Society. The entire judgment which I had formed of its character, I find to be denied, and the principles on which I had contributed my humble support to its welfare, I perceive to be disclaimed as erroneous.’ p. 49.

We have no means of knowing what insuperable obstacle prevented Mr. Noel from personally ascertaining the views of the elected Committee; or why, without waiting for even a printed statement of a report ‘ worthy of the genuine spirit of the Institution’, he felt imperiously bound to use such precipi-



tation in issuing a 'Letter' of crimination, which his own Postscript shews to have been at least in some measure uncalled for. We shall have no difficulty in shewing, that the result which he considers as 'directly flowing from the decision of the Anniversary Meeting', is not merely a hypothetical, but a chimerical one; and we gather from his own language, so worthy of his candour, that he had misgivings, up to the very moment of committing his Letter to the press, as to the fairness and soundness of his own view of the subject.

'Again and again, my Lord, have I asked myself whether the statement I have made be untrue or exaggerated; but I have been unable hitherto to perceive any defect in the delineation of the principle upon which we shall now be compelled to act.'

When a man has to ask himself again and again, whether he is making a true statement, it is evident that his means of information, or of forming a correct judgement, are not sufficient to warrant entire self-confidence. Yet ought this avowal of anxious dubiety to follow after a precipitate and somewhat peremptory decision? That Mr. Noel is capable of intentional exaggeration, we cannot believe; but that his statement is "untrue" in the sense of romantic and fictitious, will, we think, be evident to most of our readers.

The circumstances which are supposed to have wrought this complete change in the system of the society are, first, the rejection of 'the several clauses proposed by Mr. Gordon in his Amendment;' and secondly, the 'comments' or arguments used by those speakers who opposed the amendment.

Now as to the rejection of the several clauses, Mr. Noel must be too well acquainted with the forms of society and the course of public business, not to be well aware, that an amendment to a motion must be judged of, not by its several clauses, not by its specious language, but by its obvious intent and design. It may even happen, that the terms of the Amendment, put forward as a trial of strength between the contending parties, shall contain nothing directly opposed to the spirit of the original motion, nothing in itself objectionable; or, it may consist, in part of undeniable propositions, in part of artful and unfair inferences. To represent the rejection of an Amendment to a motion, as the virtual denial of all the propositions which its several clauses may contain, is to commit a very palpable mistake. Mr. Gordon's amendment was brought forward in defiance of the committee, in avowed hostility to their decision, in contempt of their private remonstrances, in subversion of their deliberate and recorded opinion; and whatever truths he had chosen to set forth in his hostile motion, the friends and sup-

porters of the Society would have done well to mark their disapprobation of his arrogant and factious conduct, by rejecting it.

But, putting aside for a moment the professed object of his motion, the clauses were in themselves, severally, highly objectionable; and the gross impropriety of the phraseology would have rendered it discreditable to any religious meeting to sanction their adoption. 'No person rejecting the doctrine of a Triune Jehovah can be considered a member of a Christian Institution'! Is this Scriptural, is this defensible language? This blundering misapplication of the indefinite article would imply, that there are more Triune Jehovahs than one. In the controversy with the atheist, the Christian advocate sometimes uses the phrase, the being of a God,—meaning a Supreme Intelligence of some kind; but 'a Triune Jehovah', which cannot mean a Jehovah of some kind, is a phrase bordering upon profaneness.

But again, the object of Mr. Gordon and his friends was to shew, that Socinians can in no sense be considered as Christians; and yet, his third clause distinctly admits, that they may rank as a Christian denomination:—'That the expression, *denominations of Christians*, be distinctly understood to include *such denominations of Christians only* as profess their belief 'in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity'. Why then there must be denominations of Christians who do *not* profess such belief, and who must therefore be supposed to entertain no such belief. And yet, it was pretended that the phrase, denomination of Christians, could not possibly be understood as including Arians and Socinians. Thus unwittingly was the conventional meaning, and, we will add, the conventional (not theological) propriety of the phraseology, acknowledged and disputed in the same breath. How admirably fitted must the framer of such clauses be, to dictate tests to religious institutions, and to reform the theology of a corrupt church!

But this is not the whole amount of absurdity involved in these precious clauses. In order to form a syllogism, the first and second clauses ought to have changed places: as it is, the minor precedes the major proposition. But there was, probably, the same art displayed in this reversed arrangement, as in postponing the question of prayer, with the agitation of which the committee had been first threatened. It might be thought, that many individuals would be caught by the speciousness of the first clause, (which seems in itself unexceptionable,) who would have shrunk from sanctioning the more bold and sweeping affirmation in the second. Had it been broadly put to the meeting to decide, in the first instance, whether 'a person rejecting the doctrine of a Triune Jehovah can be considered a member

'of a Christian Institution', other Christian Institutions than the Bible Society might have occurred to the recollection of many. For example, it might have suggested itself as a point for inquiry, whether a College or University is a religious or Christian Institution; and, the affirmative being supposed, it might have appeared rather hazardous to affirm, that an Arian or Socinian *could not* be a member, could not be a regius professor, nay, a chancellor of such an Institution. Whether he ought to be, is quite another matter. It might have been in the recollection of some individuals, that avowed rejecters of the doctrine of the Trinity had occupied the highest stations in the English universities. And next, it might have occurred to them to inquire, whether a National Church is a Christian Institution, because, if so, it would be a very bold assertion, that no Arian or Socinian can be a member of such an Institution. In former days, certainly, such things *could* be. We rather think, that Dr. Clarke died rector of St. James's; and we could even name English prelates, who died in their sees, to whom general report ascribed an undisguised disbelief of the doctrine of the Trinity. Nor have the Church of Scotland, and the chairs of the Northern Universities, been always immaculate in this respect. Whether then the clause in question was designed as affirmation of a fact, or declaration of a law, we should have thought it highly unbecoming the meeting to sanction what, in the one case, would have been an untruth; in the other case, a very useless act of legislative impertinence, as regards other Christian Institutions.

But, on comparing the second and third clauses, it will be perceived, that another logical trick was attempted to be played off upon the meeting. The former clause has an appearance of fairness and explicitness:—'No person rejecting,' &c. Here, disbelievers of any denomination might seem to be formally put out of the Society. But this was not the Amender's object, because he well knew it to be wholly impracticable; and therefore, shuffling the words, he dexterously substitutes, in the latter clause, for 'no person', 'no denomination.' In fact, the second clause, in order to convey the real meaning, ought to have stood thus: *That no Dissenter from the Established Church*, rejecting 'the doctrine of a Triune Jehovah', can be considered a member of a Christian Institution. As it now stands, no Socinian avowedly belonging to a Socinian 'denomination of Christians', is to be considered eligible; but the ninth general law would still include all impugners of the doctrine of the Trinity who nevertheless adhered to the Establishment. For instance, according to this proposed definition of the law, the learned champion of the Credibility of the New Testament History, and the pious Author of the Dissertations

on Providence and Prayer, being Presbyterian Dissenters, would be no Christians; but Bishops Hoadley and Watson, how equivocal soever their personal orthodoxy, might, if living, be eligible vice-presidents of a Christian Institution. A Sabellian, being a Dissenter, would be not less inadmissible than a Socinian or Deist; unless it were allowed him to plead, that, there being no Sabellian *denomination*, his personal unsoundness did not bring him under the excluding clause. What would be said to John Milton or John Locke, if now alive, we scarcely know. The latter was, we believe, a good churchman, after all; while the former was generally considered as ranking with an orthodox denomination. But whether either of them would have been deemed by Mr. Gordon fit and worthy members of an Institution formed for circulating the Holy Scriptures, we cannot pretend to say.

But we have another serious difficulty relating to the phrase, ‘such denominations of Christians as profess their belief in the ‘doctrine of the Holy Trinity.’ *What* doctrine of the Holy Trinity is here referred to, the Nicene or the Athanasian? Some denominations might admit the one, and reject the other. Again, there might possibly be found, not merely individuals, but some denomination of Christians, who, while fully believing in ‘the divinity and atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ,’ (agreeably to the terms of Mr. Foot’s second amendment,) might conscientiously object to the phrase Trinity, as unauthorized by the inspired rule of faith. With such weak scruples, persons of Mr. Gordon’s gigantic powers of intellect and happy temperature, can have little sympathy; but, suppose the case that the phraseology were rejected and disowned by the Society of Friends, it would be rather hard, we think, to exclude them, on that ground, from the pale of a Christian Institution.

That the Author of *Paradise Lost*, and the Author of the *Treatise on the Human Understanding*, that Lardner and Benson, and Peirce, were in no sense Christians, Mr. Noel would probably be loath to maintain. Mr. Gordon and his friends would feel less compunction, and would, most likely, denounce as spurious and unwarrantable, the charity which would make a distinction between the Arian or Sabellian, and the Socinian unbeliever. ‘It is by no means surprising,’ remarks Mr. Noel, (and we agree with him,) ‘that, in adverting ‘to the contemplated retirement’ (expulsion) ‘of Socinians from ‘the Bible Society, many should dread the *extension of the ‘principle* on which that retirement’ (expulsion) ‘will be ‘founded. But is not this alarm exaggerated?’ asks our much esteemed opponent. ‘Has not the practice of the Society for ‘twenty-five years, exhibited the *precise union* for which we ‘contend?’ Yes, and it is because the principle itself is fatal

to this union, that we deprecate it; because its extension, once admitted, is inevitable. How is it that Mr. Noel does not perceive that the advocates of the principle are the enemies of all such 'union'? For twenty-five years, all has gone on well, he admits, without a test. Strange that it should become suddenly necessary, merely because it is insisted upon! Mr. Noel admits, that any such principle has been hitherto superseded by 'the high and well understood test of a common Christianity.' What can be the object of those men who, dissatisfied with that very state of things which Mr. Noel recalls with fond satisfaction, would wantonly destroy the reality of union, under the pretence of guarding and defining it?

Hitherto, the simple object of the Society has served all the purpose of a test, forming the rallying-point and bond of a union which, though never defined by creeds or articles, the very agitators of the present question allow to have been of a very specific character. Now, what would be the effect of the proposed alteration, by which a religious qualification would be substituted for a common object, as the law and basis of that union? In the first place, the principle of exclusion, wherever the line should be drawn, would manifestly involve at the same time, a formal inclusion of all within that line, a recognition of their Christian character, and a sanction of their religious sentiments. Would this be either convenient or advisable? Would the exclusion of Socinians, or of Arians, leave behind none whom, if required to take cognizance of their Christian character, no party would hesitate to regard as Christian brethren? Hitherto, the union has involved no compromise; but the moment this principle is introduced, a principle of personal qualification, every member of the Union must be considered as approving, up to a certain point, the sentiments of those with whom he unites. So long as there exists no other test than that which is involved in the object of the Association, it is absurd to say, that any sanction is given to the sentiments of those who co-operate with us for that specific object. But, introduce a rule of exclusion, and you cannot escape from the consequence, that a real (not an ideal) sanction is given to the acknowledged sentiments of all who are deemed worthy of inclusion. Mr. Dealtry urged this point, at the Annual Meeting, with his usual clearness and force. He referred to well-known facts in the history of the Society, in proof that the mode of reasoning by which it is sought at present to expel Socinians, was used by the opponents of any such union between Churchmen and Dissenters. The pretence that we sanction, by such co-operation, the doctrines of Socinianism, is, he remarked, an old argument, only with a more confined application. 'We maintained that there was no force in the objection at that time; and we affirm it with equal con-

‘*fidence now, in its more limited application.*’ No sanction is implied, and therefore there is no compromise. But, added Mr. Dealtry, ‘*suppose even that the proposed test were the only one which will ever be submitted to you, yet will the adoption of that test place the members of the Church of England, and the various denominations of Christians, in a new and painful position. By condemning one class of persons on account of their principles, we virtually give a sanction to the principles and practices of all the rest, who are suffered to remain. We declare, in substance, that the differences between us are of little importance. I never understood, that, in joining the Bible Society, I was, either directly or indirectly, to make any such compromise. It is a compromise which neither the Society of Friends nor any class of Dissenters can conscientiously make with me, nor can I make it with them. The natural and almost necessary result of these Amendments, if carried, would be to make us sit in judgment upon each other, and, instead of peace and good-will, to produce nothing but discord and division.*’

Mr. Noel is of opinion, that the ‘*alarm*’ expressed as to the probable extension of the principle of exclusion, is ‘*exaggerated*’. He must think, then, that it is not altogether unfounded. Nay, it is impossible that he should not know that the extension of the principle is in the immediate contemplation of at least some of its advocates. We infer this from his own language.

“*I have steadily resisted the proposition to commence our deliberations and our anniversaries with vocal prayer, because while, by its omission, we contravened no precept of Scripture with which I am acquainted, we saved ourselves from a perplexity in which any direct act of worship may more or less involve the conscientious. Public prayer, under a direct regulation to pray, necessarily involves a mode and discipline of religion, and appeared to me fairly to infringe upon the basis on which the Society has been placed from the commencement of its existence. I was content that the Society should proceed in this respect as it had hitherto done. I was content that its managers and friends should meet in the spirit of faith and prayer, looking, as I am sure they have ever done, to the blessing of Him, without whom “nothing is strong, and nothing is holy.”*”

This declaration is worthy of the pen from which it proceeds. But is not Mr. Noel aware, that the proposition which he has so steadily resisted, was put forth by Mr. Gordon, as the avowed object of his first measure; and that the clearing of the Lord’s courts of ‘*the Moabite and the Ammonite*’, was meant to be merely introductory to setting up an altar of incense, the serving at which would involve a new question and a second test?

It suited Mr. Gordon’s immediate purpose, to represent the presence of the Moabite, alias the Socinian, as the only obstacle in



the way of the regulation to commence the meetings with prayer. 'Constituted as the Bible Society now is', he said, 'its members cannot unite in prayer to the Triune Jehovah'. The fact is, that the expulsion of the Socinians would make not the slightest difference in the matter; nor can we give this gentleman credit for the ignorance he affected on this score. He well knew, that the proposed regulation was resisted on no such ground; and that the whole difficulty relates, not to the Object of prayer, but to the mode and circumstances. We must confess ourselves quite unable to reconcile his attempt to mislead the meeting in this respect, with the straight-forward honesty, and honourable feeling, and uprightness which we have heard ascribed to him as the set-off against his polemical passion and over-weening vanity. We have not the least doubt that Mr. Gordon had a second test ready concocted; for, although he professed to be the member of no drilled or organized convention, he is well known to be in close alliance with an *ecclesia in ecclesiâ* as exclusive and domineering as religious enthusiasm, grafted upon aristocratic pride, must naturally produce. But we will suppose, that he had no intention, nor his seconder, to introduce additional tests: we then ask, with Mr. Dealtry, 'can they pledge themselves that no such attempts shall be made by others?' Or would they pledge themselves to resist such attempts, if made? We know that they would not. Is not Mr. Noel aware that an Irish prelate, a vice-president of the Bible Society, has already afforded a specimen of the 'extension of the principle', by intimating his high determination that no individual shall be permitted to open with prayer a meeting at which *he* is present, who has not been *episcopally ordained*? Now as we cannot suppose that the archbishop in question would altogether stand alone in his pitiable bigotry, we really think that the alarm taken by Dissenters at the first introduction of a test, as preparatory to a rule of worship, is not altogether unreasonable. Some persons have avowed their indifference as to the possible secession of the Quakers from meetings commenced with a prescribed act of worship, in a manner which indicates pretty plainly, that their retirement would not be displeasing. And were the introduction of a form of prayer, and of regulations confining the occasional chaplaincy to clergymen episcopally ordained, deemed advisable, we have no reason to think that any consequent secession of Independent Dissenters would be regarded as a serious evil by a certain party, who, in anticipating the temporal reign of the saints, are not very anxious to have too many partners.

However this may be, 'the principle', once admitted, could not fail to extend itself far beyond what Mr. Noel seems willing to contemplate, or would himself approve. But we rest

not our objection to the principle merely on the ground of consequences: we contend that the principle itself is fatal to the very union which it would seem to consolidate; that it would, by attempting to define, destroy it; that it would substitute, for unity of purpose and feeling, an act of uniformity, and kill, by the letter, the spirit of union.

We are really at a loss to understand how Mr. Noel, who seems to have been content with the system upon which the Society have ever acted, should regard the refusal to change that system as placing the Society in any new position. He tells us indeed, that it is the fatal comment made upon the system, which has wrought this change. But even if he had not, as we conceive, utterly misunderstood that comment, we must say, that the position of the Institution cannot be affected by the line of argument which particular speakers or writers may have thought proper to adopt in explaining their views of it. The Institution remains just where it stood before. Mr. Noel has always 'resisted every proposition made in *direct* terms to exclude Socinians from its members,' because he 'understood membership to be altogether a distinct matter from management.' He admits moreover, that, in its *direct* object, and in the terms of its *membership*, 'it cannot be defined to be a *religious Society*.' In this admission, he stands in direct opposition to Mr. Gordon, who contended, that, in its direct object, the Bible Society is a religious Society, and who denied that any Socinian could even be a *member* of it. But, in its *management*, Mr. Noel adds, 'I affirm it to be in the strictest sense a religious institution.' It would have been more correct, we think, to say, that, in its management and operations, it has preserved a strictly religious character, as a Society conducted upon Christian principles. And would it lose that character, because, its management remaining unchanged, no test or rule defined the religious creed of its members? In the choice of a committee of management, an inquisition into personal character becomes a matter, not merely of prudence, but of necessity; and that inquiry must embrace many other points than the nominal orthodoxy of the individual. To attempt to define all the requisite qualifications, by law, would be ridiculous. The managers *may* be chosen from any denomination of Christians, provided that fifteen are members of the Established Church; but Mr. Noel admits that, in point of fact, 'a known or reputed attachment to religion' has uniformly been regarded as a necessary qualification for committee-men. He has no quarrel against the practice; yet, because Socinians are not excluded by name, he strangely argues, that it is dealing unrighteously and treacherously with them, *not* to make them managers!

'If,' he says, 'the character given of the Bible Society at the late

Anniversary be just, and if the Socinians be "a denomination of Christians," who have had, from the beginning, equal rights with every other denomination, then have the other denominations dealt treacherously with them, and the Report directly promises a continuance of the same moral fraud.'

We scarcely know how to reply, with becoming respect, to such perverse reasoning. If the Socinians be not a 'denomination of Christians,' (and in fact they are to be found among many denominations,) the six foreigners on the Parent Committee might, according to the letter of the present rule, be all Socinians. What then has excluded Socinians hitherto? Not the rule, but the understood principle by which the choice of the managers has been regulated. Does Mr. Noel mean to say, that, by making a 'known or reputed attachment to religion' a qualification for management, any fraud has been practised upon those subscribers who have been excluded as destitute of such qualification? As well might he say this, as invent on behalf of the Socinians, a complaint which they would disdain to urge. For let the ninth rule be interpreted as excluding the Socinian 'denomination,' what is to prevent improper persons from being chosen committee-men, but a principle of selection which no rules can define? In that case, it would still be a breach of faith, according to Mr. Noel's reasoning, to make any distinction grounded on personal character,—a fraud upon the morally disqualified!!

We are glad, however, to find it distinctly admitted, that, according to the original constitution of the Society, 'the terms of membership were left open to every man, heathen or Christian, who chose to subscribe,'—against which Mr. Noel raises no objection,—while, from the final organization of the Committee, 'a very distinct limitation and a very specific character' have been given to the Committee of Management; so that the union *within* the Committee has been as religious as a test could make it, while, out of the Committee, it has not been more vague or comprehensive than it ought to be. What, then, does Mr. Noel desire? If the terms of membership be such as he has always approved and advocated, and the practice of management be unexceptionable, it does seem very unaccountable that, because each is right, both should be wrong. The honourable jealousy which he expresses, lest the rights of the Socinians should continue to be infringed upon, by withholding from them, as a denomination, an equal share in the *agency* of the Society,—lest, if suffered to remain members, their feelings should be wounded and their opinions assailed,—amiable and considerate as it may be in itself, we cannot but regard as somewhat Quixotic; and when put forward as a serious difficulty, the argument becomes simply ludicrous. 'In future,' we are

told, 'the mode of advocacy, the language of reports, the nature of the foreign documents, accredited and printed, must experience an entire change. Over this matter, every future Committee can have no discretionary power.' Our reply is, that they can have, and will exercise their discretion; and that, no such change will take place. And if Mr. Noel chooses to say, that the Socinians ought to be consulted and deferred to, just because they are not insulted and expelled, and that truth and honesty require the one, because decency, and charity, and the very constitution of the Society forbid the other,—why he must say it. For our own parts, we think there was more sound argument and Christian wisdom in the few words that dropped from the venerable Rowland Hill at the annual meeting, than in any thing we have heard on the opposite side, 'First of all, I wish,' he said, in his most emphatic manner, 'that all the Roman Catholics and all the Socinians in the world belonged to Bible Societies: for the Socinians would find in the Bible the truth, to convince them of their errors. I do not ask, Who gives me the Bible? but, What sort of a Bible does he give me? And if these gentlemen—though I fear we cannot call them Christians—give that Christian book, we thank them for it; and as for the little cabals that occur now and then, they are not worth a moment's thought. I believe the Committee are seldom interrupted by *them*. They are but few in number, poor Gentlemen! and the more Bibles are distributed, the fewer they will be.'

Little do those persons imagine, whose untempered zeal against Socinianism would lead them to tear the Bible Society to pieces, lest some fifty or a hundred heretics should lurk among the hundreds of thousands of its members,—little do they think how they are serving the cause of Infidelity, by strengthening the prejudices of unbelievers, and obscuring the native evidence of truth. No course could be better adapted to rescue Socinianism from the helpless decay and insignificance into which it has been falling,—to raise it anew into importance,—to invest it with the interest of a persecuted or proscribed faith, and with the dignity of a formidable foe,—than that which these misguided men are pursuing. Talk of sanctioning Socinianism! it desires no better sanction than the notoriety derived from the indiscriminate abuse, the ill-informed declamation, which has been lavished alike upon the whole range of error, from Arianism down to Infidelity. All this will only tend to promote a spirit of sceptical inquiry, and to excite suspicions unfavourable to the motives of those who are so much more eager in denouncing heresies without the Establishment, than abuses and moral delinquencies within the Church. 'In *any* union for religious purposes,' says Mr. Noel, 'I dare not compromise

‘ my principles, I dare not deliberately defile my conscience.’ He must forgive us ;—we venerate his piety, we esteem his character with the warmth and sincerity of friendship ;—but we must take leave to ask him, what is the character of that union which connects him with ministers of his own Church, who, if they do not deny the Deity of the Saviour, are not less the enemies of the Cross of Christ, who frustrate and oppose the doctrines which he holds to be the power of God to salvation, and whom he is bound to acknowledge as his brethren, nay, his ‘ fathers in Christ ’?

We are all able to see the mote in our brother’s eye. ‘ These ‘ are days ’, Mr. Noel says, ‘ which yield a double importance ‘ to the principle now contested in the Bible Society.

‘ Political reasons have given to Protestant Dissenters a connexion with Socinians, which I think their forefathers in nonconformity would have trembled to admit. I may be wrong,—and I speak this in the spirit of affection and esteem,—but I cannot conceal the sentiment. The increase of this connexion, now accredited by the verdict of the Bible Society, may convert its instrumentality into a weapon aggressive upon the integrity of Christian truth.’

What is the connexion which subsists between the orthodox Dissenters and the Socinians,—a connexion locally confined to the metropolis,—accidental in its origin,—having the defence of their common civil privileges as its sole object,—a connexion which involves no mutual recognition of each other’s faith, which deceives no one, and which can be converted into a charge against those who regret the involuntary association, only by being misrepresented,—what is this connexion, this mote in the eye of Dissenterism, compared with the beam that blinds the eye of the evangelical clergyman to the nature of the connexion in which *he* stands to the *majority* of his Church? Has *this* connexion never appeared to Mr. Noel ‘ as painful as it is inaccurate?’ Has he never felt that the only remedy for *this* evil, ‘ since the *duration* of the league forms no part of the bond, is ‘ to be found in open allegiance to our blessed Master?’ Strange, that he should expect a purity of Christian fellowship within the pale of the Bible Society, for which he in vain would look within the watchfully guarded and consecrated enclosure of his own Church! He has extorted from us this rejoinder; but we shall not pursue the ungrateful subject. A sense of public duty alone has prompted us on this occasion to withstand him to the face, because we think he is to be blamed. As for the Sackville-street agitators, they are beyond the reach of argument; and we admit that contempt is not a Christian feeling. We can only say to the religious public, Beware of platform-orators, beware of fifth-monarchy-men, beware of false prophets. Their

wisdom cometh not from above. Mr. Lundy Foot correctly characterized the species of influence under which they are acting, when he remarked, that 'we live in days when the 'Enemy of souls is specially busy', and those whom he cannot draw aside or draw back, he, by especial artifice, suited to their temperament, tempts to *shoot beyond the mark*.

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